UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH LIBRARY
3 1188 01445362 1

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH
The Library
SOCSCI
DA 890.E22 S8
Stevenson, R.H
The Chronicles of Edinburgh :
From Its Foundation in
A.D.617, to A.D.1851 /

Date due

95 02 13			
95 02 12			

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

http://archive.org/details/chroniclesofedinstev

EDINBURGH FROM THE CALTON HILL.

To Gang's South West

THE

CHRONICLES OF EDINBURGH,

FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN A.D. 617, TO A.D. 1851.

BY

R. H. STEVENSON.

EMBELLISHED WITH PLANS AND SEVERAL VIEWS OF THE CITY, ITS CHURCHES, HOSPITALS, MONUMENTS, FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, CASTLE, AND PALACE OF HOLYROOD.

EDINBURGH:
WILLIAM WHYTE & Co.
GLASGOW, WILLIAM COLLINS; LONDON, LONGMAN, BROWN & Co.,
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

Entered in Stationers' Hall.

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

INTRODUCTION.

The transactions connected with Edinburgh, previous to the Union of Scotland and England, are so closely interwoven with national events, that it requires nice discrimination to avoid mixing up matters of a purely national character, with those more immediately identified with the city. In admitting or rejecting a detail of national occurrences, the author has been influenced by the consideration of their intrinsic importance in connection with the capital. Although he does not deem long prefatory remarks necessary, it may not be out of place to state the object which he had in view, in writing these Chronicles, and the plan he has followed in the prosecution of his labours.

In such a work as the 'Chronicles of Edinburgh,' originality cannot be expected, except in the mode of arrangement, for every history must necessarily be partially drawn from documents before the public. But, while the merits of the numerous works relative to the city of Edinburgh are most fully acknowledged, the author trusts that he has presented much that has either been wholly omitted or but partially described by former authors.

In common with many others, he felt that a work that would embrace the transactions connected with the city, from its origin down to the present period, in a more minute, succinct and interesting form than had been hitherto done, was a *desideratum*. With this view he resolved, while availing himself of the facts elicited by early and contemporary writers, to avoid as far as possible their dryness and prolixity. His main object having been to adhere to facts, he has been frequently compelled to discard much, which, though given by others as matters of history, had no other recommendation than well founded and apparently plausible traditions. And when forced by an amount of evidence not to be altogether rejected, to record occurrences not positively substantiated by documentary evidence, he has, as will be seen, guarded himself against misconstruction.

In prosecuting his labours, he resorted in every possible instance to original and authentic sources of information. In doing so he has had to solicit from gentlemen holding public appointments, either correct information on the points under consideration, or permission to consult registers and various depositaries of information under their charge, particularly in all matters

relating to existing establishments, institutions, etc. From these he has invariably received the most courteous attention and cordial co-operation, and he gladly avails himself of this opportunity to record a kindness and courtesy for which he will ever remain grateful. But one more duty remains to be performed, and that is, to return his most sincere thanks to those numerous subscribers who have hitherto countenanced and encouraged his efforts.

FAC SIMILE OF A BIRDS EYE VIEW OF EDINBURGH COPIED FROM A WORK ENTITLED THEATRE DES CITIES DV MONDE PUBLISHED IN 1575.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF FIFE.

CONTENTS.

BOOK FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

FROM A.D. 617, TO A.D. 1400.

617, Origin of Edinburgh; how named. 1093, First record of the Castle. 1128, Edinburgh becomes a place of importance: Abbey of Holyrood founded. 1165, William the Lion resides in the Castle: 1174, Taken prisoner: Castle pledged for his ransom: Henry II. receives at York the homage of William and his nobles: 1177, A National Council held in Holyrood Abbey: 1186, Castle restored: 1215, The first Parliament held in the city. 1239, A Provincial Synod held in the city. 1251, Queen Margaret complains of being confined to the Castle: Relieved by the English faction: she and her husband reside in it: Make it the depository of the regalia and archives. 1286, Contests between Bruce and Baliol, fatal to the prosperity of Edinburgh. 1291, Edward I. visits Edinburgh as lord paramount of Scotland. 1292, The public records transmitted from Edinburgh, returned by Edward: The Abbots of Holyrood and Newbotle swear fealty to Edward. 1294, Castle withdrawn from Edward: Recaptured by him: 1297, Dismantled by Wallace. 1302, Battle of Roslin. 1303, Edward visits Edinburgh. 1312–13, Castle besieged: Taken by Randolph: Demolished by Robert I. 1322, Edward II. invades Scotland, visits Edinburgh: Plunders Holyrood Abbey: Retires for want of provisions: Every man ordered to equip himself for war: How accoutred. 1326–7, Parliaments held in Holyrood. 1328, Prince David marries Joanna of England: They arrive in Edinburgh. Bring with them the Ragman Roll and other records. 1329, Robert I. dies: Is buried in Dunfermline: (Note, His body discovered in 1818.) 1332, Edward III. plunders the Abbey of Holyrood. 1333–4, Baliol holds a Parliament in Holyrood. Edward invades Scotland, enters Edinburgh: Leaves it for want of provisions: 1336, Battle of the Burgh-moor. 1337, Castle rebuilt and garrisoned: A grievous famine: Castle besieged: Abandoned: 1341, Castle taken by stratagem. 1346, David II. made prisoner by the English: 1354, His ransom agreed to: Abandoned. 1356, Edward III. visits Scotland: Retreats to England. 1357, David II. ransomed. 1360, Severe pestilence. 1371, David II. dies in the Castle: Edinburgh considered the chief town in Scotland. 1384, Two thousand French soldiers arrive in the city: Cannot be accommodated in it: State of Scotland described. 1385, Richard II. invades Scotland: Burns Edinburgh: Burgesses privileged to build houses in the Castle: Coronation of Robert III. 1400, Castle besieged by Henry IV.: He withdraws his army: Retreats to England, page 17

CHAPTER II.

FROM A.D. 1400, TO A.D. 1448.

1405, James I. taken prisoner. 1416, Castle seized: 1418, Restored: 1423, James I. ransomed: Returns to Scotland with his queen: Crowned: A tax imposed to pay his ransom: Relinquished: 1429, James I. receives the abject submission of the Lord of the Isles. 1430, The queen delivered of twins in Holyrood Abbey. 1431, The Plague. 1437, James murdered: His murderers tormented and executed: State of agriculture: Of commerce: Of 'weapon-shawings': Of the militia: Appearance of houses within burghs: Those of great Barons: Their furniture: Dishes in common use. The queen with her children take refuge in the Castle. Edinburgh considered the capital of the kingdom. James II. crowned: Intrigues concerning his person. 1440, The Earl of Douglas and his brother murdered in the Castle: 1445, Their murderers denounced rebels: The chancellor takes refuge in the Castle: It is besieged: He surrenders: Important grants made to Edinburgh by James II. 1449, The king marries Mary of Gueldres. 1450, Edinburgh walled. 1457, Restrictions on dress. 1460, James II. killed: Buried in the Chapel of Holyrood. Disputes as to the tutelage of James III. 1461, Henry VI. of England resides in Edinburgh. 1463, Mary of Gueldres dies: Is buried in Trinity College Church: (Note, Exhumed in 1848, and reinterred in the Chapel of Holyrood). 1469, James marries the king of Denmark's daughter. 1477, Sites of markets regulated: 1482, James III. irritates his nobles: They conspire against him: The Duke of Rothesay confined to the Castle: Escapes: Makes a treaty with Edward IV. An invasion threatened: The king solicits the aid of his nobles: They assemble: Hang his minions: He takes refuge in the Castle: Is confined to it: An English army enter Edinburgh: Royal dower repaid: The king liberated by the citizens: 1482, Grants them important privileges. Statistical facts. 1485, Illiberal acts of the town council towards Leith. James III. deposits his treasurers in the Castle: Supplies it with ordnance. Is assassinated, ... page 31

CHAPTER III.

FROM A.D. 1488, TO A.D. 1542.

1488, James IV. ascends the throne. 1489, The City, Castle, and County, under the control of Bothwell: The king renders the city a scene of gay revelry. 1497, "Grandgore." 1500, Masons' wages. 1503, The daughter of Henry VII. arrives at Dalkeith: Is met by king James: Her entry into the city: Celebration of her marriage: Her dower, dowry, and private purse. Price of bread and ale. 1508, The High street reduced fifteen feet in width. 1511, Newhaven purchased by the town council. 1512, Provincial synod held in the city. 1513, Battle of Flodden. James V. killed: Measures adopted to defend the city: Origin of the town guard. 1513, 14, The plague: City wall extended: Ports leading out of the city. James V. ascends the throne: The queen-mother, regent: Deposed. 1515, Albany chosen protector and governor of the nation: The queen-mother refuses to deliver up the young king: She takes refuge in Stirling Castle: Returns to Edinburgh Castle: It is converted into a State Prison. 1520, The city infested with a lawless armed force: Scourged by the plague: Honours conferred on the provost. Prices of wines and ales: Disputes among the nobles: Skirmishes in the city. Albany goes to France: James V. declared

of age: Nominally invested with the government. The earl of Angus invades the city: Is fired upon from the Castle: Retreats: The Castle besieged by a number of the nobles: Surrenders: They obtain the king's person. James meets his Parliament; Angus dictates to the whole kingdom. 1526, Great power of the Douglas family. 1530, Cannons cast for the Castle. 1532, The College of Justice instituted: The citizens offer to raise 200 soldiers for the king. The High street paved. 1537, The king goes to France: Is married: He and his queen land at Leith. The queen dies: Mournings first introduced. 1538, Lady Glammis burned on the Castle Hill: Her husband killed. 1539, James V. marries Mary of Guise. 1542, He dies: Is buried in the Chapel of Holyrood, . . page 47

CHAPTER IV.

FROM A.D. 1542, TO A.D. 1561.

1542, Mary, daughter of James V. proclaimed queen. 1543, Edinburgh pillaged and burned. Civic war. 1547, Battle of Pinkie. Edinburgh pillaged: Leith burned. 1548, Queen Mary sent to France. 1550, Mary of Guise appointed regent. Prices of provisions regulated by Parliament and the magistrates of Edinburgh. 1551, Extravagance of the Table restricted. Architecture of the houses in Edinburgh. Improvements. 1555, Banquet given to the Danish Ambassador. 1556, Honours conferred on the Provost. Measures taken for defending the city. 1558, Queen Mary marries the Dauphin of France. 1559, She is elevated to the throne of France: 1560, Becomes a widow: 1561, Returns to Scotland: Lands at Leith: Is conducted to Holyrood: Makes her public entry into the city: Receives a banquet from the citizens, ... page 62

CHAPTER V.

Transactions of the Citizens and occurrences in the City, during the rise and progress of the Reformation, ... page 72

CHAPTER VI.

FROM A.D. 1561, TO A.D. 1567.

1561, Robin Hood play: Riots in the city: The Queen's Catholic servants insulted: Idolaters and whoremongers ordered out of the city: How punished on refusal. The Queen orders the Town Council to depose the Magistrates from office: Her command obeyed. 1561, The price per rood paid for building. 1562, The Queen interferes with the election of Provost. City standard altered. Reformers only hold office in the city: Punishment of fornicators and adulterers: A Deacon imprisoned and condemned to be punished for adultery: The deacons combine and liberate him. Price of boots and shoes. 1563, Riots in the city. John Knox tried for high treason and acquitted. 1564, Pillory of a Popish Priest. 1565, The Queen marries Darnley. The Provost deposed at the request of the Queen and another elected. The superiority of Leith pledged to Edinburgh. 1667, Rizzio murdered: The Queen a prisoner in Holyrood Palace: Escapes: Darnley denies all connection with Rizzo's murder. The Queen's affections alienated from Darnley. James VI. born: Queen Elizabeth's

behaviour on his birth being announced to her. Mary repents marrying Darnley: Bothwell rules all at Court: Mary consents to divorce Darnley: His murder hinted to her: A conspiracy against him formed: James's baptism: Darnley goes to Glasgow: Is seized with a dangerous malady: Meeting of Darnley's enemies: His murder resolved on: The Queen visits Darnley in Glasgow. 1567, The Queen and Darnley leave Glasgow for Edinburgh: Darnley takes up his residence in the house of the Kirk-of-field: (Note, description of that house). Darnley murdered: The house of the Kirk-of-field blown up with gunpowder: Bothwell suspected as the murderer of Darnley: Darnley's father implores the Queen in vain to apprehend those suspected of his son's murder: The Queen confers great favours on Bothwell: He is tried for Darnley's murder and acquitted: Bothwell invites a number of noblemen to supper: Declares his intention of marrying the Queen: They sanction his intentions by bond: Bothwell takes the Queen captive: Carries her to Dunbar: Brings her to Edinburgh: The nobles combine against Bothwell: The Queen marries him: He is generally detested: The confederate nobles enter Edinburgh: They and their army march against Bothwell and his troops: They meet at Carberry hill: The Queen and Bothwell deserted by their troops: Mary parts with Bothwell: He flies, and she surrenders to the confederate nobles: She is led in a disgraceful manner to Edinburgh: Is sent a prisoner to Lochleven Castle: Is compelled to resign her crown. James VI. crowned at Stirling. Punishment inflicted on fornicators, . . . page 78

CHAPTER VII.

FROM A.D. 1568, TO A.D. 1573.

1568, Moray returns to Scotland: Appointed Regent: The Castle delivered to him. The Plague in the City: Mary makes her escape: Flies to England: Is made prisoner by Elizabeth. 1569, Death of Moray. King's-men and Queen's-men. Edinburgh suffers severely: Measures taken for its defence. 1570, The citizens greatly excited. The leaders of the king's faction assemble their friends in the city. Mary's faction encouraged by France: They advance to the capital: Have a conversation with Kirkaldy. Summon a general Convention. An English army enters Scotland: Destroys the country by fire and sword. An English army in the capital: A skirmish at the Watergate; "Carnie fight." Lennox elected Regent: Hostilities suspended. Two Parliaments sit in the city: Issue forfeitures against each other. Daily skirmishes in the city and neighbourhood. The forces of Lennox and Morton unite and fortify Leith. Kirkaldy fortifies the city and repairs its walls: Holds out the city against the king's faction. Morton's plate and wines seized by Kirkaldy. Morton in revenge destroys Kirkaldy's estate. Kirkaldy in retaliation sets Dalkeith on fire, and kills a number of Morton's soldiers. The miserable state of the capital and country. The Provost deposed. A fierce Border Chief placed in the civic chair. His retainers act as bailies. Death of Lennox. Mar elected regent: He bombards the city. The prisoners taken by either faction branded or hanged. 1572, Queen Mary's affairs in a prosperous state. Death of Mar. Morton elected regent. Death of John Knox. Episcopacy virtually established. 1573, Kirkady cannonades the city: Kills some of the citizens. Mary's cause hopeless. An English army enters the capital: A Parliament assembled: Pronounces sentence of treason and forfeiture against Kirkaldy and his associates in the fortress. The castle besieged. Defended by Kirkaldy with great gallantry: He proposes to surrender. His terms rejected. Castle surrendered to the English commander. Kirkaldy and his friends given up to Morton. Kirkaldy and his brother executed. The reign of Queen Mary virtually terminates, page 100

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM A.D. 1577, TO A.D. 1588.

1577, Superiority of Leith. Morton deposed from the regency. James VI. assumes the reins of government. The Castle delivered up to him. 1578, A riot in the Castle: The Provost deposed by the Privy Council: The King demands a body guard: The Magistrates maintain their privileges. 1579, Presentation to the King by the citizens: The Provost nominated by the King: Morton resumes his former power: The King's impatience at being confined and ruled by Morton: The citizens rise in arms to relieve the King: The Provost imprisoned: Two men hanged for writing a satire on Morton: The King's public entry into the city. 1580, Morton accused of Darnley's murder: Imprisoned: 1581, Tried, condemned, and beheaded: His head placed on a pinnacle of the Tolbooth. The King interferes with the election of Magistrates: The citizens ordered by the King to raise 160 men: Raid of Ruthven: A public feast and a solemn fast in the city on the same day: How the city records are kept. 1583, The constitution of the Burgh settled by arbitration: James VI. interferes with the citizens in their election of municipal rulers. 1584, Honours conferred on the Provost: Regulations for the better government of the city: Measures adopted by the King to humble the Clergy: Numbers of them flee to England: The privileges of Burgesses' daughters interfered with by the Magistrates. 1585, Fees payable by Freemen on being admitted a guild-brother: The great zeal of the town council in matters of religion: Severe laws to be observed by Freemen. 1583, Queen Mary condemned to be executed: The King and citizens' behaviour on the news of Queen Mary's execution reaching the city. 1578, Whimsical procession. 1588, The Spanish Armada, ... page 111

CHAPTER IX.

FROM A.D. 1588, TO A.D. 1621.

1589, James VI. married by proxy to Anne of Denmark: She sails for Scotland: Is driven back by a storm: The King sails in quest of her: Lands at Upsal: Married: Passes the winter at the Danish Court. 1590, The King and Queen's reception at Leith: The citizens present the Queen with a rich jewel: General banquet to those who accompanied her from Denmark: The citizens imposed upon by the King: The Queen's coronation: The King's activity in the condemnation of Witches: Bothwell accused by Witches: Imprisoned: Escapes: Denounced rebel: Carries off a witness from the bar of the court: Obtains admission within the Palace: Surprises and nearly takes the King and Chancellor prisoners: They are rescued by the citizens: Moray murdered by Huntly: The King and Council insulted by the citizens for not avenging his death. They retire to Linlithgow. 1592, Presbyterianism established. 1593, Differences between the King and the Clergy: Daily scenes of riot and outrage in the city: Bothwell takes possession of the palace: His interview with the King: His trial and acquittal. 1594, Prince Henry born: Rejoicings in the city: Presentation by the citizens to the King. 1595, James obtains a body-guard: Regulations to prevent riots within the city. 1596, The Queen delivered of a daughter: The magistrates invited to her baptism: Promise her 10,000 merks on her marriage day: Disputes between the King and the Presbyterian clergy: The citizens support their

Ministers: Popular tumult: Quelled by the provost and deacon-convenor: The King retires to Linlithgow: Orders the Courts of Justice to leave the city: Lord Hamilton's treachery: The nobility commanded to return to their country-houses: The clergy exert all their influence to counteract the royal mandate: The King orders the magistrates to seize and imprison the city clergy: They fly to Newcastle: The Clergy decline the jurisdiction of the King and Council: The magistrates send a deputation to his majesty: Their reception: The King's public entry into the city: The magistrates appear in a convention of the Estates, and endeavour to exculpate themselves from the late riot: The popular tumult in the city declared treason: The city criminally prosecuted: The magistrates commanded to enter themselves in ward in Perth: The city denounced: The burgesses declared rebels: Public property confiscated: The city in a state of desolation: The King compromises matters with the magistrates: Terms of compromise: They meet and drink to reciprocal friendship. 1598, The magistrates honourably maintain their independence: Royal invitation baptism card. 1600, Commencement of the year changed: The Duke of Rohan's description of Edinburgh: Gowrie conspiracy. 1603, Death of Queen Elizabeth: James proclaimed King of England: His declaration in St. Giles's Church: Sets out for London: Superiority of Leith: The plague in the city. 1609, The King confers favours on the magistrates. 1616, He makes a compound with the citizens for a debt he owed them. 1617, The town council purchase the mills of Bonnington. 1618, The King visits Scotland: His reception in the capital. The bishops invested with supreme power in Church matters. 1621, Improvement Act: Water introduced: Church bells imported: James's severity to the clergy and citizens of Edinburgh: His death: Two singular condemnations: Punishment of those taking the benefit of *cessio bonorum*: Mode of living in Scotland, and manners of the times: Act against excess in eating and drinking at marriages, etc.: Extravagance in dress restricted: Act against drinking, . . page 121

CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1621, TO A.D. 1660.

1625, Charles I. proclaimed. The Citizens instructed in the tactics of war. 1627, The King presents the city with a sword and gown: Gilmerton coal works. 1631-3-4-48, Acts of the town council against females wearing plaids. 1634, Ministers' stipends: Number of householders: Amount of rent payable by them: Charles I. visits Edinburgh: His coronation: Edinburgh erected into an Episcopal See: Riot in St. Giles's church: Tumult in the city: The Covenant: Hamilton as King's commissioner fails to satisfy the Covenanters. 1638, General Assembly meet and abolish Episcopacy: The citizens ordered to prepare for war: The plague: War declared by the Covenanters. They take Edinburgh Castle and Dalkeith House: Pacification: The Castle delivered up. 1640, War determined on: The Castle surrenders to General Lesly: Leith fortified: Hostilities cease. 1641, Charles I. visits Edinburgh: Solemn League and Covenant: The Scottish army enter England. 1645, Letter of Montrose to the magistrates: State of Edinburgh described: The Scottish Parliament disapproves of the execution of Charles I. 1649, Charles II. invited to fill the Scottish throne: Declines: Montrose condemned and executed at Edinburgh: English army under Cromwell enter Edinburgh: Encamps on the Pentland hills: Retires to Dunbar: Charles II. arrives in Edinburgh: The clergy treat him with indignity: Battle of Dunbar: The city deserted

by its civic rulers: Charles II. treated with more discretion: The city and castle delivered to Cromwell: (Note, History of Mons Meg.) A committee of citizens manage the city affairs: Civic rulers restored: The citizens alarmed for their superiority over Leith. A citadel erected in Leith, page 142

CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1660 TO A.D. 1707.

1660, Restoration. Actings of the Town Council on that occasion: Re-establishment of Episcopacy: Duplicity of Charles II. Severities of the Government towards the Presbyterians: Insurrection. 1661, The mutilated body of Montrose exhumed and re-interred in St. Giles': Lauderdale's extortions. The Town Council purchase the citadel of Leith. 1677, Actings of Sir Andrew Ramsay while chief magistrate. Exorbitant charges at penny weddings restricted. The Act, 1621, against thatched houses renewed. 1678, Major Weir burned on the Castle hill as a wizard. 1679, Population of the city: The Duke of York's entrance into the city: His and the magistrates actings during his residence in Holyrood palace. 1680, The Pope burned in effigy. 1685, Rejoicings in the city on the accession of James VII. of Scotland and II. of England: Argyle executed: The Town Council present gifts to Lord Melville. 1686, James invested with absolute power: His partiality to Papists: Riots in the city: Reciprocities between James and the civic authorities: Restrictions on the Press. 1688–9, Revolutionary riots in the city upon the landing of the Prince of Orange. The Pope burned in effigy: The magistrates' address to the Prince of Orange: Convention settles the crown on William and Mary: The civic rulers elected by poll: Presbyterianism established: Excitements in the city by the actings of the ex-monarch's adherents: Castle surrendered to William and Mary: Execution of John Chislie of Dalry: 1690, The members of the College of Justice disarmed: The city guarded by 120 men: Rigours of the new Government: City revenue. 1692, Tonnage and value of shipping at Leith. 1695, Act to prevent lewdness in public houses. 1697, Town guard. 1698, Height of houses restricted. 1699, Darien scheme. 1700, Great fire in Parliament Square. Punishment for vitiating a bond. 1702, Accession of Queen Anne. 1703, Riding of Parliament. 1704, Popish trinkets burnt. 1705, Trial and execution of Captain Green. 1707, Discontents of the people. Riots in the city. Union of Scotland and England, ... page 160

CHAPTER XII.

FROM A.D. 1707, TO A.D. 1745.

1707, Principal Articles of the Union. Proposed uniformity of coinage in England and Scotland. National feelings consequent on the Union. The effects of the Union on Edinburgh. Absurd and ludicrous laws enacted by the Town Council. 1708, The Pretender, with a French fleet, enters the Frith of Forth: Loyalty of the Magistrates and Deacons of Edinburgh. French fleet chased by the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Byng. The Jacobites disappointed: The Freedom of the City conferred on Admiral Byng. He and his principal officers entertained by the Citizens. 1714, Death of Queen Anne. Proclamation of George I. (Note, Description of the ancient cross of Edinburgh.) 1715, Standard of Rebellion erected: Preparations at Edinburgh: Failure of an attempt to surprise the Castle: Attempt to seize the Town Guard defeated: A party of Rebels cross the Forth: Make a vain attempt on Edinburgh: Take possession of Leith: Fortify

the citadel: Summoned to surrender by Argyle: Refuse: Retire to Seaton House: March to England. Craftsmen and nonfreemen find security for the good behaviour of their servants. Six thousand troops arrive from Holland. Rebellion extinguished. Expenses disbursed by the Citizens repaid by Government. 1718, Provost receives £300 of salary in lieu of gratuities. Allowance to the magistrates to buy velvet coats. 1724, Gaugers' first appearance in Scotland: Malt tax extended to Scotland. Absurd expedient to avoid it. Lords of Session fix the price of ale sold within the city. 1725, Riots in Glasgow, on the malt tax being there enforced. The magistrates of Glasgow conducted to and imprisoned in Edinburgh jail. City brewers strike work: Threatened with an illegal combination: Required to continue brewing: Refuse: Petition the Court: Their petition publicly burned by the hangman at the cross: Summoned to pay the malt duty: Refuse: Imprisoned: Submit and grant bills for the duties. Great fire in the Lawn Market. 1728, A woman resuscitated after being hanged. 1736, Origin of the Porteous mob. Porteous fires on the populace at the execution of Wilson. Committed to jail: Tried and condemned: Respited: Forcibly taken from prison and hanged by the mob. Reward for the discovery of the rioters offered without effect. The provost imprisoned. The magistrates and Lords of Justiciary ordered to attend the House of Peers. Fine imposed on the city. Measures adopted to prevent such riots in future. City expense connected with this riot. 1740, Tremendous hurricane. Intense frost. Great dearth. Riots. 1742, Riots, on dead bodies being exhumed for anatomical purposes, ... page 184

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM A.D. 1744, TO A.D. 1747.

1744, The town council informed of a premeditated invasion, 1745, Prince Charles lands at Eriska. Extent of the city and state of its walls. Its standing forces. The news of Charles's landing reach the city. Measures adopted for its defence. Interrupted by Burgh politics. The citizens enrol themselves as volunteers. Charles, with his army, march southward. All hurry and confusion in the city. The trained bands, volunteers, and fusileers, mount guard. Burgh politics again interfere. Measures adopted by Captain Drummond: Their consequences. The town guard and city regiment join the dragoons at Corstorphine: Leave a rear guard there and retire: These, on the appearance of a few Highlanders, become panic-struck: Retire to the main army: They retreat to Leith: The citizens meet to deliberate: Letter from Charles read to the meeting. Deputation sent to Charles. Sir John Cope, with his troops, land at Dunbar: Proceedings of the town council in consequence: Letter from Charles: A second deputation sent him: The result of their conference. A party of Highlanders enter the city by the Netherbow-port: Proclaim the Pretender as James VIII. Charles and his army enter the King's Park: His reception and behaviour. Charles's proclamation relative to arms and ammunition. Citizens taxed to defray the expense of supplying Charles's army with tents, etc. The Highlanders, by proclamation, prohibited from pillaging. The number of Charles's forces, and how armed. Charles marches his followers against General Cope's army. Battle of Gladsmuir gained by Charles. Charles returns to Holyrood: The clergy leave the city. Charles exercises the functions of royalty: How he passed his time. Hostilities between the rebels and those in the castle. Charles and his army leave the city. The clergy return to their respective charges. The Officers of State return to the city. The news reach the city of Charles's retreat from England. The citizens thrown into great consternation.

Orders issued for the protection of the city. The citizens relieved from their fears. Fourteen of the rebel's standards burned at the cross. The civic rulers chosen by a poll election. The Duke of Cumberland presented with the freedom of the city. Trial of the Lord Provost Stewart. Punishment of a Jacobite printer for a satirical poem, . page 200

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A.D. 1760, TO A.D. 1822.

1760, Heritable Jurisdictions abolished. Press-gang: Riots in the city. George III. proclaimed. Riots in the Theatre. 1763, Peculiarities relative to the prevailing manners and fashions of the citizens. 1763–5, Tumults in city. 1778, Paul Jones threatens to destroy the shipping of Leith, etc. Measures adopted for defending Leith. The city improvements attract general attention. Mutiny at Leith of a Highland regiment: They take possession of Arthur's Seat: Matters compromised. The citizens support the American war. 1779, Recruits revolt at Leith: Desperate affray in consequence. Riots in the city. 1783, Change in the peculiarities of the prevailing manners and fashions of the citizens since 1763. 1784, A woman placed in the pillory for selling butter deficient in weight. Riots in the city. Last execution in the Grass Market. 1792, 'The British Constitution.' 1806, Begbie's murder. 1812, Riots in the city on New Year's day morning. 1815, City regiments disbanded. 1818, The regalia discovered. 1819, Johnston's execution. 1822, His Majesty's visit to Edinburgh, page 217

CHAPTER XV.

FROM A.D. 1824, TO A.D. 1849.

1824, Stock-brokers first established in the city. Great fires in the High street and Parliament square. The steeple of the Tron Church destroyed by fire. 1828, William Burke executed for *burking*. 1831, The Asiatic cholera in the city. 1832, Celebration of the passing of the Burgh Reform Bill. 1833-38, The corporation of the city become bankrupt. 1834, Earl Grey's banquet. 1836, Annular eclipse of the sun. 1838, Celebration of Queen Victoria's coronation. 1842, Her visit to the city. 1845, Riots in the city. 1849, The Queen and suite pass through the city, . page 229

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

General description of the ancient city. How surrounded. Constituted a royal burgh. Privileges conferred on the burgh by Robert I. (Bruce,) James II., James III., and James VI. Extension of the royalty in 1767, 1785, 1809. Provost, lord-lieutenant of the county of the city. 1761, Royal Exchange built. 1772, North Bridge erected. 1788, South Bridge erected. New Town commenced, ... page 245

CHAPTER II.

Ancient and present constitution of the burgh. Honours and privileges enjoyed by the provost. Jurisdiction of the magistrates. Bailie court. Ten merk court. Small debt court. Criminal court. Police court. Council chambers court. Assessors. Dean of guild court. Duties of city treasurer and chamberlain. Merchant company. Incorporated trades. Convenery. Constitution of the burghs of Canongate and Portsburgh: The magistrates' privileges as superiors of these and of Calton. The election of the two city members. Patronage of the town council. Official dress of the magistrates. City arms blazoned. Town Guard. Trained Band. High Constables. Police establishment. Fire establishment, ... page 251

CHAPTER III.

Monastery of Blackfriars: of Greyfriars: of Carmelite friars and Hospital of Greenside: of St. Anthony: of St. Catherine of Sienna. Church of St. Mary-in-the-Field. Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. St. Mary's Chapel. St. Roque's Chapel. Hospital of the Virgin Mary. Hospital of our Lady. St. Thomas's Hospital, ... page 271

CHAPTER IV.

Ministers' Stipends, from whom exacted since the Reformation. Number of the City Clergy at different periods. Amount of their Stipends. Annuity Tax. Seat-rents. Rouping for Annuity Taxes, ... page 278

CHAPTER V.

Churches, Chapels, and Places of Worship situated in the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs, ... page 284

CHAPTER VI.

Postal: First formation of posts. Their progress. 'Merchant post.' Revenue farmed. Revenue bestowed on the Duke of York. Edinburgh post-office established. Revenue of Scottish postal granted to Sir Robert Sinclair with a pension. Placed on its present footing. Tedious manner of conveying posts. A penny post-office first established in Edinburgh. Number of penny post-offices in Scotland. Mail coaches introduced. Postages of letters. Gradual improvements on postal arrangements from Edinburgh to London, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. Extensive frauds committed in the Edinburgh post-office detected. Privilege of franking letters restricted. Revenue of the Scottish postal from 1707 to 1840. Number of letters and newspapers that passed through the post-office in the year 1837. General penny postage introduced. Amount drawn at, and number of letters and newspapers passing through the Edinburgh post-office at certain periods. Mails carried by railway trains. Establishment of Edinburgh Post-office. History and progress of private carriages, sedan chairs, and hackney coaches in Edinburgh, from their earliest establishment; and of stage coaches leaving the city for Leith, London, Glasgow, Dalkeith, etc., at different periods, to the year 1850, ... page 314

CHAPTER VII.

Courts: of Session, College of Justice, Exchequer, Justiciary, Commissary, Jury, Admiralty, Teind, Lyon, Sheriff, Justice of Peace: Convention of Royal Burghs: Advocates—their Library—their first Clerks: Writers to the Signet—their Library: Solicitors before the supreme and inferior courts; Parliament House: Register House, ... page 329

CHAPTER VIII.

Hospitals, Societies, Clubs, Associations, Banking Companies, Gas companies, Water company, Royal company of Archers, ... page 350

CHAPTER IX.

Theatre Royal. Adelphi Theatre: Royal Academy of Exercises. Scottish Military and Naval Academy. Assembly-Rooms and Music Hall. Zoological Gardens. Royal Botanic Gardens. Experimental Gardens. Antiquarian Museum. Observatory and Astronomical Institution. Short's Popular Observatory, ... page 383

CHAPTER X.

University. High School. The School of Arts. Edinburgh Academy. Edinburgh Institution. Circus Place School. Scottish Institution. Ladies' Institution. Southern Academy. Normal Institution. Normal School, etc. . . . . page 393

CHAPTER XI.

Holyrood Abbey, Royal Chapel, and Palace. Her Majesty's arrival at, and residence in, the Palace. Edinburgh Castle. The Scottish Mint. Royal Institution. National Gallery of Arts. Royal Exchange. Corn Exchange. National County and City Gaol. Lock-up House. Canongate Gaol, ... page 402

CHAPTER XII.

Royal Infirmary. Royal Public Dispensary. Minto House Hospital. Lying-in Hospital and Dispensaries. Deaf and Dumb Asylum. Blind Asylum. Lunatic Asylum. Magdalene Asylum, ... page 438

CHAPTER XIII.

Bridges, Monuments, and Public Statues, ... page 448

CHAPTER XIV.

Trade and Manufactures. Population, ... page 454

ERRATA.

Page 160, line 8, for *Calton Hill*, read *Castle Hill.*
„ 213, „ 39, for *square* read *court.*
„ 227, „ 47, for *Kirk* read *Keith.*
„ 236, „ 41, for 1*st of May*, 1835, read 15*th May*, 1836.
„ 336, „ 18, for £44,800, read £4,800.
„ 349, „ 39, for 1822, read 1826.
„ 351, „ 16, for *relict*, read *relic.*
„ 360, „ 36, for *Gauvin's Hospital*, read *Cauvin's Hospital.*

Ewbank Del.t

W.H.Lizars Sc.

EDINBURGH FROM CALTON HILL.

THE CHRONICLES OF EDINBURGH.

BOOK FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

FROM A.D. 617, TO A.D. 1400.

617, Origin of Edinburgh—How named—1093, First record of the Castle—1128, Edinburgh becomes a place of importance—Abbey of Holyrood founded—1165, William the Lion resides in the Castle—1174, Taken prisoner—Castle pledged for his ransom—Henry II. receives the homage at York of William and his nobles—1177, A National Council held in Holyrood Abbey—1186, Castle restored—1215, The first Parliament held in the city—1239, A Provincial Synod held in the city—1251, Queen Margaret complains of being confined to the Castle—Relieved by the English faction—she and her husband reside in it—Make it the depository of the regalia and archives—1286, Contests between Bruce and Baliol, fatal to the prosperity of Edinburgh—1291, Edward I. visits Edinburgh as lord paramount of Scotland—1292, The public records transmitted from Edinburgh, returned by Edward—The Abbots of Holyrood and Newbotle swear fealty to Edward—1294, Castle withdrawn from Edward—Recaptured by him—1297, Dismantled by Wallace—1302, Battle of Roslin—1303, Edward visits Edinburgh—1312-13, Castle besieged—Taken by Randolph—Demolished by Robert I.—1322, Edward II. invades Scotland, visits Edinburgh—Plunders Holyrood Abbey—retires for want of provisions—Every man ordered to equip himself for war—How accoutred—1326-7, Parliaments held in Holyrood—1328, Prince David marries Joanna of England—They arrive in Edinburgh—Bring with them the Ragman Roll and other records—1329, Robert I. dies—Is buried in Dunfermline—(Note. His body discovered in 1818.)—1332, Edward III. plunders the Abbey of Holyrood—1333-4, Baliol holds a Parliament in Holyrood—Edward invades Scotland, enters Edinburgh—Leaves it for want of provisions—1336, Battle of Borough Moor—1337, Castle rebuilt and garrisoned—A grievous famine—Castle besieged—Abandoned—1341, Castle taken by stratagem—1346, David II. made prisoner by the English—1354, His ransom agreed to—Abandoned—1356, Edward III. visits Scotland—Retreats

to England—1357, David II. ransomed—1360, Severe pestilence—1371, David II. dies in the Castle—Edinburgh considered the chief town in Scotland—1384, Two thousand French soldiers arrive in the city—Cannot be accommodated in it—State of Scotland described—1385, Richard II. invades Scotland—Burns Edinburgh. The burgesses privileged to build houses in the Castle—Coronation of Robert III.—1400, Castle besieged by Henry IV.—He withdraws his army—Retreats to England.

Like most other towns of great antiquity, the origin of Edinburgh is involved in much obscurity, and is barely distinguishable through the haze which tradition and time have spread around it. Most writers, whatever opinions they entertain respecting the origin of the city, agree in thinking that the Castle rock, being, previous to the introduction of gunpowder, so easily rendered almost impregnable, would not remain long unoccupied as a place of defence. According to many writers it was chosen as the site of a fort by the Gadeni or Ottadini, a tribe of the descendants of the enterprising Celts, who first landed in the island. The district of Mid-Lothian was taken possession of by the Romans about the year 80, in the days of Agricola, and formed part of the Roman province of Valentia,[1] the most northerly of the six provinces into which they divided their possessions in this island. Valentia comprehended all the space within the walls of Adrian and Severus. Thus the Castle rock was situated on the very outskirts of that province, which, from being most exposed to the ravages of the barbarians, became perpetually subject to wars and devastations. The most ancient name on record applied to the rock is, *Casteth Mynyd Agnes*,[2] which means 'The fortress of the hill of St. Agnes.' Either therefore the rock was fortified after the time of St. Agnes, or it lost its original name after the introduction of Christianity. By fabulous writers, the low ground surrounding the Castle has been called *Vallis Dolerosa*, that is, 'The sorrowful vale.' A monkish fable reports that the daughters of the Pictish kings resided in the Castle for greater security in that barbarous age, and were there taught needle-work and other female accomplishments; and hence it was called *Castrum Puellarum*,[3] 'The Maiden Castle.' After the departure of the Romans from Britain, (about the year 446,) the Castle fell into the hands of the Saxon invaders under Octa and Ebusa, in the year 452, who were invited from Saxony by Vortigerm, king of the Britons, to assist him against his fierce enemies, the Scots and Picts, who inhabited the northern parts of Britain. Edwin, son of Ælla, king of Deiri, having succeeded Ethelfred in the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, about the year 617[4] extended his conquests beyond the Frith of Forth, and fortified the Castle rock, which then became the occasional residence of the chiefs of the Northumberland dynasty, and from that circumstance, the fortification built on the rock is said to have received the name of *Edwin's Castle*. This district continued in the possession of the Saxons till the defeat of Egfrid king of Northumberland in 685 by the Picts,

[1] Boetius, b. i, p. 12. [2] Whitaker, v. ii, p. 64. [3] Fordun, b. v, p. 26. Boetius, b. i, p. 12. [4] Whitaker, v. ii, pp. 83, 94.

who then repossessed themselves of it. In the ninth century it was reconquered by the Northumbrians, and retained till about the year 956, when it was given up to Indulphus, king of Scotland.[1] And as it was greatly exposed to incursions and devastations by the English and Danes, the neighbouring inhabitants erected their houses near the Castle in order to greater security, which soon assuming the appearance and character of a village, was in course of time gradually increased until it became a town, but which long remained of little importance, as the English in their incursions often penetrated to the very foot of the Castle rock, and not unfrequently pillaged and burnt the rising town in defiance of the fortress. Previous to the Lothians being ceded to the Scots, the kings of Scotland generally resided on the north side of the Frith of Forth, but thereafter the Castle became a residence of the Scottish monarchs; and the town having been by one of these monarchs erected into a *royal burgh*, began to be called, '*Edwin's burgh*,' or '*Edin's burgh*,' and the Castle '*the Castle of Edin's burgh*,' as if the Castle had derived its name from the town, instead of the town having had its name from the Castle. Hence it is not improbable that the name of the city and Castle may have been derived from the fact of a fortress on the Castle rock having been first erected by the Northumbrian prince Edwin, who perished with his son Osfrid in a great battle which he fought against Pender, king of Mercia and Cadwalla, king of the Britons. Simeon of Durham, who lived about the year 854, mentions Edwin's burgh in his writings, as then existing, and according to his statement it must have then been a considerable village. The Register of the Priory of St. Andrew's in recording the demise of king Edgar in 1107 has these words, "*Mortuus in Dun-Edin, est sepultus in Dunfermline.*" In a charter executed by Malcolm IV. in 1154-5 referring to Edinburgh Castle, it is mentioned indifferently as "*Castrum Puellarum*," or "*Oppidum Puellarum.*" The writings of Matthew Paris, who visited Edinburgh about 1250, bear "*ad Castrum Puellarum quod vulgariter dicitur Edinburc.*" In a charter of Radulphus, abbot of Newbotle, of date 1253, or thereabouts, the name occurs thus: "*parte vie regie et publice que ducet monasterio Newbotle versus Castrum Puellarum de Edinsburch*," etc., and in a number of instances it is designed "*Oppidum Puellarum.*"

"*Castrum Puellarum*," and *Edensburch* was for centuries applied indifferently to the fortress; the first was the diplomatic and literary name, while the second was its vulgar appellation.

The first fact which history records concerning the Castle is to be found in Fordun,[2] who relates, that in 1093 the widowed queen of Malcolm Canmore, the pious and worthy Margaret, with her children, took refuge in the Castle, after her husband was slain, wherein, after a few days she died; and that Donald Bane, the brother of Canmore, who had usurped the throne, besieged it, with a view of seizing the heir to the crown. He ordered all the gates to be guarded, presuming from the steepness of the rock that Malcolm's

[1] Some writers say that the Lothians were not added to the realm of Scotland till the year 1020. [2] Fordun, b. 5, c. 26.

children could escape only by them. But in this he was disappointed; for the garrison, being aware of his movements, conveyed the body of the queen through a postern on the west side of the Castle to the Church of the '*Holy Trinity*' at Dunfermline, while her children, at the same time, having made their escape, fled to England.[1]

In the reign of David I. the Castle displayed all the splendour of a royal residence, while the town, though consisting only of thatched and mean houses, had during his reign grown to one of the most important in Scotland, and became one of the *quatuor burgorum*, which formed a judicatory for the settlement of commercial matters. David in 1128 founded the Abbey of Holyrood, in favour of certain canons-regular, to whom he granted a charter[2] containing numerous gifts; among others he gave a perpetual annuity of forty shillings out of the revenues of "*meo burgo de Edwinesburg;*" a gift which leaves no doubt that Edinburgh was a royal burgh previous to the date of that charter. He also empowered these canons to build a town between the Abbey of Holyrood and Edinburgh, along the ridge of the rising ground, to meet *his burgh*, which by this time had advanced nearly half way down the sloping surface of the hill from the Castle. This new town, built by the monks, was erected by David into a burgh of regality, and from them received the name of Canonsburgh, or Canongate, which latter title it still retains. The king also gave them a house in Edinburgh, free of all duties and customs whatever, and one half of the tallow, lard, and hides of the beasts killed in Edinburgh, with the tenth part of the mills of Liberton and Dean, and those of "*novi molendini Edwinesburgh.*"

William the Lion, who ascended the throne in 1165, lived principally at Haddington, to which place he was extremely attached, but frequently made the Castle of Edinburgh his residence, and materially promoted the progress of the city by conferring on it the privileges of a mint, an honour conferred only on places of note. Having been taken prisoner[3] by the English in the reign of Henry II., while besieging Alnwick Castle in 1174, and in the ninth year of his reign, he was taken to Richmond, but after a short period was removed for greater security to a dungeon at Falaise in Normandy. The subjects of the Scottish monarch, impatient at his captivity, negotiated for his liberty, which they purchased at the price of their national independence.[4] They agreed to deliver up to Henry the fortresses of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling, and placed in his hands fifteen of the highest barons in the realm as hostages for the due performance of this disgraceful treaty. Being summoned to appear at York, the Scottish nobles and bishops attended, and, with their monarch at their head, swore fealty to Henry, and did homage for the kingdom of Scotland. But a decree of the

[1] So great respect was paid to the residence of so pious a queen, that about two centuries after her decease there was still an apartment in the building of the Castle called 'The blessed Margaret's chamber.' [2] City Cartulary of Edinburgh, Box 6, Bundle I, No. 1. [3] Dalrymple's Annals, p. 114. [4] Fordun b. 8, p. 24; Leland's Colect. b. 2, p. 533.

Pope shortly after freed Scotland from the yoke of England. In 1177 a National Council was held in the Abbey of Holyrood, on the arrival of a Legate, to take cognizance of a dispute between the English and Scottish clergy as to the submission of the latter to the Church of England; but the independence of the Scottish Church was rigidly maintained. In 1186, the Castle was restored to the Scots on the marriage of King William to Ermengard, daughter of Richmond, Viscount of Beaumont, and cousin to king Henry, by whom it was given to her as a dower. The first Parliament which assembled in Edinburgh, at least the first of which any trace can be found, was in the year 1215, held by Alexander II. immediately after his coronation, in which he confirmed to the Chancellor, Constable, and Chamberlain, the offices which they enjoyed under his father.[1] A Provincial Synod[2] was also held in the city, in 1239, as the most appropriate place for it, in which Cardinal L'Aleran, legate from Pope Gregory IX., presided. These events naturally served to add to the growing importance of the city. Alexander III. having been betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Henry III., the marriage was solemnized in 1251 at York with much splendour, and after some days spent in tournaments, feastings and other revelry, the juvenile couple (the king had not reached his eleventh year, nor the queen her thirteenth,) set out for Scotland, accompanied by many English gentlemen of the first rank and consequence. At this time the kingdom was divided into two powerful factions, between whom, both Alexander and his queen were kept in the Castle of Edinburgh in a state of durance. Margaret, accustomed as she had been to the indulgence and superior refinements of her father's court, bitterly lamented her confinement in the Castle, which she regarded as a dismal fortress. She complained to her father of the harshness with which she was treated, being denied not only the enjoyment of her husband's society, but even the services of her own female attendants. The Earl of Gloucester, at the request of king Henry, repaired to Scotland; and, assisted by the Earl of Dunbar, and the party favouring the English interest, entered the Castle and expelled the patriot nobles,[3] relieved the royal couple from their real or pretended durance, and formally conducted them to the bridal chamber, although the king was yet scarcely fourteen years, and the queen had not reached her sixteenth.[4] Edinburgh Castle thereafter became the royal residence and place for the dispensation of justice, and before Alexander's demise it was constituted the depository of the regalia and principal archives of the kingdom. The death of Alexander III. in 1286, opened the wars of succession and contest for the crown between Bruce and Baliol, which were fatal to the peace and prosperity of Edinburgh, and involved it in serious disasters. Edward I., having been through these contentions declared Lord Paramount of Scotland, proceeded to Edinburgh in June, 1291, when the Castle surrendered to him as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and he peremptorily ordered

[1] Fordun a Goodal, v. ii, p. 34. [2] Dalrymple's Annals, p. 155.
[3] This is the earliest record of two factions meeting in a hostile manner within either the Castle or City. [4] Matth. Paris, p. 908.

persons of all ranks, abbots, earls, barons, burgesses, etc., both in Edinburgh and other places which he visited, to sign the roll of homage, as vassals of the king of England.[1] In 1292, Baliol and the Scottish nobility having consented to a renunciation of all stipulations regarding the laws and liberties of Scotland, which had been agreed to by the treaty of Brigham, the English monarch ordered the public records and ancient historical muniments of the kingdom, formerly transmitted from Edinburgh, to be delivered up to Baliol.[2] On the 8th of July of the same year Edward received the fealty of the Abbot of Holyrood, and on the 29th of the same month, on his return from the north, that of the Abbot of Newbotle[3] and others in the chapel of the Castle of Edinburgh. After the battle of Dunbar, in 1294, which proved adverse to Edward, those in command of the Castle of Edinburgh declared against him. But on receiving a reinforcement of 1500 men from Wales, Edward advanced through East Lothian to Edinburgh, and again made himself master of the Castle after a siege of eight days.[4] On the 28th of August, 1296, the Alderman of the Burgh,[5] and the community at large, swore fealty to Edward. The following year Sir William Wallace, who held the chief command in Scotland under the patriot nobles in their attempt to recover the independence of their country, dismantled the Castles of Edinburgh and Roxburgh.[6] In 1302, while the English army under the command of John de Segrave marched from Berwick to Edinburgh, it was separated into three divisions for convenience of quarters and forage, and while thus divided was successfully attacked and defeated near Roslin Castle, about nine miles from Edinburgh, by John Comyn, one of the Guardians of Scotland, and Sir Simon Frazer, of Tweeddale, keeper of Selkirk Forest. This battle was peculiary fatal to the English, great numbers of whom were slain. Upon Edward II. again invading Scotland in 1303 for the restoration of the vassal king Baliol, he, after crossing the borders, divided his army into two divisions. At the head of one of these he proceeded eastward by Roxburgh, and reached Edinburgh in the beginning of June, without challenge or interruption, but his footsteps were nevertheless marked by devastation, by flaming woods, and plundered towns and villages. In the meantime, the Castle having been repaired, was in possession of the English, and Edward after giving his army a few days rest, left the capital and continued his victorious progress northward.

In 1312–13 the Castle of Edinburgh was commanded by Sir Piers de Luband, a Gascon knight, related to Gaveston, the favourite of Edward II.,[7] when Randolph, earl of Moray, infested it. The garrison suspecting the fidelity of the foreigner, cast him into a dungeon, and chose a commander of their own nation, who determined to defend the fortress to the last extremity. After a

[1] Prynne; Edward I., pp. 509, 512. [2] Tytler, b. 1, p. 89. [3] A small town, now named Newbattle, near Dalkeith. [4] Keningford, v. 1, p. 98. [5] Previous to the year 1377, the Chief Magistrate of Edinburgh was styled *Alderman*, after that period *Provost*. [6] Tytler, b. 1, p. 125. [7] Monachi Molinesburiensis, vita Edward II., p. 141.

siege by the Scots of six weeks, a soldier in the Scottish army, named Frank, presented himself to Randolph, and informed him he could point out a place where he, while residing in the Castle, had often gone up and down during the night to see his mistress, and offered to conduct his men up the perilous cleft, with which custom had rendered him familiar. Randolph accepted his offer, and with thirty determined men, fully armed, placed himself under his direction, and resolved to make the attempt to scale the Castle at midnight.[1] The extreme darkness of the night rendered the task of climbing the rock one of great danger and difficulty. They persevered, nevertheless, and, on reaching about half-way up, a jutting crag afforded them breathing and rest. The wall was now immediately above them, and it happened that the check-watches at this time were making their round and challenging the sentinels, so that Randolph and his companions could hear all that passed. At this critical moment, whether from accident or that one of the watch had really perceived something moving on the rock, a soldier cast a stone down towards the spot where Randolph sat, calling out at the same time, "Away, I see you well!" But the Scots lay still, the watch moved on, and Randolph and his companions waited till they had gone some distance. They then clambered to the bottom of the wall, at a place where it was only twelve feet in height, and fixed the iron crotches of the rope-ladders on the crib-stone. Frank was the first who mounted, then followed Sir Andrew Gray, next came Randolph himself, followed by the rest of the party. But before all of them had reached the top of the wall, the sentinel who had heard whispering and the clink of arms attacked them, and shouted "Treason!" The Scots, who by this time were on the parapet, leaped down, and the combat became fierce and desperate; and although the English greatly outnumbered their assailants, yet the panic and surprise deprived them of their accustomed bravery; but had not the governor been slain, it is probable that Randolph and his party would have all perished, but his fall threw the garrison into confusion, and put an end to farther resistance.[2] The fortress was instantly demolished by Robert I., and rendered incapable of military occupation. Sir Piers Luband, on being liberated from his dungeon, immediately joined the Scottish army. In August, 1322, Edward II. invaded Scotland with an army of 100,000 men. On their advancing towards Edinburgh, they found themselves marching through a desert, where neither enemy could be seen, nor provisions of any kind found. The cattle and the sheep, the stores of corn and victuals, and the valuable effects of every kind throughout the districts of the Lothians, Merse, and Teviotdale, had entirely disappeared; king Robert having determined not to risk his kingdom upon the hazard of a battle, every thing had been removed to Culross, on the north side of the Frith of Forth. Edward plundered the Abbey of Holyrood, and having in vain waited for supplies by means of his fleet, was compelled by famine to retreat.

At this period, all who were capable of carrying arms were

[1] Barbour, p. 205. [2] Fordun, b. 12, c. 19.

required to equip themselves for war. Every layman possessed of ten pounds value in land, or worth ten pounds of moveable property, was commanded to provide himself with a *basnet*, that is, a leathern jacket and a steel helmet, together with gloves of plate, and a sword and spear. Those who were not thus provided were ordered to have an iron jack, or back and breast-plate of iron; an iron head-piece, or *knopiskag*, with gloves of plate; and every man possessed of a cow was commanded to arm himself with a bow and shaft of twenty-four arrows, or with a spear.[1] The weapons of the Scottish army at the battle of Bannockburn, fought in 1314, were, a battle axe, slung at the side, and a long spear, besides a knife or dagger, which was highly effective in close combat. Among the spoils that fell into the hands of Bruce after that battle were machines employed in the besieging of towns, such as petronels, trebuchets, mangonels, and battering-rams, which were intended by Edward for the demolition of the Scottish castles. In 1326, the abbey of Holyrood was the seat of the fourteenth Parliament of Robert Bruce. When the commissioners appointed by Edward in 1327 to adjust the terms of the treaty of Northampton arrived in Edinburgh, a Parliament was held in the same religious house, which secured the independence of the kingdom, and finally adjusted the terms of peace, which was on 4th May, 1328, ratified by Edward III. Besides the earls, barons, and free-holders or *libere tenentes*, the representatives of the burghs also sat in it, and formed the third estate of the National Council. This is therefore the first great National Assembly in the history of our country which is truly entitled to be called a Parliament. By the peace of Northampton, it was agreed that the princess Joanna of England, then in her eleventh year, should be married to David, the only son of the king of Scotland, then in his fifth year. The princess was received by David, her young bridegroom, at Berwick, where the marriage was celebrated with great joy and magnificence.[2] King Robert, who was then residing in Edinburgh, received his son and his youthful consort with every demonstration of joy and affection, in which he was cordially joined by the citizens. In terms of the above treaty, the princess brought along with her the *Ragman Roll*, containing the names of all those Scotsmen who had been compelled to pay homage to Edward I, as well as other important records and muniments carried by Edward from Scotland. In 1329, Robert I. granted a charter to the community of Edinburgh, which recognised their ancient privileges and added new ones. On the 7th of June, in the same year, he died at Cardross, at the age of fifty-five, and was buried in the abbey church of Dunfermline.[3] In August, 1332, the army of Edward III. (who had again invaded Scotland,) plundered the abbey of Holyrood, and carried off the church plate. In 1333–4, the usurper and vassal prince, Edward Baliol, held a Parliament in the chapel of

[1] Regiam Magestatem. [2] Barbour, p. 407.

[3] While digging the foundation of a new church, to be erected on the site of the old cathedral, Bruce's body was, on 7th February, 1818, discovered in the place pointed out by our earliest historians, Barbour and Fordun. It lay in

the abbey of Holyrood, in which it was unanimously agreed to surrender to Edward the independence of the crown, and to grant him a large portion of the south of Scotland. Accordingly, the town, castle, and county of Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow, were surrendered to him. In this Parliament, the representatives of the burghs did not appear;[1] a fact of which Scotland ought to be proud. In the same year, Edward, in support of Baliol's pretensions to the crown and his own superiority, invaded Scotland with a powerful fleet and army. This fleet sailed up the Frith of Forth, and plundered and burnt the towns on both sides of the river.[2] The Scottish army did not venture to oppose Edward's formidable host; but, along with the inhabitants, withdrew with their goods and cattle to their inaccessible mountains, and left so little to the invader, that a lean bull was the only booty procured by a foraging party of the English at Tranent. "Is that all you have got?" said the commander, on their return; "I never saw so dear a beast!" The English army took possession of Edinburgh, but was soon obliged to evacuate it for want of provisions. The forces under Edward and Baliol having united at Glasgow in 1336, it was there agreed that part of the army should pass through Edinburgh on its way to Perth. Guy, count of Namur, the English commander, imagining that the country was wholly in possession of the English, pushed on fearlessly for Edinburgh, but was encountered on the Borough-moor by the Earls of March and Moray. The mercenaries in the service of Edward, who were clad in complete steel, and well mounted, made a desperate resistance; nor was it till the appearance of Sir William Douglas, the black knight of Liddesdale, with a reinforcement, that they were forced from the field. They then retreated into the town, in order of battle, fighting gallantly. On reaching the city, part of them fled down the Candlemaker-row, and made the best of their way to the Castle, which, as already stated, had been dismantled. The rest fled through St. Mary's Wynd, where they were encountered by Sir David de Annand, a gallant Scottish knight. Confined within the streets and lanes, the conflict now changed into a series of single

what was termed the PSALTER CHURCH-YARD, in a sarcophagus, built of polished stone, about seven feet in length and eighteen inches in depth. The body had been wrapped in fine damask cloth, interwoven with gold, some fragments of which remained. The skeleton was six feet two inches in length, and was in a state of considerable preservation. The remains of a crown of the same material was observed on the head, (the author was present immediately after the discovery,) a wooden coffin appeared to have surrounded the body, of which some vestiges existed. The grave was closed, and secured in the meantime against any violence; and sometime thereafter the temporary covering over the Patriot's grave was removed in presence of a deputation from the barons of the Exchequer, of several celebrated literary characters from Edinburgh, the magistrates of Dunfermline, and some of the neighbouring gentry. A cast was made on the spot, from the skull, by an artist from Edinburgh. The stone coffin was injected with melted pitch. The pulpit of the new church is erected immediately above the Patriot's grave.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, v. 4, pp. 614, 616. [2] Fordun, b. 13, c. 34.

combats. The foreign soldiers were at last driven up the High street to the Castle rock,[1] and there joined their companions, where they killed their horses, and with their carcases piled up a sort of rampart to defend them from the attacks of the Scottish army, who, as it were, there besieged them. But being destitute of provisions and lodgings, as well as exhausted with the fatigues of battle, they surrendered on the following day, on no other stipulation than that they should not be put to the sword, which was agreed to on the promise that they should never more bear arms against king David. Moray and Douglas treated their noble prisoner, Namur, who was near kinsman to their ally the king of France, with great generosity, and set him and his brother knights at liberty without ransom.[2] In the above engagement, Robert Shaw, a Scottish squire, was singled out by a combatant in the Flemish army. They rushed to the fight, and both fell transfixed with mortal wounds. On the Fleming's body being stripped of its armour, the brave stranger was discovered to be a woman. Edward, on his return from Perth, in autumn, 1337, visited Edinburgh, spent much of his time in it, rebuilt the Castle,[3] which had been razed by Bruce, and put a strong garrison in it.

A grievous famine the same year desolated Scotland; and the regent, Sir Andrew Moray, anxious to obtain subsistence for his army in the enemy's country, made various predatory excursions into England.[4] On his return he reduced the whole of the Lothians, and laid siege to the Castle of Edinburgh. The lords marchers of England hastened with a strong body of troops to relieve it; but they were surrounded by Sir William Douglas near Crichton castle, and, after much hard fighting, compelled to retreat across the Tweed. Douglas, however, was so grievously wounded, and his little army so crippled with the loss which it sustained, that Moray deemed it expedient to abandon the siege.

The Castle, which was in 1341 strongly fortified, and commanded by Limosin, an English knight, was recovered by the following expert stratagem, suggested by Bullock, the late governor of Cupar castle, and executed with address and boldness by Sir William Douglas, the black knight of Liddesdale.

Walter Curry, a merchant of Dundee, having a vessel lying there laden with provisions, by desire of Douglas ran her into the Forth, under pretence of being an English victualling ship. On his arrival, Douglas with three other gentlemen waited on the governor, one of them assuming the character of an English merchant,[5] carried as a sample a bottle of wine and a bottle of strong beer to the governor, informing him that he had for sale on board a vessel just now arrived in the Frith, a cargo of the like wine, strong beer, and biscuit, and requested that he might be allowed to dispose of these provisions to the garrison. The device succeeded, and the governor agreed for the purchase of the whole, which the feigned merchant requested he might be allowed

[1] Leland's Collect., v. 2, p. 555. [2] Fordun a Hearne, v. 4. p. 1026.
[3] Leland's Collect., v. 2, p. 555. [4] Fordun a Goodall, v. 2, p. 324.
[5] Bœtius, p. 334: Holinshed's Hist. of Scot. p. 249.

to deliver early in the morning in order to avoid interruption from the Scots. He came accordingly at the dawn of the morning, and was without suspicion admitted within the Castle gate, and over the draw-bridge with the waggons. The pretended merchant and drivers, throwing off the grey frocks which covered their armour, killed the guards, and blew a horn as a signal to Douglas, who with a party of men concealed at the foot of the hill, now rushed in and joined his companions. It was not to be expected, however, that all this could be accomplished without alarming the garrison. The soldiers, arming in haste, crowded to the gates, where a desperate conflict ensued, with considerable bloodshed on both sides. But at length the garrison gave way, the whole being either killed or wounded except the governor and six esquires.[1] The command of the Castle was entrusted to a natural brother of Douglas.

The recovery of the Castle by the patriots greatly contributed to the overthrow of the English in Scotland, and they were soon entirely driven out of the country.

The hostile incursions of the English having been for some years suspended, Edinburgh grew into more consideration. In 1346, David II. was taken prisoner at the battle of Durham, conducted to London, and led in great state to the Tower, amid a guard of 20,000 men-at arms, and the royal prisoner was compelled to sustain the expense of his establishment.[2] In 1354, the negotiations for David's liberty, which had been long pending, were concluded in the month of July, and his ransom fixed at 90,000 merks,[3] payable by instalments of 10,000 merks annually, for nine years, during which time there was to be a truce between the two nations. This treaty being unpopular with the patriotic party in Scotland, and the sum stipulated being far too heavy a drain upon the country, was never carried into effect; and David, who had seen himself on the point of regaining his liberty, was doomed to a longer imprisonment. He was however permitted, in 1351, to revisit his native country, seven youths of the noblest families in Scotland being left as hostages for his return[4].

In 1355-6, Edward III. invaded Scotland, advanced through Berwickshire and Lothian, and every town, village, or hamlet, which lay within the reach of his soldiers, was given to the flames. Previous to his arrival, the inhabitants had, as ordered, driven away their flocks and herds, and conveyed all their valuable property beyond the Frith of Forth, into the castles, caverns, and strongholds; and burnt and destroyed the hay and provender which they could not carry away with them, so that Edward could obtain no forage for his horses. Bread began to fail, and for fifteen days the soldiers had nothing but water to drink.[5] The king, who saw famine staring his army in the face, and drawing nearer every hour, pushed on to Edinburgh with the hope of obtaining relief from his victualling ships at Leith, as they were known to have sailed from Berwick. But when he reached the

[1] Froissart, v. 1, p. 359. [2] Rotuli Scotiæ, 21, Ed. III. v. 1. pp. 690, 696. [3] Rymer's Fœdera, p. 791. [4] Rymer, v. 5, pp, 724, 727. [5] Knighton, p. 2311.

city, he found that the whole fleet had been dispersed and destroyed while attempting to make the Frith, so that, in order to save his army from absolute destruction, he was obliged to retreat to England as speedily as possible.

Negotiations for the ransom and delivery of David having been renewed, the final settlement of the treaty was appointed to take place in Berwick. In the meantime a Parliament was (by the Steward as governor,) held at Edinburgh on the 26th Sept., 1357, in which were assembled all the bishops, lords. and barons of Scotland, and the representatives of the royal burghs. Each of these estates elected certain commissioners of their own body to appear at Berwick, and deliberate upon the ransom and liberation of their sovereign. The result of these conferences (at which David himself was present) was, the king's restoration to his kingdom, after a captivity of eleven years, upon payment of £100,000 sterling,[1] by annual instalments of £4000; and in security of this treaty, twenty heirs of the first families in the country were delivered as hostages into the hands of Edward,[2] and in the event of the failure of any of these instalments, David became bound to return to his captivity. In 1360 the country was visited by a dreadful pestilence, which carried away great multitudes, and the rich and noble of the land, equally with the meanest labourer, were seized by the disease, and in most instances fell victims to its ravages. The mortality became at length so great, and the heaps of the dead, and the agonies of the dying so appalling, that David with his court removed from Edinburgh, and sought refuge from the pestilence in the purer air of Morayshire.[3]

David II. died in Edinburgh Castle on 22nd February, 1371, and was interred in the Chapel of Holyrood. In the course of his disturbed reign, Edinburgh, or the Abbey of Holyrood, was the frequent place of Parliamentary meetings, at which very important discussions took place, and at this period the city stood at the head of all the burghs in Scotland. David having soon after his return to Scotland appointed Adam Torre, a burgess of Edinburgh, and James Mulekin of Florence, joint keepers of the Exchange for all Scotland, and masters of the Mint, MONEY was frequently coined in the city, much being required to pay

[1] Till about the middle of the fourteenth century, the English and Scottish pound [1] were similar in weight and purity, that is, they contained about three times the quantity of our present pound sterling, and thirty-six times that of our Scottish pound. Mr. Hume [2] when treating of the value of money about seven hundred years ago, supposes bullion to have been thirty-three times its present value; and Mr. Whitaker [3] estimates it at that period to have been only twenty times; therefore according to Mr. Hume, when we read of a pound sterling seven hundred years ago, we should reckon it equal in influence to about one hundred pounds, and according to Mr. Whitaker, equivalent to sixty pounds of the present currency. Hence, David's ransom would be equal to £360,000, and, according to Hume, equivalent to £10,000,000 of our present money; and according to Mr. Whitaker, equal in influence to £6,000,000 of our present money; an enormous sum indeed, in those days, the payment of which drained and oppressed the country for many years.

[1] Pref. to Anderson's Dep. Scot., p. 57. [2] Hume's Hist., v. 1, p. 244.
[3] Whitaker's Hist., v. 2, pp 345, 346.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, v. 1, p. 810. [3] Fordun a Goodal, p. 265.

David's ransom; and although Edinburgh was not at this period the actual capital, yet it was confessedly considered the chief town in Scotland. During David's reign, merchants from Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, Perth, and other towns, had commenced a lucrative trade with England, and through that country with Flanders, Zealand, France, and other parts of the continent. Wool, hides, sheep and lamb skins, horses, herds of cattle, dogs of the chase, and falcons were exported; and in return, grain, wine, salt, and spices of all kinds, mustard, peas, potash, earthenware, woollen cloth, silver and gold in bars, cups, vases, and spoons of the same precious metal, swords, helmets, bows and arrows, horse furniture, and all sorts of warlike accoutrements were imported from England, France, and other continental parts.

The Earl of Lancaster invaded Scotland in 1383, at the head of a numerous army, and having exhausted the English northern counties in support of his army, pushed on to Edinburgh, which his knights and captains were eager to sack and destroy; but Lancaster, mindful of the generous hospitality which he had lately experienced from the citizens, encamped his army at a distance, and gave the strictest orders that none should leave the ranks. The Scots in the meantime carried off every thing that was valuable, and transported their goods and chattels beyond the Forth. When at length the English soldiers were permitted to advance to Edinburgh, they found nothing to supply their pressing wants, even the straw roofs of the wooden houses had been carried off. The Scots having betaken themselves to their strongholds and woods, patiently waited the retreat of the English, which soon took place.

In 1385, John de Vienne, Admiral of France, visited Edinburgh with 1000 knights, esquires, and men-at-arms, and 1000 cross-bowmen and common soldiers, to aid the ambitious schemes of Robert II. against England. The Church of St. Giles (the first notice of it in history,) was selected as the place of their deliberations. The Castle of Edinburgh continued at this time to be a royal residence, but the city could not accommodate these 2000 Frenchmen, many of whom were obliged to seek lodgings in Dunfermline, Kelso, Dunbar, Dalkeith, and many other adjacent towns and villages. The state in which these Frenchmen found the country is accurately described by a contemporary[1] historian, who is by no means deemed unfavourable to the Scots. "In Scotland," says he, "a man of genteel manners, or honourable sentiments, is not easily found." He adds, "Those of their country are like wild and savage people, shunning acquaintance with strangers, envious of the honour or profit of every one beside themselves, and perpetually jealous of losing the mean things they have; that hardly any of the nobility kept intercourse with the French, except the earls of Douglas and Moray; that Edinburgh, although at this time the first city in Scotland, could not accommodate the French, many of whom were obliged to seek lodgings at Dunfermline, and other towns at a still greater distance; that the French knights complained grievously of their wretched

[1] Bourchier's Froissart, v. 1, pp. 8, 10.

accommodation; no comfortable houses, no soft beds, no walls hung with tapestry; and that it required all the prudence of the French commander to restrain their impatience for leaving so miserable a country; that when they wanted to purchase horses from the Scots they were charged six, nay even ten times the price for which these horses would have been sold to their own countrymen; that when the French sent forth their servants a-foraging, the Scots would lie in wait for them, plunder them of what they had gathered, beat, nay even murder them; that they could find neither saddles, bridles, nor leather to make harness, nor iron to shoe their horses, for that the Scots got all such articles ready-made from Flanders."[1]

Edinburgh, then the royal residence, was called by Froissart, with more courtesy than truth, the *Paris of Scotland!* and he described it as consisting of 4000 houses, yet of a meagre appearance, being thatched and not above 20 feet in height. Froissart, who accompanied this expedition, is said to have lived in the Castle of Dalkeith.

The war of aggression carried on by Robert II. produced a just retaliation on the part of Richard II., who in 1385 invaded Scotland with a numerous force, laid waste the country, and having reached and plundered Edinburgh, he gave the whole city to the flames; and after feasting his eyes for five days in revengeful triumph, left all in ashes except the Abbey of Holyrood and the Castle. Such calamities induced John, Earl of Carrick, who acted as King's Lieutenant, and who soon thereafter succeeded to the throne under the name of Robert III., to confer by charter, dated 4th July, on the burgesses of Edinburgh, the singular privilege of building houses for themselves within the walls of the Castle, with a right of egress and regress to them and their servants, without paying any fee to the constable, and under no other restriction than that they should be persons of good fame.[2] On 14th August, 1390, a deputation of the citizens went to Scone Palace, to be present at the coronation of Robert III.

In 1400, the Castle was repeatedly assaulted by Henry IV., who had invaded Scotland with an army to compel Robert III. to do homage to him as Lord Superior. The Duke of Rothesay, the heir apparent to the crown, who commanded the Castle, proposed to decide the quarrel by a combat of one, two, or three hundred nobles on each side; but this Henry declined, and after a short experience of the strength of the Castle, he withdrew his army from the siege, and commenced his retreat into England. Robert III. before the close of his reign made various grants out of the revenues of Edinburgh, which notwithstanding the mean appearance of the town, even at that early period evince its prosperity.

[1] Holinshed, Hist. Scot. p. 226. [2] Cart. Arch. Edin., 1385.

CHAPTER II.

FROM A.D. 1400, TO A.D. 1448.

1405, James I. taken prisoner—1416, Castle seized—1418, Restored—1423, James I. ransomed—Returns to Scotland with his queen—Crowned—A tax imposed to pay his ransom—Relinquished—1429, James I. receives the abject submission of the Lord of the Isles—1430, The queen delivered of twins in Holyrood Abbey—1431, The Plague—1437, James murdered —His murderers tormented and executed—State of agriculture—Of commerce — Of 'weapon-shawings'— Of the militia— Appearance of houses within burghs—Those of great barons—Their furniture—Dishes in common use—The queen with her children take refuge in the Castle—Edinburgh considered the capital of the kingdom—James II, crowned—Intrigues concerning his person—1440, The Earl of Douglas and his brother murdered in the Castle—1445, Their murderers denounced rebels—The chancellor takes refuge in the Castle—It is besieged—He surrenders—Important grants made to Edinburgh by James II.—1449, The king marries Mary of Gueldres—1450, Edinburgh walled—1457, Restrictions on dress—1460, James II. killed—Buried in the Chapel of Holyrood—Disputes as to the tutelage of James III.—1461, Henry VI. of England resides in Edinburgh —1463, Mary of Gueldres dies—Is buried in Trinity College Church—(Note, Exhumed in 1848, and reinterred in the Chapel of Holyrood)—1469, James marries the king of Denmark's daughter—1477, Sites of markets regulated —1482, James III. irritates his nobles—They conspire against him—The Duke of Rothesay confined to the Castle—Escapes—Makes a treaty with Edward IV.—An invasion threatened—The king solicits the aid of his nobles —They assemble—Hang his minions—He takes refuge in the Castle—Is confined to it—An English army enter Edinburgh—Royal dower repaid— The king liberated by the citizens—1482, Grants them important privileges —Statistical facts—1485, Illiberal acts of the town council towards Leith —James III. deposits his treasurers in the Castle—Supplies it with ordnance—Is assassinated.

In 1405, James I. being on his way to France to receive his education, was seized by the English. The history of the country during his captivity, and the regencies of Albany and his son Murdoch, present a frightful picture of foreign and domestic war; and Edinburgh did not escape the desolations which, during that period, swept generally over the country. In 1416, the Castle was seized by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, but was restored in 1418. James, after a captivity of nearly 19 years, was offered his liberty on condition that he should pay the sum of £40,000 sterling,[1] charged by the English as an equivalent for his maintenance and education during his captivity. The payment of this sum by instalments of 10,000 merks,[2] half-yearly, having been agreed to, two earls, one earl's eldest son, six lords, one lord's

[1] This sum would be equal to £120,000, and equivalent to £2,400,000 of our present money. [2] £555 11s. 1⅓d. sterling.

eldest son, the marshall of Scotland, and the heir of the constable of Scotland, were placed in the hands of the English as security; besides which Edinburgh gave an obligation to pay 50,000 merks of English money, as part of the ransom. Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, also gave separate obligations; and James, before leaving England, gave his personal bond in addition. These conditions having been arranged, James sailed for Scotland with his queen, the beautiful daughter of the earl of Somerset, whom he had married[1] during his captivity, and landed at Leith on the 19th of April, 1424. He was then in the thirtieth year of his age, with a vigorous and manly frame. A great concourse of people of all ranks were assembled to welcome his arrival, and conduct him to Edinburgh. On the 21st of May, he and the queen were crowned at Scone. A remittance of the fourth of his ransom was granted to him as her marriage portion, and in order to meet the remaining portion, a tax of one-twentieth part of the estimated value of all moveables was imposed, but the unpopularity of the tax compelled its relinquishment. James often honoured Edinburgh by his residence in it, and in 1429 he received before the altar of the Chapel of Holyrood the abject submission of Alexander, the Lord of the Isles. In 1430 the queen was delivered of twins in the Abbey of Holyrood, the youngest of whom was the future James II.; a circumstance which may warrant the opinion that James resided in that religious house.

In 1431 the plague made its first appearance in Edinburgh, and continued to rage in Scotland for nearly two years. During the height of its ravages the public mind, under the influence of terror and ignorance, became agitated with frightful stories and swayed with the wildest superstitions, which were not a little increased by a total eclipse of the sun for half an hour on 17th of June, 1432.

Walter, earl of Athole, uncle to the king, was supposed secretly to aspire to the throne, which he determined to render vacant by the murder of his sovereign. In this bloody design he adopted as his accomplices, his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, and Sir Robert Graham, brother of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine. While the king and queen were sitting at supper in the monastery of the Dominicans or Blackfriars at Perth, on 20th Feb , 1436, the conspirators rushed into his apartment. James, grasping his sword, made a heroic defence; and his consort, regardless of her own safety, threw herself between him and the swords of the assassins, and was twice wounded by the ruffians: but in vain, for James fell beneath the assassin's steel, after a reign of thirteen years, and in the 44th year of his age. In revenging his death, such was the diligence employed, that within forty days all the conspirators were executed. Sir Robert Stewart, and Thomas Chalmers, one of Graham's accomplices, were first captured and brought to Edinburgh, where, after a full confession of their guilt, they were beheaded on a high scaffold erected on the High Street, and their heads were sent to Perth, and fixed on its gates. Athole being

[1] James's marriage-suit, which was cloth of gold, cost £28 sterling, equal to £84, and equivalent to £1,680 of our present money.

considered the originator and principal actor, was the next sufferer. His punishment was prolonged for three days. On the first he was placed upon a cart, on which a kind of crane in the form of a stork was erected, to which he was drawn up by ropes let through the pulleys, and then suddenly let fall to near the ground, by which he suffered the most excruciating pain from the dislocation of his joints. On the next, he was elevated upon a pillory erected in the city, while a paper crown was placed on his head, and upon which was written in three several places, '*The king of traitors:*' he was then crowned with red-hot iron, placed upon a hurdle, and drawn at a horse's tail through the High street. On the third day, being extended upon a platform in a conspicuous place of the city, while yet alive, his intestines and heart were taken out and thrown into a fire and burnt before his face. His head was next cut off, fixed upon a long poll, and exhibited in the most conspicuous place of the city; and his body being divided into four quarters, was sent to Perth, Stirling, and Aberdeen, to be exposed in the most public situations. As he was an old man, on the verge of seventy, his fate was not beheld without pity. Graham, who had been the real assassinator of James, was soon after apprehended, and endured his complicated sufferings with a firmness which astonished the spectators. He was drawn through the principal streets of the city on a cart, his right hand nailed to a gallows erected in it, the executioner all the while thrusting red-hot iron pikes into his thighs, shoulders, and limbs, at a distance from the vital parts of his body, and his son was tormented and beheaded before his face; he bore all with amazing fortitude, and when his sufferings became utterly unsupportable, he warned his tormentors that if his anguish should drive him to blasphemy, his guilt would rest on their heads who had thus destroyed his soul; he was at last beheaded and quartered. This dreadful scene of vengeance, which it is impossible to read without sentiments of the utmost loathing and horror, was concluded with the execution of Thomas Hall, one of Athole's household, who to the last vindicated the share he had taken in the king's death.

During James' short reign, many laws were enacted for the improvement of trade, commerce, and agriculture. When resident in England he had observed that that country was in a much higher state of cultivation than his own kingdom; and with a view toward its improvement, he procured the enactment of the following law.[1] "That ilk man of simple estaite, that suld be of reason, labourer, have outher *halfe ane oxe in the pleuch*,[2] or else delve ilk day, seven fute of length, and seven in breadth, under the paine of ane oxe to the king." And "that throw all the realme, ilk man teilland with a pleuch of aucht oxen, sall saw at least, ilk zeir, a firlot of quheate, halfe a firlot of pease, and 40 beanes,[3] under the pane of X.S. to the Barronne of the land that he dwellis in, if he sawis it not, and as oft as he beis founden faultise. And

[1] James I. parl. 3, cap. 41; and parl. 6, cap. 81. [2] That is, combine with his neighbour to pay half the expense of an ox and a plough. [3] The small quantity of beans here mentioned renders it probable that it is the era of their introduction into Scotland.

gif the barronne sawis not the said corne in like maner, in his domaines, he shall paie to the king fortie shillinges." The system of agriculture pursued at this early period must have been exceedingly rude and simple; and although it would be now difficult to point out the exact mode of cultivation, yet some idea may be formed from the tenor of the above Act.

Trade at this period was confined within very narrow limits, and Scotland had little intercourse with other nations, except with England and France. Parliament, it appears, instead of encouraging trade, placed many ridiculous restrictions on commerce. Among others, it enacted,[1] "That na merchand of the realme passe over sea, in merchandice, bot he have of his awin proper gudes, or at least committed till his awin governance, three serplaithes of wooll, or the value of them in uther merchandice, quhilk sall be kend or he pass, be an inquest of his nichtboures, under the paine of ten pound to the king." "That na man sail or passe out of the realme in onie merchandice, bot a famous and worshipful man, havand of his awin halfe ane last of gudes, or sa meikle in steiring or governance, under the paine of ten pounds."

Previous to the introduction of gunpowder, archery was much practised, both in England and Scotland, as a warlike art. The cross-bow, or the long-bow, was introduced into Britain by the Romans, who used them with fatal and murderous effect, and afterwards adopted by the Saxon soldiers. When Alexander II. invaded England, his infantry, in addition to the long spear of the Saxons, carried the Norman bow.[2] In remote times, we find the Scottish archers bearing a part in the battle of the Standard,[3] but at the subsequent battles of Dunbar, Stirling, Falkirk, and Bannockburn, they do not appear; and although Bruce, in an ordinance of arms passed in 1319, commands every man possessed of the value of a cow to arm himself either with a bow and a sheaf of arrows, or with a spear, the last weapon was evidently preferred by the Scottish yeomanry. In the use of the bow the English were greatly superior to the Scots; and their bodies of mounted archers, and cross-bowmen, who were often armed in mail, frequently made sad havoc amongst the Scottish spearmen. James, during his captivity in England, remarked this striking disparity, and immediately on his return procured an Act[4] in order to improve the Scots in the practice of archery, ordaining, "That all men busk them to be archeres, fra they be twelve ziers of age; and that in ilk ten pundis worth of lande their be maid bow markes, and speciallie neir to paroche kirkes, quhairin upon halie daies men may cum, and at the least schutte thrise about, and have usage of archerie; and quha sa usis not the said archerie, the laird of the land sal raise of him a wedder." The annual musters of these archers at this period were called *weapon-shawings*, which Parliament ordained should take place four times in the year; and that each person should make their appearance, dressed and armed, as follows, namely, "Ilke gentle-man havand ten pounds worth of land, or mair, be sufficient-

[1] James I. parl. 2, cap. 38. [2] Norse account of the Expedition, pp. 93 95.
[3] Ethebredus de Bello Standardi, p. 342. [4] James I. parl. 1, cap. 18.

lie harnished and armed with basnet, haill legge harnes, sworde, speare, and dagger; and gentle-men havand lesse extentes of landes, nor na landes, sall be armed at their gudlie power; bot all uther zeamen of the realme, betuixt xvj. and sextie zeirs, sall be sufficientlie bowed and schafted with sworde, and buckler, and knife; and that all burgesses and indwellers within the burrow tounes of the realme, in like maner, be anar med and harnished, and make weapon-shawinges within the burrowis foure times in the zeir." And to enforce regular attendance at these weapon-shawings, the Act imposed the following fines: "Of ilk gentle-man that defaultis at the first weapon-shawing, fortie schillinges, and at the uther default, fortie schillinges, and at the third default, ten punds, and alsmeikle als oft-times as he defaultis after-ward. And of ilk bow-man at the first faulte ten schillinges, at the uther default, ten schillinges, and at the third, fortie schillinges, and swa furth, als oft-times as he beis funden faultise afterward."[1]

The legislature was so anxious to encourage the use of the bow, which, previous to the introduction of gunpowder, was the principal instrument of war, that it was ordained,[2] "That all merchands of the realm, passand over sea for merchandice, bring hame, as he maie gudly thoile, after the quantity of his merchandice, harnes and armoures, with speares, schaftes, bowes, and staves. And that be done be ilk ane of them als oft as it happenis them to passe over sea in merchandice. Lest any other games or sports should interfere with the practice of the bow, it was during the reign of James II. enacted,[3] "That the FUTE-BALL and GOLFE be utterly cryed down and not to be used, and that the bow-markes be maid, at ilk parish kirk a pair of buttes, and schutting be used, and that ilk man schutte six schottes, at the least, under the paine to be raised upon them, twa pennies to be given to them that cummis to the bow-markes to drink." It was further ordained that those who could not use the bow should provide themselves with "ane gude axe, and ane targe of ledder, to resist the shot of England, quhilk is na coist, but the value of ane hyde." At this period there was no standing army, but every man was obliged to enrol himself in the militia, and appear when called upon. James, to regulate the dress and accoutrements of the militia, procured an Act,[4] entitled, "Anent the gathering of zeamen for weire," ordaining, "That ilk zeaman that is of twentie pund in gudes have a gud doublet of fense, or ane habirgeon, ane iron hat, with bow, schaif, sworde, buckler, and knife; and the zeaman that is na archer, nor cannot draw a bow, sall have a gude suir hat for his head, and a doublet of fense, with sworde and buckler, and a gude axe, or else a brogged staffe; and that ilk burgess havand fiftie pundes in gudes, sall be haill anarmed as a gentleman aucht to be; and the zeaman of lawer degree, and burgesses of twentie pundes in gudes, sall be bodin with hat, doublet, or habirgeon, sworde and buckler, bow, schaif, and knife; and that hee that is na bow-man have a gude axe and sure weapons." These regulations they were bound to respect, under certain penalties.

[1] James I. parl. 3, cap. 60. [2] James I. parl. 3, cap. 47. [3] James II. parl. 14, cap. 64. [4] James I. parl. 10, cap. 121, 123.

In James's reign the houses within burghs were thatched, and not above twenty feet high; and Edinburgh at this period made no exception. Though the houses of the great barons were large and magnificent, yet the apartments were small and gloomy; the state of the country requiring security in their construction as the primary consideration. The only furniture in the halls of such were large standing tables, benches, and cupboards, made chiefly of oak, and without either locks or keys. They ate mostly out of wooden dishes, which were called *tren-plates*, used wooden or horn spoons, and drank out of wooden cups. Silver was remarkably scarce, and even pewter vessels were accounted rare and costly, and used only at Christmas or other festivals; and even these trifling articles the country could not then furnish of its own manufacture. In the year 1430, eight dozen of pewter dishes, one hundred dozen of wooden cups, a basin and ewer, three saddles, a dozen skins of red leather, five ells of woollen cloth, and twenty casks of wine, were imported from London for the use of James I.

As neither Perth, Stirling, Dunfermline, nor any other town, possessed sufficient means to protect the royal family from the murderous attacks of the ferocious nobles, Edinburgh and its castle were selected as the place of greatest safety for the queen-mother and government functionaries, who, uncertain as to the ramifications of the recent conspiracy, and trembling lest the fate which had overtaken the father should await the son, instantly fled thither, and carried the young king along with them. This circumstance rendered that fortress a place of far greater importance than formerly, and from that period may be dated the origin of Edinburgh as a capital. After the panic caused by James's violent death had subsided, a Parliament assembled in the city, whose first care was the coronation of the young prince, and for this purpose the principal nobles and barons of the kingdom, with the dignified clergy, and a great multitude of the free tenants of the crown conducted him in procession from the Castle to the palace of Holyrood, where he was, on 27th March, crowned and anointed amid demonstrations of universal loyalty. Under other circumstances than those in which James II. succeeded to the throne, the long established custom of conducting the ceremony of the coronation at the Abbey of Scone would not have been departed from.

The queen-mother, finding that Edinburgh castle, in which she and her son resided, (the latter in a sort of honourable captivity,) was rendered by the vigilance and jealousy of Sir William Crichton, the governor, much too difficult of access for herself and friends, had recourse to stratagem to gain possession of the young king. A quarrel happened between Crichton, who had the custody of the young king, and Sir Thomas Livingston, who had been chosen regent. The queen-mother, who favoured the regent's party, early in the year 1439 paid her son a visit, on the sole plea of gratifying her maternal affections; a plea which very naturally imposed on the unsuspecting chancellor. After having been sometime with her son, she announced her intention of taking a pilgrimage to [1] a church in

[1] Some authors say she pretended to go to Whitekirk in Buchan, celebrated for pilgrimages in Popish times.

East Lothian, and in removing her effects, it was dexterously managed to carry the young king (he consenting to the plot,) early in the morning out of the Castle, concealed in a large wardrobe chest, which had been used to contain the queen's dress. James's attendants supposing him to be asleep, waited his awakening till the day was well advanced, while he in the meantime was put on board a ship in Leith harbour, and before the fraud was discovered, was beyond the reach of the duped; and that same night he and his mother reached Stirling Castle, then under the command of regent Livingston, in whose fidelity the queen reposed unlimited confidence. The queen's adroitness was universally applauded, and the event celebrated for two days with extravagant demonstrations of joy. The chancellor, the following year, in his turn recovered by stratagem the person of the young monarch. Being aware that the king frequently hunted in the neighbourhood of Stirling, he with a body of men lay in ambush in the woods, and when the king was enjoying the chase, threw himself in his majesty's way, and respectfully saluted him as his sovereign. He then took hold of his majesty's bridle, and led him to his own party, consisting of about 4000 soldiers, and conducted him with due courtesy to Edinburgh, where he was received by the citizens with great joy. Thither the regent soon followed, and held a conference with the chancellor in St. Giles's church; the result of which was, that these hitherto deadly foes were reconciled to each other, but only through their mutual dread of the influence of the Earl of Douglas, on whom the executive was unable to inflict the punishment due to his crimes. In 1440, the chancellor, with the most insinuating semblance of friendship, decoyed William, sixth Earl of Douglas, then only in his sixteenth year, and his brother David, together with his intimate friend and counsellor, Sir Malcolm Fleming, into the Castle, where the regent had also repaired to bear a share in the bloody deed about to be perpetrated. Douglas was treated with great respect and honour, and conducted to the presence of his majesty, by whom he was treated with marked distinction. But while Douglas and his brother sat at dinner with the king, the chancellor, and regent, a bull's head was placed on the table; as Douglas and his brother fully comprehended the meaning of the fatal symbol, they sprung up, but were immediately seized by armed men and bound. It is said that the young monarch clung round Crichton, and pleaded most eagerly and even with tears for them, but he refused to listen to his entreaties. A form of trial over which the youthful monarch was compelled to preside, was hurriedly gone through, and the Earl and his brother condemned. They were instantly carried to execution, and beheaded in the back court on the west side of the Castle. Three days after, Fleming was tried for treason, and beheaded on the ground which was still wet with the blood of his chief. By this treacherous and barbarous deed, Crichton and Livingston became universally odious, and but a short time elapsed before they felt the vengeance of the Douglas family. The murdered Earl was succeeded by his uncle James, Lord of Abercorn, who enjoyed the Earldom only three years, and

was succeeded by his son William, who married the Fair Maid of Galloway, sister to the murdered Earl; a connection which so increased the influence and power of the young Earl, who was also supported by the favour of his sovereign, that in the year 1445, at his instigation, Crichton and Livingston were denounced as rebels, their estates confiscated, their castles razed, and their domains laid waste by Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, who was commanded to carry into effect the sentence of forfeiture. The chancellor, who had taken refuge in, and held possession of the castle of Edinburgh, retaliated by ravaging Corstorphine, and making occasional inroads upon the estates of Douglas. Douglas held Crichton shut up in the castle, but he defended himself with such skill and resolution, that after a siege of nine months, in which king James himself took an active part, the surrender of the castle was gladly accepted on his own terms, namely, That he should be allowed to depart in safety with all his followers, and that all his offences should be pardoned.

During these troubles, James II. lavished upon the city such grants and immunities, as made it much more indebted for its prosperity to him than to any other monarch. Among other favours, he exempted burgesses from the payment of any duties, except a petty custom, gave a grant of all the vale between Craigend gate on the east, and the highway leading to Leith on the west, and also a grant of the "haven silver," and dues on the ships entering the roadstead and harbour of Leith. In 1449, Crichton having been reinstated in the office of chancellor, was appointed commissioner to conduct to Scotland Mary of Gueldres, the only daughter and heiress of the wealthy duke of Gueldres, who had been the previous year married by proxy at Brussels to James II. now in his 18th year. The fleetwhich bore Mary to Scotland anchored in the Forth, on 18th June, same year. It consisted of thirteen vessels, and had on board the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Brittany, and Count de Vere, all brothers-in-law of the king of Scotland; a suite of knights and barons also accompanied the princess and her ladies, while a bodyguard of 300 men-at-arms, both men and horse, clothed in complete steel, attended the princess, who rode behind Count de Vere from the shore to her appointed lodgings in the convent of the Greyfriars, where she was received by her youthful consort, and welcomed by the acclamations of an immense concourse of spectators. In the course of the following week her marriage and coronation were solemnized in the Abbey of Holyrood, the interim being occupied by feastings, masques, revelry, and tournaments.

Previous to the reign of James II. it would appear there had been a wall of defence constructed partly round the city, but its dimensions cannot now be defined. Besides the immunities above mentioned, James conferred on the citizens of Edinburgh, by charter, the pre-eminent privilege of surrounding their city by a wall. This charter is dated at Stirling, and is as follows: "Foralsmkyle as we ar informit be oure well belovettis, the Provest and communite of Edynburgh, yat yai dreid the evil and skeith

of oure enemies of England; we have in favour of yame, and for the zele and affectioune that we have to the Provest and communite of oure said burgh, and for the comoune profit, grauntit to thaim full licence and leiff to fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, turate, and uther wais to strengthen oure foresaids burgh, in quhat maner of wise or degree that beis sene maste spedefule to thaim. Given under oure Grete Seale at Strivelyn, the last day of Aprile, and of oure Regne, the thretene yhere, anno 1450." Shortly after the date of the above charter, the city was assessed to defray the expense of the undertaking. This wall began at the base of the north-east of the castle-rock, and was there strengthened with a small fortress, called Well-House-Tower, from a spring in the neighbourhood; thence it ran eastward, along the south side of the North Loch, till it came nearly opposite the Reservoir; it then took a southern direction, till it reached the summit of the hill, where it was intercepted by a gate of communication between the town and the castle. From this point the wall ran obliquely down the hill, pointing to the southward, till it came to the first angle in the descent of the West Bow, where was a gate called the Upper-Bow-port. From this it proceeded nearly due east, along the face of the ridge, between the High street and Cowgate, in a line that would have cut off some feet from the south end of the present Parliament House, and continued in that direction till it came to Gray's Close, or Mint Close; thence it proceeded by a slight inclination to the north-eastward, till it touched the south-west corner of a line of buildings a little west of the head of Leith-wynd, here it was intersected by a gate of communication between the city and the Canongate; from this port to the foot of Leith-wynd the city was originally defended only by a range of houses, but these having become ruinous, a wall was built on their site. The city was thus encompassed by a wall on all sides but on the north, where it was little required by the steepness of the banks, and the North Loch which lay at the bottom of the vale, and was hemmed in at the east end to give it the appearance of an extensive wet dock. The ancient city was thus shut up within very narrow limits, and consisted only of the High street and some of the alleys leading from it.

In the reign of Alexander III. the dresses of the higher ranks in France, England, and Scotland, were the same, and so splendid both in England and Scotland, that Matthew Paris [1] alludes to them in terms of reprobation, in his account of the marriage of Alexander III. at York, at which he was present. The Scots appear to have continued the splendour of their dress to the reign of James II., and by such extravagance in dress, Parliament conceiving the nation impoverished, passed the following Act[2] in 1457, regulating the dress of persons according to their station: "That sen the realme in ilk estaite is greatumlie pured throwe sumptuous claithing, baith of men and women, and in special within burrowes and commouns of landwart: The lordes thinkis speidful that restriction be thereof in this manner: that na man within burgh that livis be merchandice, bot gif hee be a person

[1] Matth. Paris, a Wats., pp. 715, 716. [2] James II., parl. 14. cap. 70.

constitute in dignitie, as alderman, baillie, or uther gude worthy men, that ar of the councel of the toune, and their wives, weare claithes of silk, nor costly scarletts in gownes, or furringes with mertrickes. And that they make their wives and dauchters in like manner be abuilzied, gangand and correspondant for their estaite; that is to say, on their heads short curches with little hudes, as ar used in Flanders, England, and uther cuntries. And as to their gowns, that na woman weare metricks nor letteis, nor tailes unfit in length, nor furred under, bot on the halie-days. And in like manner, the barronnes and uther puir gentlemen, and their wives, that ar within fourtie pund of auld extent. And as anent the commounes, that na laborers nor husbandmen weare on the warke daye bot gray and quhite, and on the halie-daye bot light blew, greene, redde, and their wives right swa, and courchies of their awin making, and that it exceed not the price of xl. pennyes the elne. And that na woman cum to kirk, nor mercat, with her face mussalled or covered that sche may not be kend, under the paine of escheit of the courchie. And as to the clerkes, that nane weare gownes of scarlet, nor furring of mertricks, bot gif he be ane person constitute in dignitie, in cathedral or colledge kirk: or else, that he may spende two hundreth markes, or greate nobiles, or doctoures. And this to be now proclaimed, and put to execution, be the first day of Maij, under the paine of escheit of the habite; that is to say, of the clerkes be the ordinar judge, and the lave be the kinges officiares."

It appears that so early as the reign of James II. taverns were so much frequented as to call for the interference of the legislature. It was accordingly enacted,[1] "That na man in burgh be foundin in tavernes of wine, aill, or beir, after the straike of nine houres, and the bell that sall be rung in the said burgh. The quhilkis foundin, the alderman and baillies sall put them in the kingis prison. The quhilk gif they do not, they sall pay for ilk time that they be foundin culpabill, before the chamerlane, fyftie schillinges."

While James II. was besieging the Castle of Roxburgh, a great gun of Flemish manufacture, constructed of longitudinal bars of iron, fixed with iron hoops, which were made tight in a very rude manner by strong oaken wedges, having been overcharged, unfortunately exploded, and struck the king with one of the massy wooden wedges in the body. The blow was followed by instant death, and his remains were removed to Edinburgh, and buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. This fatal event happened on 3rd August, 1460, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign.

James III., only seven years of age, was crowned at Scone, and returned to Edinburgh to remain under charge of his mother till a meeting of the Estates should be held. A few of the nobility that followed the queen thought that the tutelage of the young monarch belonged to her as a matter of right, while Bishop Kennedy, and the Earl of Douglas, who resided in the Abbey of Holyrood, thought that he should be placed under some person

[1] James II., parl. 13, cap. 144.

chosen from among the nobility, and qualified for the task. Parliament being assembled at Edinburgh, the queen on the third day of the meeting with her adherents came down from the Castle and procured the appointment of herself as tutoress to the king, and regent of the kingdom; after which she returned again to the fortress. When Bishop Kennedy was informed of this, he proceeded immediately to the cross, and addressing the multitude, declared, that he and those connected with him desired nothing except the public welfare, whereas their adversaries sought each his private emolument. And when Douglas heard that the queen's party had come down from the Castle armed, he could scarcely be restrained by Kennedy from returning through the next city port, and, unarmed as he was, attacking the soldiers.

Henry VI. of England, after the defeat of his army at Towton, in 1461, fled with his consort and son to Edinburgh, where during their stay they were treated with much kindness by the queen regent, the court and the citizens. Henry for these favours conceded Berwick to the Scots, and granted the citizens of Edinburgh, by his letters patent, liberty to trade to all the English ports on the same terms as his own subjects, the citizens of London; but as this unfortunate prince was never restored to his kingdom, this mark of gratitude was not attended with any ultimate benefit to the city.

The queen regent, Mary of Gueldres, who had founded and endowed Trinity College Church, and Trinity Hospital, and done much to raise the dignity of the town, dying suddenly in the prime of life and beauty, was on 16th March, 1463, interred with great solemnities and funereal rites, in the south side of Trinity College Church. Lindsay of Pitscottie says, "In the zeer of God, 1463 zeirs, Margaret Queine of Scotland, and dochter to the Duik of Gildar, departed at Edinburgh, and was buried in the Trinitie College, quhilk shoe had built hirselff after her husbandis deceas, king James the second."[1]

[1] The North British Railway Co. having acquired the site of Trinity College Church, which stood at the foot of Leith Wynd, its demolition commenced in May, 1848. In searchiug, at the request of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, for the remains of Mary of Gueldres, an oaken coffin was found in a state of extreme decay, containing a female skeleton, supposed to be that of Queen Mary. The coffin was found at a depth of five feet three inches below the floor, and two feet three inches under the original floor of the Church. Her remains were carefully exhumed and placed in a leaden coffin, which was sealed and conveyed in a hearse for temporary custody to the Exchequer Chambers. No ornaments, jewels, or insignia of royalty were discovered on the skeleton or in the course of excavation that might have contributed to a more complete identification of the remains. It was remarked, however, that few of the bones of the fingers were found, from which it was conjectured that the grave might have been opened and robbed at some former period, probably about the time of the Reformation, when occurrences of a similar character are known to have taken place at Holyrood Chapel, and elsewhere. The skull, which lay with the face turned towards the left side, was perfectly entire, and beautifully developed, and the teeth were white and regular. The remains were reinterred on the 15th July, in the Chapel Royal Holyrood, in presence of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, the Society of Antiquaries, and a numerous assemblage of literary and scientific gentlemen, as also a number of ladies. The coffin was conveyed from the Exchequer Chambers in a hearse at half-past seven o'clock,

Christiern, king of Denmark, had towards the close of the last reign claimed the accumulated arrears which he alleged to be due as annual tribute from the king of Scotland and his predecessors for the islands of Shetland and Orkney. The claim was referred to the king of France, who suggested that all disputes might be adjusted by a marriage between Margaret the princess of Denmark and the heir apparent to the Scottish throne. James having now attained his eighteenth year, the negotiations were renewed, and several distinguished persons were sent as commissioners to the Danish court, by whom the treaty was soon concluded. As a marriage-dower to his daughter, Christiern not only cancelled the arrears, but made a permanent cession of the islands of Orkney and Shetland, and to these gifts added 60,000 florins. The commissioners sailed for Scotland, bearing with them the youthful bride, then in her sixteenth year, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments. She was attended by a brilliant train of Danish nobles, and landed at Leith, in July, 1469, amid the rejoicings of her future subjects. She was received by her youthful bridegroom with the utmost gallantry and ardour. Soon after her arrival the marriage ceremony was completed with much pomp, great magnificence and solemnity, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and was succeeded by a variety and splendour in the pageants and entertainments, and a perseverance in the feastings and revelry, which was long afterwards remembered in the city.

Previous to 1477 no particular places having been assigned for holding the different markets in the city, James III. to remedy the evil, granted a charter, minute, and now very curious, and as it illustrates the state of domestic traffic in the city about the middle of the fifteenth century, it is here quoted: "It is by our

A.M., the reinterrment having been requested to be conducted in a private manner by her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests. The outer coffin was covered with purple, and enclosed in a leaden coffin which contained another, within which the remains of the queen were arranged in the same position in which they were found, imbedded in plaster-of-Paris for preservation. The coffin bore the following inscription:

MARY OF GUELDRES,
QUEEN OF JAMES THE SECOND,
KING OF SCOTLAND,
INTERRED IN THE CHURCH OF
HOLY TRINITY, EDINBURGH,
A.D. 1463.
REMOVED FROM THENCE, AND REINTERRED IN
THE CHAPEL ROYAL, HOLYROOD,
15TH JULY, 1848.

The vault in which the royal remains are deposited was the burying-place of James V., Magdalen of France, his first queen, and other monarchs of Scotland. A cast of the head of the queen was taken the day before in presence of the council of the Society of Antiquaries, and other gentlemen.

Subsequently another female skeleton was found under the site of the high altar, at the depth of five feet from the floor, which was lifted and carried to the Exchequer Chambers. This circumstance gave rise to an opinion with some, that these remains were those of Mary of Gueldres, instead of those previously found; but from the precise spot where Mary was interred having been so minutely pointed out by Pitscottie, and other ancient authors, there cannot be a doubt that the skeleton first found was that of Queen Mary.

special charge, statute and ordained by the provost, baillies, and council of our burgh of Edinburgh, for the honour, profit, and honesty of our said burgh, and plenishing of void places within the same, and the markets to be holden in time coming in the same, upon the market-days, fair-days, and other days needful, shall be holden and set on this wise, as after follows. That is to say, in the first place, the market of hay, straw, grass, and horse meat, to be used and holden in the Cowgate, from Forrester's-wynd down to Peblis-wynd; also the fish market from Frere-wynd to the Netherbow, on both sides of our common street; also, the salt market to be holden in Niddry-wynd; also, the crames of chapmen to be set from the Belhouse, down to the Tron, on the north side of our said street; also, the hat-makers and skinners fornent them, on the south side of the same; also, the wood and timber market from Dalrympel's yard to the Greyfriars, and westward; also, the shoe-market, or cordiners, from Forrester's-wynd-end, west to Dalrympel's west-yard dike; also, the red barket leather with them; also, the nolt market of carcases and mutton, about the Tron, and so down through to Frere-wynd; also, all patricks, pluvars, capons, conyngs, chickens, and all other wild fowls and tamed, to be used and sold about the market cross, and in no other place; also, all quick beasts, kye, and oxen, not to be brought into the town, but under the wall, far west at our stable; also, the meal market of all grain and corn from the Tolbooth up to Liberton's Wynd; also, from thence upwards to the *Trevess*, the market of all cotton cloth, white, grey, and all other cloth which is within six quarters, and all lining cloth to be sold there, and in no other place; also, all butter, cheese, wool, and such like goods that should be weighed, to be used at the Overbow, and a Tron set there, and not to be opened till the hour of nine forenoon; also, all Tron work belonging to cutlers, smithys, loreymars, lock-makers, and all such workmen to be used beneath the Netherbow, before and about St. Mary's Wynd; also, all old graith and gear to be used and sold on the Friday market, before the Greyfriars, like as is used in other countries. The which statutes and ordinances and settling of markets as is above written, for the causes foresaid, we ratify and approve by our letters," etc. This charter is dated at Edinburgh, the 3rd October, 1477,[1] and shows us that all goods were sold at this period in open market; it also points out the precise spots in the High street, Grass-market, and Canongate, where the particular markets were held.

James III. involved the kingdom in much tumult and bloodshed by removing the nobles from his councils, and suffering himself and the nation to be implicitly governed by a few minions, chiefly artificers, who had nothing to recommend them but their skill in some of the arts and sciences which he himself understood and cultivated. The nobles considering themselves insulted by his conduct, combined to remove these upstarts. The Duke of Albany, the king's brother, being at the head of the conspiracy, was suddenly seized, and confined to Edinburgh Castle; from which he made his escape by inviting his keepers to a splendid supper,

[1] Cart. in Arch. Edin.

who, after drinking freely, fell asleep: the Duke and his servant having formed a rope of the sheets of their beds, the servant was first let down, but the rope proving too short, he fell and broke his thigh bone; the Duke lengthened it, and descended, and taking the servant on his back, carried him to the Forth, where a vessel was waiting to carry them to England. The Duke having concluded a treaty with Edward IV. to hold the crown of Scotland under him as superior of the realm, obtained the assistance of a powerful English army to invade Scotland. James, afraid of this formidable invasion, was obliged to solicit the aid of those nobles whom he had so long treated with scorn; and they, exasperated by injustice, repaired to his standard, but it was with a resolution to revenge their own wrongs instead of his. While encamped at Lauder, several of the chief nobility rushed into the king's apartment, in which he sat surrounded with his favourites, dragged them out in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of their sovereign, and without form of trial hanged seven of them over a bridge at Lauder. These proceedings so intimidated James, that he retired with a few attendants for safety to the Castle of Edinburgh, and his nobles having assumed the government, confined him to it. Edward IV. on some pretence regarding the fulfilment of treaties, dispatched an army into Scotland under the duke of Gloucester, (afterwards Richard III.) who along with Albany wasted the Merse and Lothians, and threatened Edinburgh with destruction. On the entreaty of Albany, the town was however spared, and the intruder was content to receive such presents as the merchants were able to offer him, while the English Garter-king-at-arms ascended the platform of the cross, and summoned the king of Scotland to perform all that he had promised to Edward, particularly to pardon Albany and to repay Edward certain sums, which had been advanced to the Scottish monarch in consideration of a proposed marriage between the daughter of the former, and the duke of Rothesay, James' eldest son. To do away with all cause of further molestation on the part of Edward, the citizens of Edinburgh agreed to repay him those sums; a circumstance which evinced both their wealth and their patriotism, and redounded greatly to the honour of the city. The Duke of Albany on his return to Scotland, not finding himself so respected by the conspirators, his associates, as he conceived his birth and merits deserved, did not venture to unfold to them the design he had of seizing the crown, but returned to his allegiance, and resolved to effectuate his brother's delivery from the Castle, where he had been nine months confined. With that view, he made an appointment to meet some of his friends in the city, and they having been joined by the provost and a great number of citizens who still adhered to the royal cause, suddenly assaulted the Castle, took it by surprise, and restored the king to liberty. The two brothers mutually embraced, and then rode together to the Palace of Holyrood amid the tumultuous joy of a deluded people; and James, in gratitude for the part the citizens had taken, granted in favour of the provost, town council, and community, two charters, dated the 6th November, 1482, by which he conferred on the

citizens many valuable privileges. The provost was made hereditary sheriff within the city, and the city received the fines and escheats arising from the office; the town council was empowered to make by-laws and statutes for its good government, and the citizens were not only freed from payment of duties on many necessary commodities, but a grant was given them to take custom on certain merchandise imported and exported at the port of Leith; and the incorporated trades, as a mark of gratitude for their royalty, were presented with a banner or standard, which from its colour, received the name of the *blue blanket*. This banner is still in existence, and is kept by the convener of the trades for the time being; and when it is displayed, tradition says that not only the whole artificers of the city, but also those of the whole kingdom are bound to follow it, and fight under the convener, in defence of their own rights, and those of the king and country. A ridiculous legend reports that it was once used in the Crusades, and planted on the walls of Jerusalem by the trades of Edinburgh.

The only *reddendum* required of the council for these ample privileges, was the annual celebration of a *funeral mass* in St. Giles' Church for the king's soul, and those of his progenitors and successors.

Before the close of the year, Albany, who had been constituted Lieutenant-General of Scotland, again intrigued against the king, who by retiring into the Castle and rousing the citizens, disappointed his treasonable plots.

Edinburgh at this period, from the prompt performance of all its stipulations with England, must have been a town of no small consideration. Among other sources of revenue, the following is given by Maitland.[1] Its petty customs let for £1 10s. 0½d. The petty customs and haven silver at Leith, for £6 2s. 3d. The wild aventors for £66 6s. 4d. the common mills for £26 13s. 4d., sterling. Eight shops under the north side of the old Tolbooth, which stood in the High street, near St. Giles' Church, let at 6s. 8d. each, annually; of five shops, under the southern side of the Tolbooth, one was rented at 8s. 4d., three at 4s 2d , and one at 3s 4d.; of four shops above the Luckinbooth stairs, one let at 7s. 6d., another at 4s. 2d., the third at 2s. 6d., and the fourth at 1s. 8d. Six shops in the same place belonging to the skinners, let at so low a price as 2s. 6d. each, annually. These items are worthy of notice, as pointing out some valuable statistical facts.

The first mention that can be traced of Leith, is in the charter of foundation of the Abbey of Holyrood, before referred to, wherein it is mentioned under the name of Innerleith, but nothing of its history is known till 1329, when on 8th May, that year, Robert I. by charter granted to the magistrates of Edinburgh, "the harbour and mills of Leith, with their appurtenances, for the payment of fifty two marks Scotch, yearly." This charter is the oldest in the archives of Edinburgh. At this time it was a dependency of the family of Logan of Restalrig, who contested the right of the town council to use the grounds adjacent to the harbour,

[1] Maitland, b. 1, p. 10; Coun. Reg., v. 1, f. 31.

and compelled them in 1398 to purchase the waste ground extending from the houses to the river, to be converted into wharfs or quays, with a right to make ways or roads[1] through the lands of Restalrig, for conveying goods and merchandise to and from the port of Leith, and a liberty to erect granaries for the reception of corn.

The citizens being sensible of the advantages which had accrued to them by getting Leith harbour into their possession, purchased from Logan for a large consideration the exclusive privilege of carrying on every species of traffic therein, and of keeping warehouses and inns for the reception and entertainment of strangers. Not satisfied with this measure, the town council, with an illiberal policy, in the year 1485 ordained that no merchant of Edinburgh should presume to take into partnership an inhabitant of Leith, under the penalty of forty shillings Scottish "*to the Church work*," and a deprivation of the freedom of the city for one year. The council farther ordained that none of the town's revenues should be let to an inhabitant of Leith, nor that any of the farmers of such revenues should take one of them as a partner in any contract relative to the same, under said penalties.[2] It was also enacted that no staple goods should be deposited in warehouses in Leith, under a severe penalty. Such illiberal acts were vile embargoes on the freedom of trade and on the industry of the people, but which were very common in Scotland in former times, and even now are not altogether removed.

James III. in Feb., 1488, deposited his treasures and valuable effects in the Castle of Edinburgh, and supplied it with ordnance and provisions to sustain a siege. The ordnance we are informed consisted of two great *curtaldis*, which had been sent from France, ten falcons, thirty cast-iron guns, and sixteen carts of powder and stone bullets. Being hard pressed by a powerful band of conspirators, James left the city and was assassinated near Stirling, about the close of the same year, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-eighth of his reign.

[1] The road formed in virtue of this purchase still exists under the name of the Easter Road, and leads from the head of Leith Links to the foot of Canongate.

[2] Coun. Reg., v. 1, f. 19, 20.

CHAPTER III.

FROM A.D. 1488, TO A.D. 1542.

1488, James IV. ascends the throne—1489, The City, Castle, and County, under the control of Bothwell—The king renders the city a scene of gay revelry—1497, "Grandgore"—1500, Masons' wages—1503, The daughter of Henry VII. arrives at Dalkeith—Is met by king James—Her entry into the city—Her marriage—Celebration of—Her dower, dowry and private purse—Price of bread and ales—1508, The High street reduced fifteen feet in width—1511, Newhaven purchased by the town council—1512, Provincial synod held in the city—1513, Battle of Flodden—James V. killed—Measures adopted to defend the city—Origin of the town guard—1513, 14, The plague—City wall extended—Ports leading out of the city—James V. ascends the throne—The queen-mother, regent—Deposed—1515, Albany chosen protector and governor of the nation—The queen-mother refuses to deliver up the young king—She takes refuge in Stirling Castle—Returns to Edinburgh Castle—It is converted into a State Prison—1520, The city infested with a lawless armed force—Scourged by the plague—Honours conferred on the provost—Prices of wines and ales—Disputes among the nobles—Skirmishes in the city—Albany goes to France—James V. declared of age—Nominally invested with the government—The earl of Angus invades the city—Is fired upon from the Castle—Retreats—The Castle besieged by a number of the nobles—Surrenders—They obtain the king's person—James meets his Parliament—Angus dictates to the whole kingdom—1526, Great power of the Douglas family—1530, Cannons cast for the Castle.—1532, The College of Justice instituted—The citizens offer to raise 200 soldiers for the king—The High street paved—1537, The king goes to France—Is married—He and his queen land at Leith—The queen dies—Mournings first introduced—1538, Lady Glamis burnt on the Castle Hill—Her husband killed—1539, James V. marries Mary of Guise—1542, He dies—Is buried in the Chapel of Holyrood.

James IV. ascended the throne on 11th June, 1488, vacant by the murder of his father, at the age of fifteen, and the same year held his first Parliament in Edinburgh, amid the guilty triumphs of a rebellious faction. Although the name and title of king was borne by James, he did not govern, but was himself governed by the murderers of his father, who, while they violated all law, human and divine, styled themselves protectors of order, and liberators of the country. Early in the following year, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, held under his control the Castle, City, and County.

As James advanced in years, he often rendered Edinburgh a busy scene by the great delight he took in gay revelry and splendid tournaments, to which were invited the knights of every country. Pitscottie says, "the fame whereof caused many errant knights to come out of strange countries to Scotland, because they heard of the knightly games of the king, his noblemen, and gentlemen." These tournaments generally took place on the ground

south of the Castle, near the king's stables, or on a piece of ground granted to the citizens in 1456 by James I. on the east side of the road leading to Leith, at the north base of the Castle Hill, on which some iron and brass foundries are now erected. These localities there can be no doubt, were chosen on account of the accommodation afforded to spectators by the adjacent rising ground.

Shortly after the discovery of America, a dangerous and loathsome foreign distemper, or, as it was then termed, "the Grandgore," made its way to Edinburgh, and was looked upon as a most dreadful plague. To prevent the bad consequences that were anticipated from its supposed contagious nature, the privy council sent a letter in 1497 to the magistrates of Edinburgh, commanding "that all maner of personis being within the fredome of this burgh, quhilk are infectit, or has been infectit and incurit of this said contagious plage callit the *Grandgore*, devoyd, red, and pass furth of this toun, and compair upoun the sandis of Leith, at ten houris before none, and thair sall have and fynd botis reddie in the Havin ordainit to thame be the officaris of this burgh, reddelie furneist with victualls to have thame to the Inch, and thair to remane quhilk God provyde for thair health; and that all uther personis the quhilk taks upoun thame to hale the said contagious infirmitie and taks the cure thairof, that they devoyd and pass with thame, sua that nane of thair personis quhilk taks the cure upon thame, use the samyn cure within this burgh, in presence or in peirt ony maner of way; and quha so be is fundin infectit, and not passand to the Inche as said is, be Mononday at the sone ganging to, and in lykwayis the personis that have the said cure of sanitie upoun thame, give thay will use the samyn, thay and ilk of thame sall be brynt on the cheike with the marking irne, that they may be kennit in tyme to cum; and thairefter, give ony of tham remains, thay sall be banist but favour.[1] In this way the Island of Inchkeith in the Frith of Forth was converted into a Lazar-house for the reception of those affected, till cured.

In 1500 the town council having resolved to rebuild the steeple of the old Tolbooth, agreed to pay John Marcer, master-mason, ten shillings Scots, (ten pence sterling,) and each journeyman nine shillings Scots, (ninepence sterling,) weekly.[2]

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 1, f. 33.

[2] Coun. Reg. v. 1, p. 36. This may form a criterion as to artisans' wages generally at this period. During the reign of Alexander III. who ascended the throne in 1249, the keeper of his warren at Crail received for meat and wages during one year, 16s. 8d., but this having been deemed too much, it is added in the Chamberlain's rolls, that for the coming year he is to have his option to take either a merk, (13s. 4d.,) or a chaldron of meal.[1] His gardener at Forfar had £3 6s. 8d. of yearly wages, but his gardener at Menmouth had only 13s. 4d.[2] His cook had £3 6s. 8d.[3] In 1326, two workmen received a fraction more than sixpence per day each, for carrying lime from Thorall to Tarbet.[4] John the carpenter had threepence a day with his meat, which was each month a boll of oat meal and a cordra of cheese, the boll being reckoned at 2s., and the

[1] Chamberlain's accounts. Excerpa ex Rotuli, Temp. Alex. III., p. 7. [2] Ibid. p. 13.
[3] Ibid. p. 1. [4] Compotum Constab. de Tarbet, v. 1, p. 3.

Henry VII. of England, with a view of establishing perpetual amity between the two kingdoms, offered Margaret, his eldest daughter, to James IV. in marriage. Henry's offer being accepted, it was agreed that the marriage should be solemnized when the young princess attained her fourteenth year. Having in 1503 attained that age, and all preparatory arrangements being concluded, she set out on her journey for Scotland under the protection of the Earl of Surrey, surrounded by a splendid retinue. When the cavalcade reached Dalkeith, she was met at Newbattle by James, with all the ardour of a youthful lover. After spending some joyous days in Dalkeith, the princess proceeded to Edinburgh, and was met on the road by James, mounted on a bay horse with gold trappings, he and his nobles riding at full gallop. A chivalrous but somewhat singular exhibition now took place; a knight appeared on horseback attended by a beautiful lady, holding his bridle and carrying his hunting horn; he was assaulted by Sir Patrick Hamilton, who seized the damsel, and a mimic conflict took place, which concluded by the king throwing down his gage, and calling *Peace!* On arriving at the suburbs, the princess descended from her "richly edorned litere," and, mounted upon a pillion behind the royal bridegroom, and attended by a vast concourse of persons on horseback, proceeded through the town, which was hung in many places with tapestry, with "the houses and wyndowes full of lordes, laydes, gentylewomen, and gentylemen, and in the streyts war sae grett multitudes of people without number that it was a fayre thing to se. The which war verey glad of the comying of the said quene; and in the churches of the sayd towne, bells rung for myrthe. Then the noble company passed out of the said towne to the churche of Holycrosse; out of which cam the archbishop of Saunt Andrew, brother to the king, his crosse borne before hym, accompanyed with many bishops and abbots in their pontificals. And in the enterying of the churche the kynge and quene light down, and after led her to the grett auter, wher was a place ordained for them to kneel upon two cushyans of cloth of gold. But the kynge wolde never kneel down first, but both togeder. After all reverences doon at the churche, the kynge transported himself to the pallais[1] through the clostre, holdynge allwayes the quene by the body, and hys hed bare, tyll he brought her within her chamber."[2] On the

cordra of cheese 7d.[5] Nigal the smith had £12, and Nicolas the mason, £6 13s. 4d., of yearly wages.[6] The apothecary of Robert I. had £18 of salary, and 26s. 8d. to purchase his robe.[7] In 1364, James Hall, the physician of David II. received only £6 13s. 4d., of salary.[8] In 1530, a cow-herd had of yearly wages 11½d., a shirt, and a pair of shoes.[9] The above all sterling money.

[5] Compotum Constab. de Tarbet. v. 5, p. 5. [6] Ibid. p. 5. [7] Chamberlain's accounts, p. 99. [8] Ibid, p. 539. [9] Knox's Hist. p. 14.

[1] The erection of a royal palace at Holyrood did not take place till the succeeding reign; however, for many years previous, the appellation of *palace* was by no means uncommon as applied to the royal residence within the abbey, as that religious establishment had in course of years become, in peaceful times, the regular residence of the royal family when at the capital.

[2] Young, (the historian of the ceremonies, who accompanied the queen,) Pink. Hist. of Scotland, v. ii, p. 428.

eighth of August the marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of St. Andrews in the abbey church of Holyrood, and celebrated with gorgeous parade and pomp. For several days all business in the city, and generally throughout the kingdom, was suspended, and the whole nation seemed to be assembled to witness, or to join in the gay revelry of the palace. Feastings, tilts, tournaments, masques, morris-dances, banquets, and dramatic entertainments, occupied days and nights of revelry. Amid the tournaments the king appeared in the character of a savage knight, surrounded by men dressed in goat-skins, and by his uncommon skill in martial exercises, carried off the prize from all who competed with him. This auspicious event laid the foundation of that union between England and Scotland which was evidently intended by nature.

The dower of the queen was 31,000 golden nobles, (a gold coin, value 6s. 8d.) or £10,333 6s. 8d. sterling, to be paid in three instalments. The queen's dowry was fixed at £2000 sterling, per annum, and her private purse was £83 6s. 8d. sterling, to be paid in equal sums at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas.

The town council of Edinburgh occasionally assumed the privilege of regulating the price of bread and other provisions sold within the city. Accordingly in the above year they ordered the penny loaf (one twelfth of a penny sterling) of wheaten bread to weigh one pound, and the penny cake one pound eight ounces; they also ordered ale to be sold at sixteen pence (one penny and four twelfths sterling) per gallon, Scottish money, weight, and measure.[1]

At one period Scotland was covered with immense forests, and notwithstanding that Edward III. had done much to diminish their extent, and that subsequently many districts were cleared and brought into cultivation, yet the face of the country presented a very different appearance at this period to what it does now, as immense forests, chiefly of oak, then existed, which, together with the deer and other animals of the chase, with which they abounded, formed the principal wealth of their proprietors. The Lothians had been greatly cleared of these forests, but the ground to the southward of Edinburgh, called the Borough-Moor or Myre, was still densely covered with trees. The king having, in 1508, empowered the town council to let the grounds of Borough-Moor, the citizens were no sooner in possession of this grant than they set about clearing the Moor by cutting the trees. It would appear that so much wood was cut down that purchasers could not be found.

[1] In 1124 a gallon of beer sold at 1½d.[1] In 1263 a chaldron of oat meal, 14 bolls being computed to the chaldron, sold for 20s.,[2] or 1s. 5⅐d. per boll, or a fraction less than three farthings per peck. In 1288 a chaldon of barley sold at 3s. 4d.,[3] and a chaldron of wheat at 13s. 4d.[4] In 1290, a chaldron of barley sold at 4s. and a chaldron of rye at 3s. 4d.[5] In 1329, a boll of meal sold for 4s. 6½d., of barley 6s. 10d., of oats 2s. 7½d., of white peas 6s. 8d.[6] In 1424, a boll of wheat cost 4s. 10½d., a boll of rye, barley, or peas, 2s. 1½d., a boll of oats 9½d.[7] In 1495, the best wheat per boll was 2s. 10½d., a secondary quality 2s. 6¾d.[8]

[1] Reg. Mag., b. iv, c. 16. [2] Chamberlain's accounts, p. 9. [3] Ibid, p. 66. [4] Ibid, Rotuli Compot. Temp. Regis. Alex. III. p. 69. [5] Ibid, Compotum Constab. de Tarbet, v. i, p. 2. [6] Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland, published by John Davidson, Esq. from the originals in the Exchequer. [7] Pref. Anderson's Dep. Scot. p. 82. [8] Coun. Reg. v. i, p. 36.

The town council were therefore induced to enact, that whosoever of the citizens should purchase as much wood as was sufficient to make a new front to their house, might extend it seven feet farther to the street. The effect of this ridiculous enactment was such, that in a short time Edinburgh was filled with houses of wood, instead of stone, and the High street, the principal street of the city, the beauty of which consisted in the height of its buildings and its spacious width, was reduced fourteen feet in breadth. After this unlucky enactment, the ground floors of the houses in the city were generally of stone, and the upper stories of wood, having piazzas below, within which merchandise was exposed. The gates with which most of the closes were shut up, were seven feet within the mouth of the close; though these gates do not now exist, the gateways and the hooks for the hinges in many of them still remain. An outer stair led up to a gallery in the second story in the wooden houses, or a door in those of stone, and a spiral stair ascended within the remaining floors. Some of these wooden houses still exist in the lower part of the High street, and Canongate, but the piazzas have been enclosed and converted into shops, and none of the outside stairs now remain.

Although at an early period we read of Scottish ships of war, yet it is probable that these vessels were not the property of the king, but merchant ships of Scottish and foreign traders, fitted up as ships of war, and, like mercenary troops, prepared to assist whatever country chose to pay the highest price for their service. During the reign of James IV. there does not appear to have been a regular permanent naval force of any consequence maintained in Scotland, but that prince applied himself with great assiduity to ship building, in which he expended such large sums of money as contributed greatly to embarrass his finances, and he neglected no method of encouragement to render his navy both respectable and powerful. He constructed many vessels of very large dimensions, particularly "ane varie monstrous great schip, called the Michail." This vessel was built at Leith, or Newhaven. According to Pitscottie, she was two hundred and forty feet long, and thirty-six within the sides, which were ten feet thick. In building her, all the oak of Fife, except Falkland, was expended, besides what was brought from Norway; and upwards of a year was employed by Scottish and foreign carpenters in her construction, although the king in person anxiously urged on the work; her guns were only thirty-two in number, but she had an immense number of small arms, cross-bows, serpents, falcons, hagbuts, etc. Her complement of men was about one thousand, including three hundred seamen, and one hundred and twenty gunners. This vessel, which appears to have been a favourite work of the king's, and which far exceeded in size, cost, and equipment, any ship that had ever been seen on the ocean, was placed under the command of Andrew Wood, of Leith, a seaman who is eminent in the Scottish annals for his intrepidity and services to the State. The king finding the water to be deeper at Newhaven than on any other part of the coast, erected a dock there for

ship-building, and a harbour for the reception of vessels, and hence it was named *The New Haven.* Houses having been built to accommodate the workmen and mariners, a chapel was erected, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. James. But the former giving way to the latter, it went by the appellation of 'St. James' chapel,' as appears by a deed of resignation of it into the hands of James IV. by Sir James Cowie, on 8th May, 1508. From this religious fabric the little haven for some time went under the name of *'Our Lady's Port of Grace.'* The town council of Edinburgh, apprehensive of the rising consequences of this port, and lest it should prove prejudicial to their favourite port of Leith, purchased from the king the town and harbour, with all their rights and privileges, in 1511, which are still retained by the citizens.

In 1512 a Provincial Synod was held in the chapel of the monastery of Blackfriars, by Cardinal Bagiment, the Pope's nuncio, to which he summoned all beneficed clergy in Scotland to appear, who were required to bring with them, on oath, the yearly amount of their respective benefices, of which he made a standing rental called *Bagiment's Roll.* This roll became afterwards a standard for taxing the Scottish ecclesiastics at the court of Rome, when they applied to the Pope for church preferments.

James IV. principally resided in Edinburgh, and from his familiarity with the citizens, was much esteemed by them. Being exasperated at the English for taking some Scottish ships, and from other circumstances, which his high spirit interpreted into a national affront, as also instigated by the French ambassador who resided in Edinburgh, James determined on a war with the English nation, much against the opinion of his chief and best counsellors; but the attachment of his nobles was so great towards him, that they all appeared, each with their numerous dependents, under the banner of their sovereign, which he displayed at the *Hare Stone*[1] in the Borough-Moor, near Edinburgh, where he mustered a noble army, admirably equipped, and furnished with a train of artillery. Previous to marching for England, he was joined by a considerable number of the citizens of Edinburgh, headed by the Earl of Angus, provost of the city, and the magistrates. It is supposed that nearly 100,000 men mustered on the Moor, but of these a great number were waggoners, sutlers, servants, and camp followers. This numerous army began its march on 19th August, 1513, and in the county of Northumberland they were met by the Earl of Surrey, in the field of Flodden. The imprudent heroism of the king, in quitting a most advantageous post upon an eminence, to attack the English, who were marshalled upon the plain, was the cause of a total and miserable defeat of the Scottish army, five thousand of whom were left dead upon the field. James fought on foot, at the head of his division,

[1] This stone may still be seen built into the wall on the left hand of the high road to Borough-Moor-head, not far from Bruntsfield Links. This remnant of antiquity has acquired an additional interest since the publication of 'Marmion' by Sir Walter Scott.

and fell, amid heaps of slain, pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded in the head by a ball. Twelve earls, and about fifty gentlemen of rank, fell with the king, together with the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and a number of dignified clergy. This fatal battle was fought on 9th September. Some of the magistrates, and a great number of the citizens of Edinburgh, were also among the slain. There were few families of note in Scotland who did not lose some relation, while many houses had to weep the death of numbers. A confused rumour of the event of the engagement having reached Edinburgh on the following day, the citizens were at first thrown into great consternation and confusion, but soon thereafter displayed a firmness and energy which has seldom been exceeded. George of Tours, who had been appointed to officiate for the provost, and four other persons for the magistrates, issued the following proclamation, which was well adapted to restore order and resolution. "Forasmuch as there is a great rumour newly arisen within the city, touching our sovereign lord and his army, of which there is hitherto no certainty, we strictly command, that all manner of persons, townsmen within the city, make ready their arms of defence and weapons of war, and that they appear marshalled therewith, at the tolling of the common bell, for holding out and defending the city against all who may seek to invade the same. And we also charge and require that all women do repair to their work, and be not seen upon the streets, clamouring and crying, under pain of banishment; and that the women of better sort do repair to the church, and there offer up their prayers to God for the safety of our sovereign and his army."[1] Lest the city should be attacked by the English, orders were issued by the town council that every fourth man should keep watch at night, and that £500 Scots be raised to purchase artillery and repair the fortifications of the city, and all persons having gardens were strictly enjoined to fortify them with walls. When the alarm occasioned by the above defeat had somewhat subsided, the town council, to relieve the inhabitants from watching, ordered twenty-four men to be raised and maintained as a constant guard to the town; these were long afterwards known by the name of *the Town Guard.*

In the general consternation which succeeded the defeat of the battle of Flodden, a dreadful plague raged within the city with much violence and carried off great numbers. The town council, to prevent its progress, ordered all shops to be shut up during the space of fifteen days, and neither doors nor windows to be opened within that time, but on extraordinary occasions, and nothing to be dealt in but necessaries for the immediate support of life. They also forbade all vagrants from walking the streets after nine o'clock in the evening without a light; and they found it necessary to order several houses where infected persons had died to be pulled down.[2]

The extent of the city within the walls, was still the same as in the middle of the fifteenth century. It consisted only of the

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 1, f. 4, 5. A similar proclamation was issued by the Roman Senate, after the battle of Cannæ. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 1, f. 4.

High street, from the head of the Castle Hill to the bottom of the Netherbow, with a few short alleys on each side, but the inhabitants had greatly increased, from the houses having been built much higher since that period.

Previous to the battle of Flodden, the respectable and wealthy inhabitants had become extremely fond of erecting houses or villas in the suburbs of the city. The Cowgate when first built was without the city wall, and a writer of the sixteenth century states that the nobility and persons of the first distinction then resided in it; but after the battle of Flodden, those having houses without the wall became extremely anxious to have the wall extended, so as to enclose them, that they might be protected from the incursions of the English.

The wall was in 1513–14 accordingly extended, which affected chiefly the southern district and inclosed the Grassmarket, Cowgate, and probably a number of other adjacent houses and closes leading from the ports or gates in the wall to that district. This new wall was built close to the Castle, upon the south-east side of the rock; thence it descended obliquely till it came to the Westport, and was there intersected by the gate which went under that name; from thence it ascended part of the hill called the *High-riggs*, and turning eastward, run along the north side of the gardens of Heriot's Hospital, and crossing the north avenue leading to that Hospital, passed through the Greyfriars' church-yard to Bristo street; from thence it ran east, till it was intersected by the Potterrow, leaving openings for gates called Bristo-port and Potterrow-port; thence, after running south for a few yards, turned abruptly and took its course on the south side of the College, and the north side of the present Drummond street, till it reached the Pleasance;[1] it then took a northern direction, and after being intersected by the Cowgate-port, and St. Mary-wynd-port, the enclosure of the city was completed by the buildings on the south side of St. Mary-wynd, till they joined where the Netherbow-port originally stood at the head of the Canongate. A wall was also built round the Canongate, which was on the east side perforated with a gate still called the Water-gate. The town at this time was nearly half a mile in each direction, exclusive of the Canongate.

In the original wall there was, as has been already observed, a port on the Castle Hill. On the extension of the wall, this gate was pulled down; but that on the upper or West-bow stood for a much longer time. It is uncertain if there were more outlets in the old wall except the Netherbow-port, which was the principal entrance to the city; it stood originally about fifty yards west of the present termination of the High street, and at the head of the Canongate; but gave place in 1571 to another on the line of St. Mary-wynd, which was built by the adherents of Queen Mary. This gate was in 1606 demolished, and a very handsome one of two stories, with an elegant spire in the centre, erected on its site, which was, pursuant to a decree of Parliament, pulled down in 1764. The ports or gates of the new wall were, the

[1] Part of this wall, where it stretches along the north side of Drummond street and the west of the north end of Pleasance, still exist.

West-port, situated at the extremity of the Grassmarket, beyond which there lies a burgh of regality, called *Portsburgh*. Next to this was a wicket, struck out of the wall in 1744 for the purpose of making an easier communication between the town and the public walks in the meadows than by Bristo-port. The next to this was *Bristo-port;* it originally went under the name of *Greyfriars-port*, from its vicinity to the monastery of Greyfriars. At the erection of the society of brewers it went under the name of *Society-port*, and at last received its present title from the suburbs lying beyond it of that name. At a small distance from Bristo-port was the Potterrow-port, which took this name from a factory of earthenware in the neighbourhood. Formerly it was called *Kirk-of-Field-port*, from a church of that name having at one time stood near it; the next was *St. Mary-wynd-port*, which extended from east to west across the foot path of the Pleasance, and which was only demolished about the middle of the last century. Close to this stood the *Cowgate-port;* which opened a communication between the Cowgate and St. Mary-wynd and the Pleasance; the next was the *Netherbow-port* before described. There was another gate at the foot of Leith-wynd, named *Leith-wynd-port;* and within it was a wicket giving access to the Church of Trinity College. At the foot of Halkerston's-wynd was another, which, with the former as well as the wall itself, were built about the year 1561. The whole of these ports were pulled down previous to the year 1785.

James V., only an infant of eighteen months old, succeeded to the throne in 1513, and was crowned amid the tears instead of the rejoicings of the people. From respect to the memory of the late king, the queen-mother was, in terms of his will, chosen regent; but having thereafter married the Earl of Angus, her regency was also in terms of that will at an end. The Duke of Albany, to whom the nation now looked for stability to the fragile and shattered government, was in an assembly of the nobles invited from France to assume the reins of government. When Albany arrived at Edinburgh in 1515, he was received with unwonted magnificence and processional demonstrations. In same year, a Parliament which assembled in the city appointed him Protector and Governor of Scotland during the minority of the infant king. But Albany, though residing at Holyrood Palace and wielding all the power of royalty, thought himself insecure unless he should obtain the command of the persons of the young king and his brother, with whom their mother had retired to the Castle. Three peers, who had been nominated by Parliament, proceeded to the Castle to remove them from under her charge; when the gates of the fortress were thrown open for their admission, the people rent the air with their acclamations, on seeing their royal mistress, standing at the entrance, with the king at her side, his hand locked in hers, and a nurse behind, holding his infant brother Alexander in her arms, the Earl of Angus and the domestics standing around. The sight was imposing, when with an air of dignity, and a voice whose full tones could distinctly be heard by all, she bade them stand and declare their

errand. On answering that they came in the name of the Parliament to receive from her their sovereign and his brother, her majesty commanded the warder to drop the portcullis, and that massive iron barrier having instantly descended between her and the astonished delegates, she thus addressed them: "I hold this Castle by gift of my husband your sovereign, who also intrusted to me the keeping and government of my children, nor shall I yield them to any person whatever; but I respect the Parliament, and require a respite of six days to consider their mandate." The forcible measures adopted by the regent first drove the queen to take flight with the young princes to Stirling Castle, and then compelled her to yield it up, and return to the Castle of Edinburgh, which was thereafter converted into a State-prison for the infant monarch and his brother.

In 1520, while Albany was absent in France, the city lay prostrate beneath the ascendancy of lawless violence, maintained with the aid of an armed force from the borders, and it was at same time scourged by the plague, which committed great devastations. The persons infected were ordered by the town council to be removed to the houses and barns in the Borough-Moor; but the council supposing that it was in consequence of so many infected persons having been removed there that the plague still continued, enacted, That the proprietors of said houses and barns should, within the space of twenty days after the approaching feast of Easter, take the roofs off these houses and barns, and within twenty days thereafter, demolish their walls, with intimation, in case of failure, that they would be pulled down by the citizens. James V., to avoid the contagion, was removed from the Castle of Edinburgh to Dalkeith, or Craigmillar.[1]

The town council, in consideration of the great trouble Robert Logan of Coatfield, the provost of the city, had had on account of the war and plague, paid him in addition to his usual salary, one hundred merks Scots, and ordered four servants armed with halberts to attend him in his official capacity for the space of one year, and bound themselves by oath that the like should not be done in time coming, but on extraordinary emergencies.[2] This is supposed to be the first time halberts were carried before civic processions.

The town council of Edinburgh, as before stated, sometimes took upon them to regulate the price of provisions within the city; they also appear to have assumed the privilege of fixing the price of wines and beer; for in this year they ordered French wine, both red and white, to be sold at sixpence Scots, (one half-penny sterling) the pint, under the penalty of having the head of the cask beat out; and ale to be sold at twenty-pence Scots, (one penny and eight-twelfths of a penny, sterling) the gallon, Scots measure.[3]

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 5, f. 12. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 5. f. 14.

[3] In 1124, a gallon of wine, Scottish measure, sold for sixpence.[1] In 1295, a gallon was sold for one shilling.[2] In 1329, a cask of wine cost £5 14s. 10¾d., a better quality, £9 10s. 5¾., a superior quality, £18 8s. 6d.[3]

[1] Pref. to Anderson's Dep. Scot. p. 82. [2] Reg. Mag. b. 4, c. 16. [3] Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland, published by John Davidson, Esq., from the originals in the Exchequer.

During the minority of James V. the city became the scene of frequent tumults and copious bloodshed, from contentions among the nobles, and from strifes for superiority in the magistracy, and none were more turbulent than the Earls of Arran and Angus. The former was much displeased at the influence gained by the latter from his marriage with the queen-dowager; he, however, confidently looked to be re-elected; but, on repairing from Dalkeith, where the court was then held, to the city, he found the gates shut against him, and Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, installed in the civic chair. The partizans of Arran attempted to force their entrance by the Nether-bow gate, but were repulsed with bloodshed, and Gawin, a carpenter, the friend of Angus, and the principal leader of the tumult, was slain by James Hamilton. Such excesses constantly occurring, both in the capital and country, a Parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th April, for the healing of these disturbances. The city had been partially abandoned by the partizans of Angus, who retained as a body guard 400 spearmen. The Duke of Albany, the regent, directed that, for the public peace, no person of the name of Hamilton or Douglas should be chosen provost. Archibald Douglas had therefore resigned that dignity, and Robert Logan, of Coatfield, had been elected in his place. Arran and his friends the Hamiltons, along with Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, deemed the opportunity favourable to reduce the overgrown power of Angus. A meeting of the principal leaders was held in the church of the Blackfriars, and Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, appeared as a peace maker. Addressing himself to Beaton the primate, who wore a coat of mail under his linen rocquet, he remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus, and so warmly urged his entreaty, that Beaton suddenly striking his hand on his breast, declared on his conscience that they had no hostile intentions. "Alas, my lord," said Douglas, as the steel plates of Beaton's armour rung to the blow, "I perceive your conscience clatters." The spirited appeal of Douglas, however, had nearly succeeded, and Sir Patrick Hamilton had agreed to become umpire, when Hamilton of Finnret, a man distinguished for his ferocity, upbraided him with cowardice in declining the contest, and pointed to the spearmen of Angus, who, being joined by a band of borderers under Hume of Wedderburn, had arrayed themselves in a formidable phalanx upon the causeway. It was a reproach which the proud spirit of Hamilton could not bear. "Bastard *Smaik!*" said he, "I will fight this day where thou darest not be seen!" upon which he rushed into the street, followed by a few of his retainers, and threw themselves, sword in hand, upon the ranks of the spearmen, while Angus pressed forward, slew him on the spot, and fiercely assaulted his followers, most of whom fell, pierced by the long pikes of the borderers. All forbearance was now at an end, the conflict became general, upwards of 250 men were slain, the remainder escaped through the North Loch, and Douglas remained master of the city. Beaton being compelled to fly for safety, took shelter behind the high altar of the Blackfriars' church, from which he was drawn by the

ferocity of the soldiers, "his racket riven off him," and had it not been for the intercession of his rival prelate, Gavin Douglas, who said "it was a shame to put hands one ane consecrat bishop," he would have been slain on the spot. This bloody conflict which happened on 30th April, 1520, was long thereafter distinguished in popular history by the odd name of '*Clean the Causeway.*'

Such occurrences were by no means rare in these distracted times, and we find that in 1515 there was an encounter on the streets with similar results, between the partizans of the Earls of Huntley and Murray; and in 1520 Lords Rothes and Lindsay, with their followers, having accidentally met in the High street, attacked each other, and could not be separated until they were both made prisoners; when the one party was committed to Dunbar Castle, and the other to that of Dumbarton.

Albany, who had paid France occasional visits during his regency, took his final departure for that country on 20th May, 1525, leaving the Scottish government and the police of the capital in a state of complete anarchy and confusion. The queen-mother, no longer controlled by the presence of Albany, determined to place her son, who had now attained his thirteenth year, on the throne. Having gained to her interest the peers, to whom his person had been entrusted, she suddenly left the palace of Stirling, accompanied by her son, with a small retinue, and proceeded to Edinburgh, which she entered amid the joyful acclamations of the populace. On the 29th July, an assembly of the nobles being convened, James V. was declared of age; and next day all his nobles and those in official situations renewed their oaths of allegiance. Proclamations were also issued in his name, and the regency of Albany was declared at an end. In November of the same year, while Parliament was sitting, the city was thrown into a state of dreadful agitation by the Earl of Angus and other chiefs, with 400 men, suddenly appearing at the cross and proclaiming themselves to be good subjects. They afterwards forced their way into the Council of State, and demanded that the queen (who was the wife of Angus) should be deprived of the guardianship of the king; confusion immediately ensued, the Castle opened its batteries on the city, and killed several innocent persons; the nobles called out a party of hagbutters in order to assault Angus, who then thought proper to retire to Dalkeith. A great part of the nobility, dissatisfied at seeing the whole government in the hands of the queen, whose affections had been estranged from her husband, hoped by his assistance (he having joined them) either to transfer the power of the queen's party to themselves, or at least to humble the pride of her faction. The queen with her son and her friends remained in the Castle, and though well aware that many of the nobility desired a change, yet trusting to the strength of the fortress and the authority of the king, believed themselves safe from violence. The other faction, of whom Angus, Lennox, and Argyle had the chief direction, having chosen three of their number as guardians of the king and the kingdom, marched to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They surrounded the Castle with an insignificant trench, and those who

were within its walls having made no preparations for a siege, surrendered, all the inmates being dismissed except the king. The three earls above named agreed to take charge of the government by turns, each of them to attend for a period of four months on his majesty.

The young king was removed to Holyrood palace, and afterwards went in person to meet his Parliament in the Tolbooth, his crown being carried before him by the Earl of Angus, who had now acquired such an ascendancy that he dictated to the whole kingdom, and impoverished the capital for the pampering of his creatures; indeed the power of the house of Douglas was now so great that to bear the name of *Douglas* was sufficient to cover the most atrocious crimes, even in the streets of the capital. During the sitting of Parliament in the city, in 1526, the Laird of Lochinvar, who slew the Laird of Bondly at the threshold of St. Giles' church, was permitted to walk openly abroad, solely because he was *a Douglas*. The Earl of Lennox having joined a combination of other nobles to relieve the king from the ignominious thraldom in which he was kept by the Douglases, was murdered by Hamilton, the bastard of Arran, in cold blood, after he had surrendered. Sometime after, a groom of Lennox's met by accident in Edinburgh a fellow-servant, and anxiously inquired if he had seen Hamilton, the bastard of Arran; "I have, but a short time since," was the reply. "What," said he, "and wert thou so ungrateful, miscreant, to thy murdered lord as to permit him to live? begone, thou art unworthy of so noble a master!" With these words this daring man sought the palace, where a numerous body of the retainers of Douglas was mustered. Singling out Hamilton from among them, he watched him till he left the assembly, and springing upon him as he entered a dark passage, repeatedly buried his dagger in his bosom, leaving him stretched with six wounds, apparently lifeless upon the ground. As the cry of blood arose, he darted into the middle of the crowd, and might have eluded pursuit but for an order which commanded the palace gates to be closed, and all within the court to draw up against the wall. The assassin was instantly seized with marks of recent blood upon his dagger and his person.[1] When in the tortures, which preceded his execution, hearing that Hamilton was likely to survive, he upbraided himself for the failure; and when his right hand was struck off, observed that it merited such a fate, not for its crime, but for its failure. Such were the temper and principles of men bred in these iron times, and nursed in their enthusiastic attachment to their chief by the fuedal system. Angus, till his final disgrace and forfeiture in 1528, occasioned continual disturbances and tumultuous movements, both in Edinburgh and throughout the country, in opposing first the queen and then the king.

Cannon were about the year 1530 first cast in Scotland; those for the use of Edinburgh Castle bore the following inscription: *Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricoto Roberto.* The maker was liberally rewarded by James V.

[1] Leslie, p. 139. Buchanan, b. 14, c. 31.

In 1532 the College of Justice was instituted by James V. And as this important corporation, which comprehended the whole body of the functionaries connected with the supreme courts, made Edinburgh its place of settlement, that year may be regarded as furnishing the greatest event in the annals of the Scottish metropolis, and henceforth endowed the city still more with the character of a capital, as it then became a place of resort from all parts of the kingdom.

The same year the town council, on 19th of September, voluntarily offered to furnish king James with three hundred men-at-arms, "against his ancient enemies of England," when he should require them.[1]

The High street at this period was paved for the first time, and many of the old tenements renovated.[2] The town council ordered lanterns to be hung out at night by the citizens to light the streets.

The Scottish commissioners in France having concluded a marriage between their sovereign and Marie of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vondosme, James became anxious to see his bride, and left Scotland in disguise; but the vessel in which he had embarked having been by a severe gale driven back to the shores of Scotland, his project of a voyage in disguise failed. But being determined to execute his purpose, he sailed from Leith with seven vessels, accompanied by a splendid suite of his spiritual and temporal nobility, and having a fair wind landed on the tenth day at Dieppe. Such was James's anxiety to see his bride, that he immediately repaired in disguise to the palace of the Duke de Vondosme, but was recognised as he mingled with the gay crowd that thronged the hall. Marie de Bourbon is said to have been deeply captivated by the noble mien and gallant accomplishments of her intended husband; but the impression was not mutual, for James transferred his love to the Princess Magdalen, the only daughter of Francis I., a beautiful girl of sixteen, and their marriage was celebrated with great pomp in the church of Notre Dame. James, after spending nine months in feasting, masques, tournaments and other revelry, arrived at Leith on 19th of May, 1537. Queen Magdalen on descending from the ship, knelt upon the beach, and taking up a portion of the sand, kissed it with deep emotion, whilst she implored a blessing upon her new country and her beloved husband. Nothing could exceed the joy of the people at the return of their sovereign; but the festivals and pageants had scarcely subsided, and James had hardly entered upon the administration of the government, when his youthful and beautiful queen, wasted by a hectic fever, died on 7th July, to the deep sorrow of her husband and the whole nation, except the priests, who feared that had she lived (as they knew she had been educated by her aunt, the queen of Navarre) she would have kept their luxury and licentiousness within bounds. She was

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 1, p. 33.

[2] The High street was paved by one Merlin, a Frenchman. He was interred at his own request under the street he had paved. A narrow lane, now occupied by the South Bridge, was called, in honour of this pavier, 'Merlin's Lane.'

buried with great funeral pomp and solemnity in the chapel of the Abbey of Holyrood. Her death occasioned such a general sorrow throughout the country, that the king and court put themselves in mourning, which was the first time that that custom was introduced into Scotland.

The hatred and suspicion of king James against the house of Douglas, betrayed him into many deeds of cruelty. The sister of the Earl of Angus had been married to Lord Glamis, and after his death had married a gentleman of the name of Campbell. She was a youthful matron, distinguished alike for her beauty and her virtues. Although she led a retired life in the country, yet she was accused along with her husband and an aged priest, of a design to take away the king's life by poison or witchcraft, and to restore to the house of Douglas its right of succession to the Scottish throne. Although her innocence was most clearly proved in an eloquent defence, she was condemned to the flames, and the Castle hill appointed as the place of her execution. She suffered her dreadful fate with the hereditary courage of a Douglas. Her rank, blooming youth, and uncommon beauty, affected the spectators so deeply, that they burst into tears and loud lamentations for her untimely end. The next day her husband in endeavouring to escape from the Castle, fell, the rope being too short, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks. Her son was confined in the Castle till the king's death, when he was liberated and put in possession of his hereditary estates which had been confiscated. The old priest, from whom even the torture could extract no confession of crime, was set free. The accuser, William Lyon, a relation, when he saw the ruin in which his vindicative calumnies had involved a noble family, repented, when too late, and confessed his offence to the king, but could not obtain any mitigation of the sentence so far as it affected young Glamis.

Cardinal Beaton negotiated the second marriage of King James V. with Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville. Mary landed in Scotland on 12th June, 1538, and was married at St. Andrews in presence of a great number of the nobility. Edinburgh was a scene of rejoicings on the procession of James and his queen's entry into the city; they were sumptuously entertained by the citizens, and presented with "riche presents, great triumphs, farces, plays," etc.

James V. died on 13th December, 1542, at Falkland palace, in the thirty-first year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign, leaving an only daughter named *Mary*, an infant of six days old, who succeeded to the crown; and among other natural children, a son named *James*, afterwards the famous Regent Moray. His body was conveyed to Edinburgh, attended by a great number of the nobility and gentry. On 19th January, he was interred in the royal vault in the chapel of Holyrood, near the remains of Magdalen his queen.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM A.D. 1542, TO A.D. 1561.

1542, Mary, daughter of James V. proclaimed queen—1543, Edinburgh pillaged and burnt—Civic war—1547, Battle of Pinkie—Edinburgh pillaged—Leith burnt—1548, Queen Mary sent to France—1550, Mary of Guise appointed regent—Prices of provisions regulated by Parliament and the magistrates of Edinburgh—1551, Extravagance of the Table restricted—Architecture of the houses in Edinburgh—Improvements—1555, Banquet given to the Danish ambassador—1556, Honours conferred on the Provost—Measures taken for defending the city—1558, Queen Marry marries the Dauphin of France—1559, She is elevated to the throne of France—1560, Becomes a widow—1561, Returns to Scotland—Lands at Leith—Is conducted to Holyrood—Makes her public entry into the city—Receives a banquet from the citizens.

THE Scottish sceptre having by the death of James V. descended into the hands of his infant daughter Mary, who, although only seven days old, was proclaimed lawful queen and heiress of Scotland on 16th December, 1542.

Henry VIII. of England, ambitious of joining the Scottish crown to that of England by the marriage of the young queen of Scots to his only son Edward, proposed terms which were considered by Cardinal Beaton unequal and dishonourable; but his proposal was favoured by the Earl of Arran, who was regent, and others who wished an alliance with a prince who could afford such powerful protection to the Reformed religion. The treaty was accordingly agreed upon, but was prevented from being carried into execution by the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton, who in this alliance foresaw the overthrow of the Romish faith; and when the English ambassador required upon the day appointed the delivery of the hostages in performance of the treaty, he discovered from the evasive nature of the answers that it was not intended to be fulfilled. The English monarch was highly indignant at the nonfulfilment of the treaty, for it at once mortified his pride and thwarted his ambition. He ordered a large naval armament which was in readiness to send against the French coast to proceed immediately to Scotland under the command of the Earl of Hartford, to inflict upon Edinburgh, Leith, and the adjacent country all the miseries of war, as these places had borne a principal share in the insults to his ambassadors. This fleet, consisting of 200 sail of vessels, entered the Frith of Forth; and on 4th May, 1543, disembarked 10,000 foot soldiers at Royston, a little above Leith, without molestation. On their way to Leith, they were opposed by a small body of Scots, whom they speedily put

to flight, and took possession of that place without further opposition. Having been detained three days at Leith landing their baggage and artillery, they marched in order of battle to Edinburgh, and on approaching its gates were met by the provost and other officials, who offered in the name of the citizens to evacuate the city and deliver the keys to Hartford, provided it should be saved from fire, and the citizens allowed to leave it and carry their effects along with them. It was answered by Hartford, that he came as a soldier and not as an ambassador, that his commission commanded him to ravage the country with fire and sword, nor could he withdraw his army under any other condition than the delivery of their young queen into the hands of his master. Such a message was received with great indignation by the citizens. They declared they would rather submit to the last extremities than purchase safety by so ignominious a course, and were preparing to sustain the onset of the enemy, when they were deserted by Archibald Douglas of Kilspendy, their provost. Upon this they retired into the city, chose a new provost, completed their temporary ramparts, and for a while not only sustained the assaults of Hartford, but ultimately compelled him to retire to Leith for the purpose of bringing up the battering ordnance. But as a contest so unequal could not be maintained for any length of time, the principal citizens during the night, having removed all their transportable wealth, silently abandoned the city. The next day the English army, having beat open the Netherbow-port and killed a number of the citizens who remained behind, directed their heavy artillery against the Castle, from which they suffered so smart and well directed a fire as obliged them to desist from the attack. Being baffled in their attempts upon the Castle, they wreaked their vengeance upon the city with double fury, setting it on fire in so many places that the smoke obliged them to quit the town. They returned, however, and for three successive days, exerted their utmost efforts towards its destruction. Holyrood Abbey was nearly reduced to ashes, the choir and transept of the church destroyed, and nothing left standing but the nave. For seven miles round Edinburgh the country was laid waste, the castles of Craigmillar and Roslin, the town of Leith and its pier (which was at that period entirely built of wood) were burnt; hardly a house or village within that space escaped the flames. While the army thus wreaked its fury by land, the fleet swept both sides of the Forth, and plundered and burnt the greater number of the villages from Fifeness to Stirling. At last, satiated with cruelty and rapine, the English retired, carrying along with them, not only the spoils they had got by land, but also the ships and vessels in the Forth. Thus ended an expedition as cruel as it was impolitic, and which rendered more distant any prospects of a cordial union between the two kingdoms. Henry, as it was well observed by Lord Herbert, had done "too much for a suitor, and too little for a conqueror." Edinburgh soon recovered from the injuries that had been inflicted upon it, serious as they were, and rose more splendid than ever.

In 1544 a civic war took place within the city. The magistrates having infringed the liberties of the craftsmen, who were indignant at having been excluded from a voice in the election of the provost and bailies, the deacons drew their swords in the council chamber and avowed their purpose of defending their liberties; but being overpowered by an armed force, they submitted to be imprisoned, and the affair was afterwards compromised.

Henry VIII. while on his death-bed recommended that the marriage of his only son with the young queen of Scots, and the union of the two kingdoms, should be accomplished either by persuasion or by force of arms. The Earl of Hartford, protector of England, who chose the latter alternative, entered Scotland on 2nd September, 1547, at the head of 14,200 well disciplined troops; and at same time a fleet of thirty-four ships of war, and thirty transports stored with provisions and ammunition, commanded by Lord Clinton, advanced along the Scottish coast. Aware of the approaching storm, the Scots were well prepared to repel it. The Earl of Angus with an army of 36,000 men, among whom were a great body of priests and monks, who had joined the army, being afraid of the downfall of their religion by the union of Edward and Mary, were posted to great advantage on a rising ground above Musselburgh. The English were drawn up on a gentle eminence called Pinkie Cleugh. The Scots with a fatal confidence, rashly relinquished all the advantages of their situation. After some skirmishing and a great deal of manœuvring on both sides, a desperate battle ensued, in which the Scottish army was totally defeated. On the field, the battle was soon decided, and the carnage was not great, but the English continued the pursuit for five hours, and to a considerable distance. The Scots fled in three directions, some to Edinburgh, others to Leith, but the greater number to Dalkeith. On that dreadful day about 14,000 of the Scots were slain, a few taken prisoners, and among these some persons of distinction. The English is said, by their own historians, to have lost only 200 men. The three roads by which the Scots fled, were strewed with spears, swords, and targets. The ground for five miles in length and four in breadth, was, says an eye-witness, covered as thick with dead bodies as cattle on a well stocked pasture field. It is recorded, that in Edinburgh alone this day's battle made 360 widows. Little mercy was shown to the priests and monks, many of whom were slain. After the battle, the English army entered Edinburgh, which they pillaged, but their commander had the humanity to spare the city from conflagration; Leith, however, was pillaged and burnt, as well as the ships in the harbour. On the 18th September, the English army commenced its return to England, and the fleet at the same time weighed anchor. By the disastrous battle of Pinkie, the Scots were more keenly exasperated against England, and more eagerly bent on an alliance with France. The queen-dowager, attached by blood and affection to the royal family of France, endeavoured to promote by every means their interest in Scotland. She persuaded the

nobles, in an assembly held at Stirling, to offer their young queen in marriage to the Dauphin of France, and to send her immediately to be educated at the French court. Henry II. of France eagerly embraced the proposal, and in 1548 sent to Scotland 6,000 troops under the command of Monsieur D'Essé, an experienced officer, who garrisoned Edinburgh, fortified Leith, and prevented the English from committing any farther serious damage. In a Parliament held on 17th July, same year, that officer declared that his royal master was desirous of strengthening the league, which for so many centuries had bound the Scottish and French nations together, by a marriage between his son, the Dauphin, and their youthful queen; whose education, if they would commit her to the charge of his royal master, would be superintended with the greatest care and attention. The presence of the French troops, seconded by the intrigues of the queen-dowager, who since the death of Cardinal Beaton had assumed the chief direction of public affairs, and a profuse distribution of French gold among the Scottish nobles, produced the ready concurrence of the Scottish Parliament under certain conditions; and Queen Mary, now a beautiful child in her sixth year, was delivered by her mother to D'Essé, who conveyed her from Dumbarton, where she then was, on board the royal galley. Along with her embarked four Marys, of like age with herself, selected as her playmates from the families of Fleming, Beaton, Seton, and Livingston, as also, the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and Lord James, her natural brother, then a youth of seventeen, afterwards the celebrated regent Moray. The little squadron, setting sail about the 11th of August, escaped every danger, although the English admiral and his fleet was on the outlook for it, and on the 13th of that month cast anchor in the harbour of Brest. Mary was joyfully received by the French monarch, and an honourable household establishment was appointed for her at the public expense.

By the intrigues of the queen-dowager, the Earl of Arran was prevailed on to abdicate the regency in her favour, which he formally resigned in a Parliament held on 10th April, 1550, and Mary of Guise was raised to the regency, which had so long been the object of her ambition. To appease Arran's resentment he was, as had previously been agreed on, created Duke of Chatelherault. These transactions were solemnly ratified by Parliament in presence of the queen-regent and Arran, who were conducted in a public procession, with great pomp and acclamations, through the city, to the palace of Holyrood. She immediately thereafter entered upon the administration of the government. During her residence in the city she encouraged theatrical performances, and cajoled the magistrates to defray the greater part of the expense.

The price of provisions and labour form at all times an interesting subject of inquiry, as nothing tends to elucidate more clearly the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial state of a country. Yet an inquiry of this nature, when directed to a remote era, is surrounded with many difficulties, from the difficulty

of ascertaining the difference in the quantity of bullion between the nominal pound some hundred years ago and the pound sterling of the present period, as also from the inability to determine the precise value of the same quantity or weight of gold or silver at remote periods when compared with the present times. The price of commodities does not depend solely upon their intrinsic value and the demand for them, but in a great measure upon the amount of money in circulation, the state of population, and the industry of the inhabitants. In comparing the proportional rates of provisions between ancient and modern times, a very considerable allowance must be made for taxation; the rates presently paid for most articles of consumption not being the real price at which they could be afforded, nor at which they are actually sold, for in many instances the taxes levied by government exceed the value of the article upon which they are imposed. In remote eras the exigencies of government were small, but its demands are now so VERY GREAT that the nation groans under an exorbitant load of debt; hence taxes are imposed upon almost every article of food and clothing, which are insensibly paid by the consumer. The reader is left to his own judgment to adopt either the data of Hume or that of Whitaker before mentioned,[1] and in subsequent periods proportionally less, according to his ideas of the increase of money, population, and industry.

As before stated, the magistrates sometimes assumed the power of regulating and fixing the price of provisions, which power they considered themselves entitled to, from examples set forth to them by the Legislature, who also occasionally regulated the price of provisions. In 1551 Parliament, [2] taking into consideration that provisions were sold at exorbitant prices, ordered a pint of Bourdeaux wine to be sold at eight-twelfths of a penny, sterling, Rochel wine one halfpenny per pint, the best swan at 5d. the best wild goose at 2d. moorfowls at four-twelfths of a penny each, black cocks at the same price, the best grey hen at a halfpenny, woodcocks four-twelfths of a penny each, larks four-twelfths of a penny per dozen, tame geese one penny, four-twelfths each; the best capon at 1d. best hen eight-twelfths, the best chicken four-twelfths, and the best pig at 1½d. The following year the magistrates regulated the prices at which various commodities were to be sold.[3] They considering that the butchers sold their meat at unreasonable prices, ordered the carcase of the best sheep to be sold at ten pence, the second size at eight pence, and the third at sixpence, under the pain of forfeiture. A short time thereafter the council ordained that all stablers should have secure stables, and sell their best oats at ten-twelfths of a penny per peck, the second sort at eight-twelfths, hay at six-twelfths the stone, and furnish the stables with hack and manger; put sufficient locks on their doors, and take no stable fee from those they serve with corn and hay, under the penalty of 1½d. for the first fault, escheat for the second, and for the third rendered incapable of following the occupation of a stabler. The council farther ordered

[1] See note on page 28.

[2] Mary, parl. 5, c. 12.

[3] Coun. Reg. v. 2, f. 7, 15.

"ragwicked" candles to be sold at nine-twelfths of a penny per pound, and those of hard wick at eight-twelfths, under the penalty of forfeiture. Butter and cheese brought to the market were ordered to be sold, the former at eight pence, and the latter at four pence the stone, Tron weight; and any person who gave more than the above regulated prices subjected themselves to the penalty of 1½d. The above all sterling money. Sometime after eggs were ordered to be sold at three a penny, Scottish, that is, at 36 a penny sterling. The more effectually to prevent the citizens being imposed upon by retailers in provisions, the town council ordered a bailie, with two town officers, to attend the markets, and prevent regraters, forestallers, and hucksters from selling any provisions in the forenoon, under the pain of banishment. These penalties were not imposed in the spirit of empty menace, but were often put in execution by fine, banishment, etc.[1]

The sumptuousness of the table of all ranks of society was about the year 1551 considered to have a tendency to cause a dearth in the nation. To "stanch sic exorbitant dearth," Parliament passed an act entitled "Anent the ordering of every man's house," by which it was ordained[2] "That na arch-bishops, bishops, nor earls, have at his meate bot aucht dishes of meate; nor na abbot, lorde, priour, nor deane, have at his meate bot sex dishes; nor na barronne, nor free-halder, have bot foure dishes of meate at his messe; nor na burgess nor uther substantious man, spiritual nor temporal, bot three dishes, and bot ane kinde of meate in everie dish." Those who did not regulate their tables in conformity to this act were fined as follows, namely, an arch-bishop, etc. £100; a lord etc. 100 merks; a baron, £40; a burgess, etc. 20 merks. And "gif ony uther small person or persones wauld presume to break this present acte, he sall be taken and punished in his person and gudes at the lorde governours will, for their contemption; and he that falzies and breakis this ordinance, sall be repute and halden as ane man given to his voluptuousness."

[1] In 1124, a sheep[1] sold at 4s., a heifer at 9s. In 1263, 24 cows[2] at 108s. or 4s. 6d. each, and 30 *muttons* at 25s. or 10d. each, was purchased for the king's table: the same year 40 cows were sold for £10, or 5s. each; 38 swine at 57s. or 1s. 6d. each. In 1283, a horse[3] sold at 60s. a carcase of mutton[4] from 2s. 6d. to 4s. In 1329, an ox[5] sold at 28s. 6¾d. a sheep from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 8½d. a hog at 19s. 4½d. In 1424, an ox[6] sold at 10s. 8d. a horse at 21s. 4d. In 1489, a wedder[7] sold at 1s. 3½d. a stalled ox at 6s. 5½d. a hog at 3s. 6d. In 1512, the carcase of a grass fed ox[8] sold at 7s. 8½d. a boar from 10s. 5¾d. to 19s. 11½d. a hog at 3s. 5½d. a pig at 4¾d. a stall fed ox with its hide 30s. a carcase of mutton from 1s. 8½d. to 2s. 6¾d. a lamb at Christmas 4s. 3½d.; at Easter from 6d. to 4s. 3½d. a calf at Easter from 10½d. to 3s. 5½d. a kid 6½d. a fed rabbit 10¼d. a rabbit from the warren 7¾d. a hare 1s. 11¼d. a goose 5½d. a wild goose 1s. a pair of chickens at Christmas 5¼d. at Easter 3½d. a quart of milk 1¾d. a stone of cheese 1s. 11¼d. a stone of butter 2s. 6½d.

[1] Leges Malcomi, II, c. 3. [2] Chamberlain's accounts, p. 15. Rotuli Temp. Regis Alex. III. p. 14. [3] Statuta Gildæ, c. 18. [4] Leges Burgorum, 24. [5] Chamberlain's accounts for 1329, etc., published by John Davidson from the originals in the Exchequer. [6] Pref. to Anderson's Dep. Scot. p. 82. [7] Ibid. [8] Household book of king James IV. A. D. 1511-1512.

[2] Queen Mary, parl. 5, cap. 25

The sheriff of each shire and their deputes, provost, aldermen, and bailies of burghs, within their respective bounds, were "to take inquisition of the breakers of the samin, and roll their names and deliver the samin to the lord tresaurar, to the effect that the persones, breakers and contemnars of the said act, may be called to the justice aires, and punished in manner foresaid." An exception, however, is made as to feasts at marriages, or those given to foreigners, where there was no limitation but the abilities of the person who gave such entertainments. If the table in 1551 was not so delicately furnished as at present, it was, at least, fully as substantial. Three flesh meals were at that period the common fare.

Although the style of domestic buildings within burghs were long little better than the primitive cottages of the peasantry, yet in course of years they gradually improved. We may state that the earliest architecture of the city consisted of a strongly built ground flat, with a frail superstructure of timber, and a front garniture of a balcony or open gallery. A second stage of the city's architecture exhibited houses of three stories, the first of stone, and the second and third of timber, of which there are some specimens still remaining in the city. A third stage improved upon the second simply in constructing all the stories of stone, and occasionally aspiring to a fourth story of the same material. A fourth stage took place about the year 1550, the city being at that period overwhelmed by an influx of inhabitants, while the continual wars with England compelled the citizens to build their houses as near the Castle as possible; therefore instead of increasing the limits of the city, story upon story was piled, until a house sometimes rivalled the steeples in height, while it sheltered some twenty or thirty families within its walls. This was particularly the case in the High street, where the houses being so lofty, and the streets so very narrow, were, consequently, gloomy and ill ventilated. Those who dwelt in the airy regions begrudged the toil of a descent to the street, when it could be avoided; hence the whole garbage of many families was ejected from the windows with little ceremony. But woe to the stranger who ventured to go forth in the hope of inhaling the morning breeze; a whole volley of miscellaneous and accumulated abominations might light upon his head, before the tardy warning of "Get out of the way," could travel to his ears. The other sources of the filthiness of Edinburgh were these: every inhabitant had his own dunghill in the streets, opposite his door, and the great number of outside stairs projecting from the houses, under which swine were kept by the inhabitants, and which were allowed at pleasure to wander about the streets, and play the part of scavengers.

About the same period, not only the magistrates but the legislature adopted measures to remove these and other nuisances, which diffused putridity among the lanes and obstructed the streets, and occasioned such an amount of lampooning, that Edinburgh was said to possess the unenviable distinction of being the filthiest city in Europe. These dunghills were, by an act of

the town council,[1] ordered to be removed, and swine prevented from "pestering the streets;" they also ordered[2] *bowets*, or lanterns, to be hung out in the streets and lanes by such persons and in such places as the magistrates should think fit to appoint, to continue burning for the space of four hours, namely, from five till nine in the evening.

These and other sanatory measures removed that reproach charged upon the city by Dunbar in his satire, who says,

> "May nane pass through your principal gaittis,
> For stink of haddockis, and of scattis,
> For cryis of carlingis and debaittis,
> For fensive flytings of defame;
> Think ye not shame,
> Befoir strangeris of all estaittis,
> That sic dishonour hurt your name?"

On 13th September, 1555, the Danish ambassador and his suite are said to have been *sumptuously entertained* by the citizens of Edinburgh[3] at an expense of £25 17s. 1d. Scots, or £2 3s. 1d. sterling.

In 1556 the town council, on account of the provost's great assiduity in the city affairs, added to his annual allowance £100 Scots for clothing and spicery, with two hogsheads of wine; and for his greater state they soon thereafter passed an act, ordaining that the servants of all the inhabitants of the city should attend him with lighted torches from the vespers or evening prayers to his house.[4]

The citizens of Edinburgh, to be prepared in the event of another invasion from England, agreed in 1557–8 to raise and maintain by voluntary subscription seven hundred and thirty-six men, well furnished with all sorts of military accoutrements; and the several crafts assembled in the Tolbooth, and voluntarily agreed to furnish the following numbers of men out of their respective corporations, to defend the city, namely:

	Masters.		Men.
Skinners,	42	–	21
Ferriers,	6	–	3
Weavers,	13	–	13
Tailors,	81	–	97
Bonnet-makers,	14	–	39
Barbers,	13	–	12
Hammermen,	66	–	85
Goldsmiths,	14	–	6
Waukers,	28	–	15
Bakers,	45	–	55
Shoemakers,	21	–	28
	343		374

[1] Coun. Reg. 9th Oct. 1553.
[2] Ibid. 16th Nov., 1554.
[3] Coun. Reg. v. 2, f. 56.
[4] Ibid. f. 89.

On this occasion, one thousand four hundred and fifty-three citizens offered their services in defence of the city.[1]

It having been agreed by Parliament in 1557 that the intended marriage between the young Queen of Scots and the Dauphin should be carried into effect, their nupitals were solemnised at Paris on 14th April, 1558. The commissioners sent from Scotland to watch proceedings, had agreed that the Dauphin should be named King of Scotland, which they considered as merely an honorary title; but a Parliament held at Edinburgh in December, in spite of the zealous remonstrances on the part of the house of Hamilton and its partizans, conferred upon the husband of Queen Mary the crown matrimonial, and vested in his person all the rights pertaining to the husband of a queen, and directed that all letters in Scotland should run in the name of "Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scotland, dauphin and dauphiness of Vienne." Thus a foreigner was invested with regal authority over Scotland, which was thus virtually rendered a mere appanage of France. On 23rd July, 1559, intelligence was received in Scotland of the death of Henry II. and Queen Mary's elevation to the throne of France; but Mary did not long enjoy her exalted station, for the death of her consort, Francis II. on 6th December, 1560, deprived her of the paramount influence she had for sometime enjoyed at that court, and frustrated the ambitious designs of her uncles the princes of Lorraine, who wished to reduce Scotland to a mere appanage of France. Mary after her husband's death became extremely unhappy; she was treated with marked neglect by the queen-mother, who during the short reign of Francis had competed with her in vain for the management of that weak and inexperienced prince. She was slighted by the French courtiers, and saw the authority of her relations rapidly decline. The loyalty of Mary's Scottish subjects, however, revived with her misfortunes. From both Protestants and Catholics she received ardent invitations to return to Scotland, and assume the government of her native kingdom; and although she resolved to yield to these solicitations, yet it was not without the deepest regret that she prepared to leave a country in which she had spent so many happy days, and to withdraw from its polished court in which she had been the object of general admiration, and also relinquish the gaieties in which she delighted.

On 21st July, 1561, Mary left Paris, and was accompanied as far as St. Germain by the king of France, the queen-mother, the king of Navarre, and many other persons of the first rank. Here after a few days' stay she bade adieu to the royal family, and, attended by the Duke of Guise, the Grand Prior, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Guise, and other noble persons, she proceeded to Calais, where after waiting sometime for a favourable wind, she embarked on the 14th of August. All that day she kept her eyes fixed upon the coast of France, till it was vailed from her by darkness. She ordered a couch to be spread for her on deck, where she waited with fond impatience the return of day. The coast was still visible, and she continued to gaze upon it intently,

[1] Coun. Reg. f. 126.

till it faded from her view, frequently exclaiming with a sigh, "Farewell France! farewell, beloved country! I shall never behold thee more!"

As her course lay along the English coast, she had demanded from Elizabeth a safe conduct during her voyage; but this request, which common politeness would have induced one sovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth thought proper to refuse. Little doubt can be entertained that it was the intention of Elizabeth to obstruct her passage or gain possession of her person. By the aid of favourable winds, however, and of a thick fog, Mary eluded the vigilance of the English fleet; and after an absence of nearly thirteen years from her native country, she landed safely at Leith on 19th August, where she had to remain the whole day, as the preparations for her reception at Holyrood were not completed. Her captivating appearance and graceful demeanour charmed the hearts of her subjects, who were already predisposed to greet her with a cordial welcome. The road between Leith and Restalrig, and from thence to the Abbey, was lined with the different trades and corporations of Edinburgh, with their banners and bands of music; and multitudes had collected at Leith, and on the roads leading to the Palace, to obtain a view of their queen and greet her as she passed. The poverty of her subjects, however, appeared amidst all their efforts to conceal it. When Mary saw the horses that were brought towards evening for her and her attendants, accustomed as she had been to the noble and richly caparisoned steeds of the Parisian tournaments, she was struck with the inferiority of their breed and the poorness of their furnishings; and could not help remarking with a sigh on the difference to some of her friends. "But they mean well," said she, "and we must be content." As she passed along, she was every where greeted with enthusiastic shouts of applause, but the contrast between every thing she saw and what she had left was such as could not fail to excite painful reflections, and a melancholy shade which blended with her smiles, betrayed the conflict that was passing within her breast.

Never was a sovereign more qualified than Mary to gain the hearts of a people. Unrivalled in beauty, she possessed every accomplishment which could lend fascination to her personal charms; in all the female accomplishments then deemed necessary or ornamental she had made considerable progress, and her polite and courteous yet dignified deportment, at once heightened the respect due to her attainments and exalted rank, and inspired that affection which the condescension of a sovereign seldom fails to secure. On her arrival at the Palace, all the musicians of Edinburgh collected under her window, and, in strains more discordant than musical, continued all night to testify their joy at her return.

The town council having resolved to entertain the queen at a banquet, raised the sum of 4000 merks, (£222 5s. 5½d. sterling,) by a general tax on the citizens to defray the expense. On the 1st September, Mary made her public entry into the city with great state, nothing being neglected which could express the duty

and affection of the citizens towards her. To add to the pomp and grandeur of the procession, twelve citizens who supported the canopy over the queen's head were apparelled in black velvet gowns, and coats and doublets of crimson satin, with velvet bonnets and hose; the citizens who walked in the procession had black silk gowns faced with velvet, and satin doublets; the young men who walked before the triumphal car were dressed in taffit; and the "upper and salt Trones, Tolbooth, and Netherbow," through which the procession passed, were decorated "in the most pompous and magnificent manner." As she issued from the Castle, where she dined, a boy descended as if from a cloud, and delivered to her a Bible, a psalter, the keys of the Castle gates, and some verses containing "terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters."

CHAPTER V.

Transactions of the Citizens and occurrences in the City, during the rise and progress of the Reformation.

In 1528 excitements and disturbances arose in the city from the secret diffusion of the principles of the Reformation. In 1534 Norman Gourlay and David Straiton were tried and condemned at Holyrood for heresy, and executed at Greenside. In 1543 the progress of the Reformation was much facilitated by an Act of the first Parliament held by the Regent Arran, granting permission to the laity to read the Scriptures in their native tongue, formerly held too sacred for their perusal. By this indulgence, some of the more glaring errors and absurdities of the Romish faith, which had long imposed on the ignorance and credulity of the people, were detected and exposed to public ridicule. The Reformation, having spread over the greater part of Europe, began to be widely diffused in Scotland by the exertions of the celebrated John Knox, who after an absence of eight years returned to Scotland in Oct. 1555, with the stern resolution to sacrifice every thing for the complete establishment of the principles of the Reformation. In 1556 he was protected from the hostile proceedings of the ecclesiastical judicatory by a concourse of people who assembled in and around Blackfriars church for that purpose. Early in 1557, Knox having gone to Geneva, Harlow and Willock, both zealous preachers, arrived and successfully preached their doctrines in Edinburgh and Leith.

Several of the most powerful Scottish barons, having been urged on by the bold eloquence of the intrepid and unbending Knox, and now by the preaching of Harlow and Willock, embraced the Reformed doctrines, and a great majority of the nation soon

declared in their favour. These proselytes for the defence and advocacy of the Reformation united themselves into a body known by the name of *The Congregation;*[1] and in spite of the efforts of Mary of Guise, who had succeeded Arran in the regency, they soon made themselves masters of the principal cities in Scotland. A new impulse was given to the cause of the Reformation by the memorable Bond or Covenant drawn up on 3rd December, same year, and signed at Edinburgh by the principal leaders of the Congregation, by which they bound themselves to the mutual defence and support of each other in propagating their religious tenets. Its terms were evidently an open declaration of war against the established religion, and their after proceedings showed that toleration and compromise were at an end.

The images, says Knox, were stolen away in all parts of the country, and in Edinburgh that great idol called *St. Giles* was drowned in the North Loch, which caused no small trouble in the city. Notwithstanding this marked demonstration, it was in 1558 resolved by Mary of Guise, queen-regent, and the bishops, that the usual procession appointed for that Saint's anniversary should not be omitted. Having procured a little image from the Greyfriars, which the people in derision called young St. Giles,[2] and fixed it to a wooden barrow which was borne on men's shoulders, the cavalcade, headed by the queen-regent, surrounded by a great number of priests and monks, and attended by tabors and trumpets, carried it through the principal streets of the city in great pomp. On the retirement of the queen, a band of Protestant citizens, abhorring what they esteemed an abomination, caught hold of the barrow, cast down the image and dashed it to pieces on the pavement. Then, as John Knox expresses himself, "The priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie-cleugh, Dagon was left without head or hands; down goes the cross, off goes the surplice, round caps and coronets with crowns. The Grey-friars gaped, the Black-friars blew, the priests panted and fled; and happy was he that first got to his house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generations of Antichrist within the city before."[3]

The Protestant faith was now espoused by great masses of the people, and professed by the most powerful of the Scottish nobility; and in 1559 the cause received a wonderful accession of strength in the return from Geneva of the bold, uncompromising, and eloquent Knox.

The Congregational army, wherever it went, kindled or spread the spirit of Reformation; but unfortunately in the ardour of their zeal, which was too often without discretion, they also kindled a spirit which led to the most reckless and indiscriminate demolition of the religious edifices of the Papists.

In 1559 the magistrates of Edinburgh, on hearing of the approach of the army of the Congregation, sent commissioners to them, while at Linlithgow, to entreat their leaders that they should spare the edifices and the religious houses within the city,

[1] Spottiswood's Hist. of the Church, p. 119. [2] Knox's Hist. p. 95.
[3] Knox's Hist. p. 104.

and promised that the former should be employed in Protestant worship, and the latter for Reformed seminaries. In the meantime all the gates of the city were ordered to be shut, except those of the Netherbow and West-port, which were guarded by twelve men each. A guard of sixteen men was placed on St. Giles' church, and the stalls in the choir were removed to the Tolbooth for greater safety.

The Lords of the Congregation having entered Edinburgh in triumph, on 29th June, took possession of the Mint and the offices of government, but found the work of upsetting the Popish altars, destroying the paraphernalia of Popish ceremonies, and converting monasteries into private dwellings, sufficiently accomplished by the populace. The town council supplied them with 2000 merks,[1] and the dauntless Knox, who was appointed minister of the city, and who, not satisfied that any of the religious houses should remain entire, daily harangued the citizens against "monuments of idolatry," and urged the populace to destroy all the statues and ornaments in St. Giles' church. He even insisted that "the true way to banish the rooks, was to pull down their nests." At this period, so great was the rage for destroying churches, that an act of Parliament was passed, ordaining all cloisters and abbey churches in the kingdom to be demolished. Although the preachers had been careful to warn their hearers not to put their hands to a reformation for covetousness' sake, yet the people, stimulated by the extraordinary wealth and luxury of the Grey-friars, helped themselves to the spoils. According to the words of Knox, no honest man was enriched to the value of a groat, "and the spoils permitted to the poor;" however, there can be no doubt that the poor, both Papists and Protestants, in many instances of demolition, took the liberty of helping themselves.

The leaders of the Congregation, proud of the success which had attended their exertions, and conceiving the work to be already accomplished, dismissed the greater number of their followers. The queen-regent, whom they thought had been deterred by fear, only waited an opportunity to attack them, and being animated by the accounts she received of the daily desertions in the army of her opponents, advanced unexpectedly by a sudden march in the night with all her forces from Dunbar, and appearing before Edinburgh, filled the city with the utmost alarm. A number of French troops which had been sent to her assistance, fortified Leith, and turning out many of its inhabitants, took possession of their houses. The leaders of the Congregation finding themselves too weak to defend the capital, concluded a truce with the queen-regent, and the Reformers left the city, which was immediately occupied by the queen and her troops. St. Giles' church being purified from the profane ministrations of the Reformers by a new and solemn consecration, the rites of the Romish Church were re-established.

The proceedings of the queen-regent having roused the leaders of the Congregation, on 15th October they assembled their forces,

[1] £111 2s. 2⅔d.

amounting to 12,000, and next day advanced to Edinburgh, which they occupied without resistance. The queen-regent having retired within the fortifications at Leith, the fine plain which stretches between the Calton-hill and Leith was the scene of frequent skirmishes and onslaughts, but the irregular troops of the Reformers could ill cope with the well disciplined auxiliaries from France. The Reformers addressed a letter to the queen-regent, requesting her instantly to command all foreigners to depart from the town of Leith. She replied that their letter appeared from its tone rather to come from a prince to his subjects than from subjects to a prince, and commanded the Duke of Chatelherault and his associates to depart from the capital under the pain of treason. A convention of the whole peers, barons, and representatives of burghs was called by the leaders of the Congregation on the 21st day of October, in the Tolbooth; where, after the opinion of Knox and Willock concerning the obedienee due to sovereigns tyrannically exerting their power had been delivered, it was resolved without a dissenting voice that the queen-regent should be suspended from her authority.[1] An act for that purpose was immediately drawn up and publicly proclaimed, at sametime they informed the queen of their resolution, by a letter addressed to her, and delivered by the Lyon Herald. Having thus boldly begun, it was judged proper to proceed in the same strain. On 25th October a herald was sent to summon all French and Scottish soldiers to leave the town of Leith within twelve hours. This being disregarded, the Reformers conceiving it possible to surprise the queen's party in Leith, and by one decisive blow prevent all future bloodshed and contention, made an assault upon that town, in which they used scaling ladders, prepared in St. Giles' church. The clergy were so irritated by this impiety, that they prognosticated ill success to the enterprise of their friends and protectors; which so much intimidated those who were led to the attack, that the queen's party no sooner sallied out upon them, than they fled without resistance, whereby the enemy not only became masters of their artillery, but in the pursuit, without regard to age or sex, killed all who came in their way, as far as the suburbs of the city; from which issued great numbers to their assistance, who on a false alarm that the enemy was at their backs to cut off their retreat to the city, returned in such haste and confusion that the horsemen, to recover the gates, rode over those on foot, and killed and wounded great numbers. On this occasion, terror and alarm filled the city, and many of the inhabitants began to consult their safety by flight.

The forces of the Congregation seemed dismayed and irresolute; and the queen's partizans in the city began openly to insult them; the soldiers clamoured for pay, and breaking into mutiny, offered their services to any Catholic or Protestant master who would pay them. The army, lately 12,000 strong, diminishing daily, consternation seized the minds of the leaders, it being evident that without additional assistance their great enterprise was at an

[1] Knox's Hist. Reform. p. 180.

end. On 5th November a company of French troops, having sallied from Leith with the purpose of intercepting a convoy carrying provisions into Edinburgh, was attacked by the ex-regent Arran at the head of a party of Reformers, but the latter was defeated with so great loss that the Congregation abandoned the city at mid-night, and retired precipitately, first to Linlithgow and afterwards to Stirling. The capital had generally been esteemed peculiarly favourable to the Reformers; but the late disasters cooled the ardour of many of their proselytes, and they retreated amidst the shouts and insults of a great portion of the citizens.[1]

The leaders of the Congregation, reanimated by a sermon delivered by Knox from the eightieth Psalm, met in council and resolved instantly to despatch a messenger to England to solicit assistance from Queen Elizabeth; at sametime, being unable to keep the field, they determined, till an answer arrived, to separate into two parties; and it was also resolved that on the 16th of December a convention should be held at Stirling, with a view of deciding upon more active measures. On the retreat of the Reformers from the capital, the queen-regent entered the city without opposition, and conferred on the French soldiers, as a reward for their services, many of the best houses belonging to the Protestants.

Elizabeth, who observed the growing power of the French faction in Scotland with a jealous eye, was not averse to any measure that would tend to lessen it; she accordingly despatched a fleet with 6000 foot and 2000 horse to assist the Congregational army. On 6th July, 1560, a treaty was concluded by the leaders of the Congregation and ambassadors from France and England, by which it was stipulated that the French troops should immediately evacuate Scotland; that the English army should return home after the embarkation of the French; that the Scottish army should then be disbanded; that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, and that a Parliament should be convened in the month of August thereafter, whose acts should be deemed as valid as if it had been called by the express commands of the queen.

The Parliament was accordingly, on 1st August, opened at Edinburgh with great solemnity in terms of the above treaty, at which not only all the members favourable to the doctrines of the Reformation attended, but the lesser barons, who, for a long period, had ceased to avail themselves of that privilege, came eagerly forward, and threw an overwhelming preponderance into the Protestant scale. The attention of all Europe was directed to the proceedings of this assembly; and never had a Scottish Parliament to enter upon more important subjects of deliberation.

After ratifying the articles of the treaty above referred to, they abolished the Papal jurisdiction in Scotland, rescinded the whole acts made in favour of Popery, and sanctioned by their approbation a Confession of Faith, or book of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, hastily composed by John Knox and others. They

[1] M.S. Calderwood, pp. 399-400, Sadler, v. 1, p. 554.

imposed the same severe penalties on Catholics, which, when inflicted upon themselves, they complained of as a grievous persecution, by ordaining that all who said mass, or were present at the celebration of it, should be punished by forfeiture of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. This statute, directly opposed to the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity, having been passed by the same men who had lately groaned under persecution, and who had upbraided their Catholic countrymen for the tyranny of maintaining their errors by fire and sword, together with other severities to compell the reception of what they pronounced *the truth*, under the penalty of death, materially injured and retarded the Protestant cause. The first Assembly of the Reformed Kirk, now established, met at Edinburgh on 15th January, 1561.

Francis and Mary received intelligence of these proceedings with that indignation which might naturally have been expected, and instead of ratifying these acts, spurned Sir John Sandilands, who was sent to the court of France, to lay the proceedings of Parliament before them.

Although the nobles were so prompt in reforming the doctrines and government of the church, they were extremely dilatory in determining the appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues, in which many of them had already so largely participated, while others looked forward to be enriched with their share of those treasures. They therefore little relished the preaching of Knox, when he inveighed, in severe terms, against those symptoms of selfishness and avarice; and exhorted them to restore the lands which formerly belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, to maintain the ministers of the Reformed religion. Edinburgh, now in the undisputed possession of the Reformers, and entirely freed from the influences which had hitherto swayed it, underwent an almost entire moral change; but this was not effected without some riotous movements. The town council in their anxiety for the suppression of immorality passed severe but ludicrous Acts against papists, whom they styled idolaters, and with whom they generally in these Acts mixed up fornicators and adulterers, as if none of the Reformers could be guilty of such crimes.

During the progress of the Reformation, divine service in churches was so frequently interrupted by those who held different religious opinions, that Parliament passed an act imposing the following fines on those guilty of such disgraceful proceedings, namely: For the first fault, a prelate, earl, or lord, ten pound; baron, five pound; vassal, freeholder, or burgess, forty shillings; and all others twenty shillings; "and puir folkes that hes na gudes, to be put in prison for fifteene daies, to fast on bread and water; and for the second faulte, the doubling thereof; and for the third faulte, warding of their persones, or banishing for zeir and day; and ordainis the deane of gild, kirk-maisters, and regulars, to gar leische bairnes that pertubis the kirk, in manner aforesaid."[1]

About the same period the practise of using profane and

[1] Queen Mary, parl. 5, cap. 17.

ridiculous oaths had become so common as to call for the interference of the legislature, who passed an act,[1] setting forth that "Notwithstanding the oft and frequent preachinges in detestation of the grievous and abhominable aithes, swearing, execrationes, and blasphematioun of the name of God, swearand in vaine be his precious blud, bodie, passion and wounds, devill stick, cummer, gore, roist or riefe them, and sik uther oug-sum aithes and execrationes against the command of God, zit the samin is cum in sik ane ungodlie use amangst the people of this realme, baith of great and small estaites, that dailie and hourlie may be heard amangst them open blasphematioun of God's name and majestie." And with a view to put a stop to such evil practices, it was ordained: "that quhatsumever person or persones swearis sik abhominable aithes and destestable execrationes, sall incur the paines following," namely, a prelate, earl, or lord, twelve pennies; a baron, etc., four pennies; freeholder, vassal, feuer, burgess, etc. two pennies; tradesmen, servants, and all others, one penny. And farther: "That the puir folkes that hes na geare to pay the paine foresaide, to be put in the stockes or prisoned, for the space of foure houres, and wemen to be weyed and considered conforme to their bloude or estaite of their parties, that they ar coupled with." These penalties were for the second fault, doubled; the third, tripled; and for the fourth, the defaulter was "banished or put in warde, for the space of zeir an daye."

[1] Queen Mary, parl. 5, cap. 16.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM A.D. 1561, TO A.D. 1567.

1551, Robin Hood play—Riots in the city—The Queen's Catholic servants insulted — Idolaters and whoremongers ordered out of the city—How punished on refusal—The Queen orders the Town Council to depose the Magistrates from office—Her command obeyed—1561, The price per rood paid for building—1562, The Queen interferes with the election of Provost —City standard altered—Reformers only hold office in the city—Punishment of fornicators and adulterers—A Deacon imprisoned and condemned to be punished for adultery—The Deacons combine and liberate him—Price of boots and shoes—1563, Riots in the city—John Knox tried for High Treason and acquitted—1564, Pillory of a Popish Priest—1565, The Queen marries Darnley—The Provost deposed at the request of the Queen and another elected—The superiority of Leith pledged to Edinburgh—1667, Rizzio murdered—The Queen a prisoner in Holyrood Palace—Escapes —Darnley denies all connection with Rizzio's murder—The Queen's affections alienated from Darnley—James VI. born—Queen Elizabeth's behaviour on his birth being announced to her—Mary repents marrying

Darnley—Bothwell rules all at Court—Mary consents to divorce Darnley His murder hinted to her—A conspiracy against him formed—James' baptism—Darnley goes to Glasgow—Is seized with a dangerous malady—Meeting of Darnley's enemies—His murder resolved on—The Queen visits Darnley in Glasgow—1567, The Queen and Darnley leave Glasgow for Edinburgh—Darnley takes up his residence in the house of the Kirk-of-field —(Note, description of that house)—Darnley murdered—The house of the Kirk-of-field blown up with gunpowder—Bothwell suspected as the murderer of Darnley—Darnley's father implores the Queen in vain to apprehend those suspected of his son's murder—The Queen confers great favours on Bothwell—He is tried for Darnley's murder and acquitted—Bothwell invites a number of noblemen to supper—Declares his intention of marrying the Queen—They sanction his intentions by bond—Bothwell takes the Queen captive—Carries her to Dunbar—Brings her to Edinburgh—The nobles combine against Bothwell—The Queen marries him—He is generally detested—The confederate nobles enter Edinburgh—They and their army march against Bothwell and his troops—They meet at Carberry hill—The Queen and Bothwell deserted by their troops—Mary parts with Bothwell —He flies, and she surrenders to the confederate nobles—She is led in a disgraceful manner to Edinburgh—Is sent a prisoner to Lochleven Castle —Is compelled to resign her crown—James VI. crowned at Stirling—Punishment inflicted on fornicators.

THE celebration of games by the populace, in honour of their deities and heroes, is of great antiquity, and formed the principal part of the pagan religion. After the introduction of Christianity, games were still continued by our forefathers under the title of *May-games*,[1] *King or Queen of May, etc.*

As the memory of the original heroes of these games had been forgotten, it was natural for the populace to substitute a recent favourite, in room of an obsolete heathen deity. Robin Hood, a bold outlaw of the twelfth century, by his personal courage, his dexterous management of the bow, and by displaying a species of humanity and generosity in supplying the necessities of the poor with the spoils of the wealthy, became the favourite of the populace. A game was accordingly instituted in memory of *Robin Hood*, which was celebrated in the month of May, upon a sabbath or holiday, in which the people assembled in military array, and went to some adjoining field,[2] where, either as actors or spectators, the whole inhabitants of the respective towns were convened. The populace of Edinburgh were, at this period, in the practice of assembling at *Greenside Well*, previous to the celebration of this festival, and making choice of some respectable member of the corporation, to officiate in the character of *Robin Hood*, and another in that of *Little John*, his squire.

As tumultuous meetings for disorderly mirth are apt to lead to outrages, especially when the minds of men are agitated by religious controversy, it was found necessary to repress the game of Robin Hood by public statute.[3] However, the citizens of Edinburgh were by no means willing to relinquish their favourite amusement: year after year the magistrates ineffectually exerted

[1] The custom of dancing about Maypoles is still observed in some districts of England. [2] The place where these performances were exhibited was called the *play-field;* few towns of note were without one. [3] Queen Mary, parl. 6, cap. 61.

their authority[1] to repress this game; but being, in 1561, determined to put a stop to it, used more strenuous exertions to repress it, which so enraged the mob that they rose in mutiny, seized the gates of the city, insulted the principal inhabitants, and committed robberies on strangers. Kylton, a shoemaker, one of the principal rioters, was condemned by the magistrates to be hanged. Upon the day of execution, the mob assembling from all quarters, forced open the jail, and not only relieved Kylton, but liberated all the other prisoners, and broke in pieces the gibbet erected at the cross for his execution. The magistrates, who had taken refuge in the Tolbooth, were assaulted by the mob, who battered its doors with guns and staves, and poured stones through the windows. They made application to the deacons of the incorporations to appease the tumult, but they remained unconcerned spectators, and answered, "They will be magistrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone."[2] The magistrates were kept in confinement until they made proclamation to be published, offering indemnity to the rioters upon laying down their arms. In 1592, the General Assembly complained of the profanation of the sabbath by making of Robin Hood plays.[3]

The Sunday after Queen Mary's arrival being the festival of St. Bartholomew, preparations were made to celebrate mass in the chapel of Holyrood; but the citizens having determined not to grant the queen that freedom in the choice of her form of worship which they claimed for themselves, assembled at the palace, and, to use the expression of a Protestant historian, "The hearts of the godly having waxed bold," they could hardly be restrained from interrupting the service, and taking vengeance on the priest who officiated. They insulted and abused the queen's Catholic servants; and had not the prior of St. Andrews interposed, they might have proceeded to the most violent excesses.

The magistrates having ordered all the citizens, without distinction, to attend the Protestant churches, under certain penalties, the Papists, both priests and laity, likewise obeyed the injunctions of the worthy magistrates; but instead of joining in the worship, they interrupted the service, and endeavoured to seduce the new converts; whereupon the magistrates renewed a former edict, ordering all "idolaters and whoremongers" to depart the city within forty-eight hours. The queen, hurt at the disrespect shown to the religion in which she had been educated, sent a letter to the town council, complaining of their unjust and rigorous conduct, but this had no other effect with the zealous council, than to induce them to repeat their proclamation, commanding all such persons to depart from the city within twenty-four hours, on pain of being "carted, burnt on the cheek, and banished the city for ever." The queen being greatly enraged at the contemptuous behaviour of the magistrates, sent on the 5th October the following letter to the town council: "Mary R.—We, understanding that the provest and baillies of the burgh of Edinburgh, upoun

[1] Coun. Reg. vol. 4, p. 480. [2] The trades about this period had petitioned the town council to be admitted to a seat at the council board, but were denied that privilege. [3] Book of the Universal Kirk, p. 414.

Friday last be past, the feir day of October instant, set furth publick proclamatioun at the mercat crose of oure said burgh, express contrair to oure commandment, nocht makand us prive thereto, nor seikand to knaw oure plesure in sic behalf. Thairfor we ordane, will, commands, and charges the counsale and commontie of our said burgh to convene incontinent within the Tolbuith of oure said burgh, and deprive the provest and baillies, quha presently beirs office thairin of all furthir bering of office for this instant zeir, and to cheis uthir qualifeit personis in thair rowme, as they will anser to us thairupoun."[1] She at same time issued a proclamation granting liberty to all good and faithful subjects to repair to, or remain in Edinburgh, at their pleasure, which gave occasion to John Knox to make the observation:[2] "And so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, get protection under the queen's wings, under colour that they are of her religion. And so got the devil freedom again, whereas before, he durst not have been seen in day-light upon the common streets."

Upon the council receiving the above letter, they showed themselves equally pusillanimous as insolent, by first depriving the magistrates of their offices, and choosing others in their stead, and then waiting on the queen and informing her, that if the persons they had appointed were not approved of by her, they would make choice of whomsoever she pleased.

The houses on the west side of Leith wynd having become ruinous, Parliament, in 1540, passed an Act[3] ordaining them either to be rebuilt, sold, or taken down. It would appear, however, that after a lapse of twenty years they had neither been purchased nor rebuilt, for we find, in 1561, the town council entering into an agreement with Murdoch Walker, mason, to build the town wall from Leith wynd to the end of the North Loch, at the foot of Liberton wynd, with a house thereon, for 7s. 6d. sterling per rood, and 3s. 4d. sterling for each rood of the battlement.[4]

Queen Mary being determined at the annual election of magistrates in 1562 to have the civic chair filled by a gentleman friendly to her interest, wrote a peremptory letter to the town council on the 21st August, commanding them to make choice of Archibald Douglas of Kilspendie for their provost, in which letter she states, "This ze do, for oure will and mynd is, that the same be done." Although when this letter was laid before the council, sundry protests were taken against the queen's encroachment on their privileges, yet Douglas was chosen provost by them, in obedience to Mary's command.

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 4, f. 15. [2] Knox's Hist. p. 293. [3] James V. Parl. 7, c. 102. [4] As before mentioned, the wages of journeymen masons were in 1500, ninepence per week, and the above prices per rood forms a criterion of the price of erecting buildings in 1561. In 1661 mason's wages per day were four pence and two-thirds of a penny, besides an allowance of four pence for their morning's drink, and four-hours. Barrowmen's wages were sixpence halfpenny per day with the same allowances.[1]

[1] Authenticated accounts of disbursements by John Drevan, factor, for the new College of St. Andrews, A.D. 1661, in the Archives of that College.

The same year the town council, from their abhorrence of Popery, not only caused the picture of St. Giles (called by the Reformers *the Idol*), to be cut out of the town's standard, and the *Thistle* substituted in its place; but ordained that no person should be eligible to be chosen into any office in the city except such as were of the Reformed religion. They also in their zeal ordained that every person, *without distinction*, found guilty of fornication or adultery, be apprehended and committed to the *iron house*,[1] and fed on bread and water for a month. The former thereafter to be whipt at a cart's tail, and banished the city till the magistrates and the church were thoroughly satisfied with their reformation, and the latter banished the city for ever. In execution of this law, the magistrates ordered Sanderson, deacon of the fleshers, to be carted through the city for adultery. The corporations considering that the inflicting such a punishment would disgrace the whole fraternity, resented the indignity by assembling in a tumultuous manner, breaking open the prison, and relieving him.

The magistrates, irritated at this breach of their privileges, applied to the privy council for assistance; which being obtained, they committed a number of the craftsmen prisoners to the castle, which so intimidated the corporations, that the deacons presented a humble petition to the council, setting forth their innocence of the late "detestable insurrection," and praying in the name of God that the innocent might not suffer for the crimes of the guilty. They at same time promised henceforth all due obedience and submission to the magistrates and council, and entreated them to solicit the lords of the privy council to relieve their brethren from imprisonment, and they would give every aid and assistance in bringing the guilty to justice.

The town council, at the request of the deacons, read their petition to an assembly of the citizens, who testified their consent to its prayer being granted, by holding up their hands; whereupon the deacons were declared innocent, and acquitted from having any participation in the late tumult.

The same year the town council conceiving the citizens were imposed on by shoemakers, ordered boots and shoes to be sold at the following prices, under the penalty of forfeiture, viz., double soled shoes, of the largest size, at 10½d.; single soled, of the largest size, at 7¼d ; the best double soled largest sized boots at 5s. 6¼d.; single soled boots at 5s. per pair, sterling.[2]

A royal proclamation was issued in 1563, denouncing death

[1] A strong iron box or cage in the old Tolbooth which stood in the High street, (Sir Walter Scott's 'Heart of Mid-Lothian') in which notorious criminals were confined. [2] In 1124 a pair of shoes cost 1s.[1] In 1329, a yard of woollen cloth[2] dyed was sold at 17s. 8¾d, a yard of linen cloth at 1s. 7¼d.; a yard of twill at 10d.; a yard of silk at 14s. 3½d. In 1590 two ells of Holland[3] for his majesty, cost 7s. 6d., and two pair of long Naples silk hose, £6. A string for his hat, embroidered with gold and silver, 30s. A black beaver hat lined with velvet 30s.; six quarters of crape of silk to be the string of his hat, 5s. sterling.

[1] Leges Burgorum, c. 121. [2] Chamberlain's accounts of Scotland published from the originals in the Exchequer, by John Davidson, Esq. [3] Account of his majesty's apparel, furnished by Robert Joysse, merchant, Edin. General Register House.

against all who attended the celebration of mass, or countenanced it with their presence; but liberty was reserved to the queen to have mass celebrated in her chapel of Holyrood. Notwithstanding the above proclamation, a number of Catholics resorted openly to the queen's chapel, conceiving themselves safe while under her majesty's protection. Their attendance, however, gave great offence to the Reformers, who taking advantage of the queen's absence on a progress into the west country, assembled in a riotous manner, interrupted the service, and filled those present with the utmost consternation. Two of the ringleaders engaged in this tumult were seized, and a day appointed for their trial. Their conduct having been considered meritorious by Knox, he issued circular letters, in order to screen them from danger, requiring all who professed the true religion, or were concerned in the preservation of it, to assemble at Edinburgh on the day of trial, and by their presence to comfort and assist their distressed brethren. One of these letters fell accidentally into the queen's hands. To assemble the subjects without the authority of the sovereign, was construed to be high treason; and a resolution was taken to prosecute Knox for that crime before the privy council. After a long hearing he was unanimously acquitted; but it was fortunate for him that his judges were zealous Protestants, otherwise a very different result might have taken place.

The same year the queen, dressed in her robes and wearing the crown, met her Parliament in the capital, and concurred in the act of oblivion as to the proceedings of the lords of the Congregation. Edinburgh, with Knox for its minster, and the General Assembly for its most influential court, now gave a tone to the whole country, and a dominance to the spirit of religious reform, which was sufficiently menacing to the adherents of Popery, and not very agreeable to the queen.

Sir James Cravet, a Popish priest, having been taken up in 1564 for reading mass, contrary to act of Parliament, the citizens of Edinburgh arrayed him in his sacerdotal robes, and fixing a chalice in his hand, mounted him upon and tied him to the market cross, where he was exposed for the space of an hour, during which he was severely pelted by the populace with rotten eggs; next day he was exposed on the same place for four hours, attended by the hangman, during which he was more severely handled by the mob than on the previous day. Queen Mary, imagining this to have been done in contempt of her and her religion, wrote to her friends in the country to march with their respective forces to Edinburgh with the utmost speed and destroy that city. The magistrates being informed that their enemies at court endeavoured to persuade the queen that many of the principal citizens had been concerned in throwing missiles at Cravet, they sent a deputation to Mary at Stirling, to undeceive her as to this, and give her a full and faithful account of the process and conviction of Cravet, as well as of their own behaviour, while he stood on the pillory, which, being corroborated by her advocate, she countermanded the march of the troops.

Mary had been two years a widow, and being regarded as the

most lovely and accomplished woman of her age, her hand was solicited in marriage by many foreign princes. Her subjects were at the same time extremely desirous that she should marry, and transmit to her posterity the crown of their ancient monarchs; but out of regard to the wishes of her Protestant subjects, as well as those of Elizabeth, Mary was induced to refuse all foreigners.

Elizabeth, having determined to remain in a state of celibacy, was unwilling to see her rival married, dreading the advantage which that circumstance would give Mary in her claim of succession to the English throne. She amused Mary with obscure hints that she would recommend a proper husband for her choice, till at length the impatience of her subjects could brook no longer delay. Elizabeth at last broke through this strange reserve, and proposed Lord Robert Dudley (afterwards earl of Leicester), to whom she herself was ardently attached. Her insincerity, however, in this proposal did not escape the penetration of Mary; but to gratify the desire of her royal cousin that she should make choice of an English nobleman, she resolved to marry Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lennox, who was next heir, after herself, to the English throne, his mother being the daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII. by the earl of Angus, whom that princess married after the death of her husband, James IV. He was young, tall, and well proportioned, and skilled in all the arts that display a handsome person to advantage. Though Elizabeth was secretly pleased with the proposed marriage, she affected to disapprove of it in the strongest terms. She commanded Darnley to return instantly to England, and sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to dissuade Mary from marrying him; but her opposition only made Mary more anxious to have the marriage solemnized.

On 28th July, 1565, Darnley was proclaimed king at the market cross of the city, and next day the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel royal of Holyrood, at six o'clock in the morning. Mary was on this occasion habited in deep mourning. After the solemnity, and when the queen and Darnley had risen from the altar, the youthful bridgroom, after embracing and kissing his beautiful bride, retired from the chapel and left her to hear mass. On the conclusion of the service, at the entreaty of her husband, she renounced her weeds and assumed a dress more fitted to the happy occasion. The banquet succeeded. Money in abundance was scattered among the guests, the halls rung with music and cries of *Largess!* and the evening closed with dancing and joyous revelry. Mary was then in the twenty-third year of her age, and Darnley had just completed his nineteenth.

They were next day publicly proclaimed at the cross by the names and titles of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland.

This marriage gave an entirely different current to affairs, both as regards the metropolis and the kingdom.

Queen Mary, who never was after Cravet's punishment reconciled to Provost Douglas, sent in August the following letter to the town council, commanding them to depose him from

his office: "It is oure will, and for divers resonabill caussis and considerationns moving us, we charge and command zow that ze depoiss and displace the present provest of oure said burgh; and in his place, that ze elect, ressave, and admit our lovit Symon Prestoun of that ilk as provest thairof, as ze will answer to us thairupon.

The town council, anxious to do every thing in their power to regain the queen's favour, which they had lost since Cravet's punishment, deposed Douglas and elected Sir Simon Preston, of Craigmiller, provost.

The inhabitants of Leith, who were as before stated, greatly oppressed by the citizens of Edinburgh, found favour with Mary of Lorraine, queen regent, who frequently resided among them. To secure the inhabitants to her own and her daughter's interest, she granted them a contract dated at Holyrood, 30th January, 1555, by which she erected the town into a burgh of barony; and a few days after empowered the inhabitants by letters patent to choose baillies for the government of their town, and at same time by charters erected some of the trades into corporate bodies. She likewise promised to extend their privileges, by erecting the town into a royal burgh; preparatory to which she purchased the superiority of the town and Links, for the use of the inhabitants, from Logan of Restalrig, but for which they paid £3000 Scots.[1] She, however, to their great grief and disappointment, died before her promise was fulfilled. It is generally alleged that the community of Edinburgh offered her 20,000 merks[2] to prevent the erection of the town of Leith into a royal burgh. According to Knox, the queen dowager and regent was a woman who "could make her profit at all hands."

Government in 1565 being in want of money, Queen Mary, among other shifts to recruit her exhausted finances, pledged, in violation of the private rights of the inhabitants of Leith, its superiority to the community of Edinburgh, for the sum of 10,000 merks,[3] with the reversion in favour of the Earl of Bothwell. Although the town council had no money to lend, yet so anxious were the citizens to obtain the superiority of Leith, that three hundred and eighty-one of their number raised the requisite sum. Twenty-five of these were lawyers, who advanced the most considerable part of the loan.[4] The charter in favour of the community is dated 14th November. Mary having been compelled by urgent necessity, to do this act of injustice against her inclinations, repented entering into the transaction, and requested by letter the magistrates and council to delay taking possession of Leith, till next St. Luke's day. In a second letter, of date 13th April, 1566, she requested a farther delay of six months; and in a third letter, dated the 7th October, also addressed to the magistrates and council, she states, "In oure necessitie, we analut to zow the superiority of oure toun of Leith; and zit, at oure desire and requeist, ze haiff supersedit the putting of zowr selvis in possessioun of it. It is nocht unknawin to zow, quhat we haiff ado;

[1] £250 sterling. £555 15s. 1⅓d., Maitland, b. 7, p. 487.
[2] £1,111 10s. 3d. sterling.
[4] Ibid., p. 27.

and zit with the first, we purpose, God willing, to redeme that thing that we esteme precious and meikill worth. We ar assurit zit as of befoir, ze will nocht speir to gratifie us sa meikill, as to suspend the possessioun and intromissioun with oure said toun, quhill the last day of December nixt to cum, quhairunto we pray zow and requeistis zow ernestlie and effectuously as ze will do us verray thankfull and exceptabill plesure. This is sufficient gif ze mynd to schaw ony benevolence at oure desire; and gif ze do nocht, we man thoill it, and provide the nixt best. But we trest suirlie ze will nocht stand with us in sic ane matter; quhairupon we require zowr answer."

The citizens of Edinburgh, proud of their new acquisition, and impatient of being so long kept out of it, marched to Leith in military array so soon as the delay craved by the queen expired, and went through the form of taking it by a sort of capture. Thus the oppressed inhabitants of Leith were not only defrauded out of their money, but of the independence of their town. The town council and the incorporation of Edinburgh followed up the advantages thus obtained, by enacting many severe laws applicable to the suppression of the town of Leith.

David Rizzio, a Milanese of mean birth, son of a teacher of music, and himself a musician, came to Scotland with an ambassador from the Duke of Savoy. Queen Mary, finding that he would be a valuable acquisition to her band of musicians, retained him in her service after the departure of his master. His skill in music, of which the queen was passionately fond, procured him admission into her family circle; and by his artful and insinuating behaviour, he rapidly advanced in her esteem and confidence. On the return of the French secretary to his own country, Rizzio was promoted to that office. The contentions which existed among the nobles relative to their respective interests and religious sentiments, rendered it difficult for the queen to distinguish on whom to place her confidence; and as a trustworthy servant was a prize rarely to be found, she began to consult Rizzio in matters of secrecy and moment.

The step was an imprudent one, and was soon followed by evil consequences. It roused the jealousy of the king, a fickle, proud, weak, vain, impetuous, headstrong, and jealous youth, ambitious of power, yet incapable of wielding it, and the easy dupe of every crafty or interested companion. Rizzio, shrewd, as well as aspiring, was soon regarded as the queen's chief confident. He was consulted on all occasions, and no favours could be obtained but through him, Melvill[1] says "Those who had great actions at law, new infeftments to take, or who desired to prevail against their enemies at court or in law-suits before the sessions, addressed themselves to him and depended upon him, whereby in a short time he became very rich." Insolent from his exaltation, he began to assume, in his dress, equipage, and establishment, a foolish state, totally unsuited to his rank, and often spoke publicly to the queen in presence of the nobility, which soon excited their jealousy and hatred. In the ardour of Mary's early affection for

[1] Sir James Melvill's Memoirs, p. 112.

Darnley, she had promised him the crown matrimonial, that is, an equal share with herself in the government; but a few months after her marriage, she had the misery to discover that her love had been thrown away upon a husband whom it was impossible for her to treat with confidence or respect. Mary withdrew her promise, which led to coldness, to reproach, and soon to absolute estrangement; even in public he treated her with harshness; he became addicted to low dissipation, forsook her company, and threw himself into the arms of her enemies, who persuaded him that Rizzio was the sole author of those measures which had deprived him of his due share of the government, and even awakened within his breast jealousies of a more dangerous nature. And however unwarranted or unreasonable these might be, they were such as would easily find admission into the breast of such a man as Darnley, who himself swayed by dishonourable influences, would not be likely to seek honourable means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which Mary honoured Rizzio. The Lords Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Douglas, having formed a plot for Rizzio's destruction, were glad to find that they had been anticipated by Darnley, who sent his cousin George Douglas to implore Lord Ruthven to assist him against "the villain David." Ruthven was at the time confined to bed by a dangerous sickness, which might have deterred as well as unfitted him from engaging in such villany, yet he consented to bear a part in the murder of Rizzio. These lords being aware of Darnley's irresolution and fickleness, induced him to sign a bond, binding himself to protect them from all the consequences of the infamous plot.

Such was now the forward state of the conspiracy for the murder of Rizzio, that on Saturday evening, the 9th March, 1566, while Mary was at supper in a small room which was approached from her bedchamber, attended by the Countess of Argyle, Beaton, master of the household, Arthur Erskine, captain of the guard, and her secretary Rizzio, the Lords Morton and Lindsay with 150 men bearing torches and weapons seized the gates of the palace without resistance, and closed them against all but their own friends. The queen's bed-chamber communicated by a secret turnpike-stair with the king's apartment below, to which the conspirators had been admitted. Darnley, ascending the stair, entered the little apartment where Mary sat, and casting his arms fondly round her waist, seated himself behind her at table. A minute had scarcely passed when Ruthven, clad in complete armour, pale from illness, his voice hollow, and his whole appearance haggard and terrible, abruptly broke in. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, started up in terror, commanding him to be gone; but ere the words were uttered, torches gleamed in the outer room, and a confused noise of words and weapons was heard, and the next moment George Douglas, Car of Fandonside, and other conspirators, rushed into the room.[1] Mary demanding the cause of their rude intrusion, Ruthven drew his dagger, called out that their business was with Rizzio, and made an effort to seize

[1] Keith p. 330. Ellis v. 2, first series, p. 207.

him, while their miserable victim ran behind the queen, and seizing hold of her gown, implored her protection. Although Mary earnestly requested them to have mercy, they were deaf to her entreaties. All was now uproar and confusion; the table and lights were overturned, Rizzio was stabbed by Douglas over the queen's shoulders, Car held a pistol to Mary's breast, and whilst she shrieked with terror, their bleeding victim was dragged amidst shouts and execrations through the queen's bed-room to the entrance of the presence-chamber. Here Morton and his men rushed upon him, and buried their daggers in his body; nor did they think the work completed till the body was mangled with fifty-six wounds, and left in a pool of blood. Mary in the meantime remained in the small room, distracted and in terror of her life, ignorant of the completion of the murder till one of her ladies rushing in, cried out that Rizzio was slain. "And is it so? then I shall weep no more. I shall think of revenge!" exclaimed the queen, drying up her tears.

The conspirators, apprehensive of Mary's resentment, retained possession of the palace, and guarded it with the utmost care. Darnley assumed the whole power, addressed his royal letters, dissolved the Parliament, which was then sitting in the city, and orders were dispatched to the magistrates, enjoining them with their city force to keep a vigilant watch, and suffer none but Protestants to leave their houses. Huntly, Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and James Melville, who were in attendance on the queen, contrived to elude the guards. As Melville was passing beneath the queen's window, she threw up the sash and implored him to warn the citizens, and save her from the traitors who had her in their power. This message had been carried so speedily that the common bell was soon thereafter heard ringing; and the Provost, with a body of armed citizens, rushed confusedly into the palace court, demanding the instant liberation of their sovereign. Mary in vain begged and threatened for liberty to speak with them, but she was dragged back from the windows by the conspirators, and Darnley addressed the citizens, assured them that both he and the queen were in safety; and, having commanded them on their allegiance to go home, was instantly obeyed.

Mary, perceiving that she had not entirely lost her influence over her husband, her spirits and courage revived; and exerting those powers of fascination and persuasion which she possessed in so high a degree, soon succeeded in alarming her husband's fears and awakening his love. Darnley was won by her arguments, and becoming terrified at the consequences of the murder, took refuge in falsehood, and denied all connection with the conspiracy. Mary, by promise of pardon, lulled the suspicions of the conspirators; so that the guards were removed and the servants of the household permitted to resume their charge. But about midnight Mary threw herself upon a fleet horse, and, accompanied only by the king and Arthur Erskine, fled to Dunbar, where Huntly, Athole, Bothwell, and a multitude of barons and gentlemen, soon crowded round her, and she immediately advanced at the head of 8000 men to the capital, from which the conspirators

fled with the utmost precipitation to England and elsewhere. Darnley not only withdrew his friendship from the conspirators, but busied himself in bringing them to justice; while they, in retaliation, laid the bond he had signed along with themselves before the queen, who was now made aware for the first time that Darnley was the principal conspirator, the defamer of her honour, the plotter against her liberty and her crown, the almost murderer of herself and unborn child. Can it be wondered at that her affections were wholly alienated from a man who was a liar, false to his honour, false to her, false to his associates in crime, and addicted to the lowest vices. As the period of Mary's confinement drew near, her resentment softened towards the king. Uncertain that she should survive, she called together her nobility, took measures regarding the government, made her will, became apparently reconciled to the king, and personally arranged every thing, either for life or death. On 19th June, Mary was delivered of her only son, James, in a small room in the castle of Edinburgh; and immediately despatched Sir James Melville to carry the news to Queen Elizabeth, who received the intelligence with her usual duplicity. The unwelcome news having been whispered in her ear by secretary Cecil while dancing at Greenwich after supper, all her mirth was laid aside for that night, and the sudden change struck every one present with astonishment; but the queen, not being able to conceal her feelings, sat down, put her hand under her cheek, and burst into tears, bewailing to some of her ladies "That the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock."[1] When Melville had audience next morning, she said his tidings gave her the utmost joy, and had cured her of a fifteen days' sickness. Meanwhile, Mary recovered; but Darnley became an object of dislike and suspicion, not only to her, but to the powerful and now united party by whom she was surrounded; and Mary bitterly repented that she was tied to a wayward and intemperate youth who had already endangered her life and her crown.

The Earl of Bothwell, who was a man of high rank, possessed of a daring and martial spirit, at this time ruled all at court. His ambition and audacity, however, were unbounded; and in attaining the object of his ambition he was perfectly unscrupulous as to the means he employed.

The faction opposed to Darnley, which was led by Moray, Lethingham, and Bothwell, held a conversation with Huntly and Argyle in Craigmiller Castle, where the queen then resided, and there they proposed to her the divorcement of Darnley, to which she professed her willingness, provided it would not prejudice the rights of her son. They also hinted at the murder of Darnley, though darkly, yet in terms which could scarcely have been misunderstood by any who were present. These conspirators entered into a bond to murder Darnley, which is said to have been written by James Balfour, afterwards President of the Court of Session.

On 17th December, the ceremony of the baptism of the young

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 138.

prince[1] was performed in the chapel royal in Stirling Castle, according to the ritual of the Romish Church, by the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the royal infant received the name of Charles James. Darnley, though residing in the Castle, absented himself from the ceremony of his son's baptism, and abruptly left Stirling on 24th December to reside with his father in Glasgow. Before he reached that city he was seized with a dangerous malady. Historians differ as to the nature of his illness. Some assert that it was occasioned by poison, administered to him either before leaving Stirling or on the road, by servants who had been hired by Bothwell; others as confidently affirm it to have been the small pox.

When the Earl of Morton returned in January, 1567, from his banishment in England, Darnley still lay in a weakly state of health at Glasgow. Before coming to Edinburgh, Morton went to see Archibald Douglas, then at his seat at Whittingham, where he was joined by Bothwell and Lethington. Bothwell explained the object of their visit by acquainting Morton with their determination to murder Darnley, and added as an inducement for him to join the conspiracy, that the queen had consented to his death. Morton, however, declined to join the plot; but, on being urged, he said, "Bring me the queen's handwrit for a warrant, and you shall have my answer." On 22nd January, Mary set out on a visit to Darnley at Glasgow, whom she found convalescent, but weak and much reduced. She lodged in the same house with him, but his disease having been considered infectious, they had separate apartments. However, she carefully and affectionately nursed him, and he professed a deep repentance for his errors, pleaded his youth, and declared his unalterable affection. Mary told him as he was still unable to travel, she had brought a litter with her to carry him to Craigmillar Castle, on which he declared his willingness to go, on condition that she would consent to their again living together, and Mary gave him her hand that she would do so. Darnley afterwards asked Crawford, one of the gentlemen in waiting, what he thought of the queen's taking him to Craigmillar. "She treats your Majesty too much like a prisoner," said he. "It struck me much the same way," said Darnley, "and I have fears enough; but may God judge between us. I have her promise only to trust to, but I have placed myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me.[2] Darnley

[1] The young prince's household establishment was from his earliest infancy on the most princely scale. The Lady Marr was his governess. A Mrs. Margaret Little, spouse of Alexander Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, was his head nurse, who had four or five women under her, 'keepers of the king's clothes,' etc. Five ladies of distinction were appointed 'rockers' of the prince's cradle. At this early age, James's kitchen had a master cook, a foreman and three other servants; one for his pantry, one for his wine, and two for his ale cellar. He had three 'chamber chields,' one 'furnisher of coals,' and a pantry cook, or confectioner. Five musicians, or 'Violards' completed the number of his household. To fill so many mouths there was a fixed allowance of provisions, consisting of bread, beef, veal, mutton, capons, chickens, pigeons, fish, pottage, wine, and ale.[1]

[1] Chalmers, v. ii, p. 176.

[2] Tytler, v. vii, p. 65.

having objected to live in Craigmillar, Mary wrote to Secretary Maitland to procure convenient accommodation for her husband in the city. The secretary showed her letter to Bothwell, and they mutually agreed to recommend to Darnley the house of the Kirk-of-field. The queen and Darnley set out for Edinburgh on Monday, 27th January, 1567, and arrived in the city on Thursday, when Darnley took up his residence, as had been previously agreed upon, in the house of the Kirk-of-field.[1] At this moment the reconciliation between the queen and her husband seemed to be complete; she frequently visited him, treated him with the greatest apparent kindness, and occasionally slept all night in a room prepared for herself immediately below the apartment occupied by Darnley. She sometimes had her band of musicians brought up, who played and sung to her and Darnley. Although Darnley knew that plots had been formed against his life, and had been plainly told by Lord Robert, Earl of Orkney, that if he retired not hastily out of that place it would cost him his life, yet he trusted to the queen's promises, and believed that so long as she remained with him their cruel purposes could not be put into execution; but he little knew he was on the very brink of destruction. It was on the evening of Sunday, the 9th of February, that the final preparations for Darnley's murder was agreed on, as Bothwell knew that the queen could not sleep at the Kirk-of-field that night, she having promised to honour with her presence the marriage of Bastian, a foreigner belonging to her household, to Margaret Corwood, one of her private waiting maids. Although Bothwell was the principal actor in the cruel tragedy that was about to take place, Secretary Lethington, Sir James Balfour, the earls of Morton, Argyle, and Caithness, Archibald Douglas, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and many others of the leading lords

[1] The kirk and district of Holy Mary-in-the-field took the name of Kirk-of-field, because the church stood, when first erected, without the walls of the city; but when the city walls were afterwards extended, it enclosed the Kirk-of-field, as well as the houses of the Provost and prebendaries. On Darnley's arrival, his servants were proceeding to a house occupied as the town residence of the Duke of Chatelherault, but the queen informed them that the king's apartments were to be in an adjoining house, which stood at some distance from the kirk, beside the town wall, and not far from the Dominican monastery, called the Blackfriars, then in ruins. To this house the queen led her husband, which appears to have been an insecure and confined mansion. It fronted the west, having a southern gable so close upon the town wall, that a little postern door entered immediately through it into the kitchen. It consisted only of four apartments; on the ground a small passage went through from the front door to the back of the house, upon the right hand of which was the kitchen, and upon the left a room furnished as a bed-room for queen Mary, when she chose to remain all night. Passing out at the back door, there was a turnpike stair behind, which, after the old fashion of Scottish houses, led to the upper story. Above, there were two rooms corresponding with those below; Darnley's chamber was immediately over Mary's, and on the other side of the lobby, above the kitchen, there was a little gallery, which was used as a servant's room, and which had a window in the gable looking through the town wall and corresponding with the postern door below. Immediately beyond this wall was a lane shut in by another wall, to the south of which were extensive gardens. This church, with the grounds pertaining to it, occupied the site of the present University, Infirmary Street, Drummond Street, and some of the adjacent streets.

and legal officers in the country had joined in the conspiracy; but as Bothwell could not put his plans for Darnley's destruction into execution without assistance, he used eight unfortunate men as tools to assist in the execution of his diabolical design. Four of these were merely menial servants, named Dalgleish, Wilson, Powrie, and Nicolas Haubert. The latter was a native of France, who had been a long time in Bothwell's service, but had been lately, upon his recommendation, taken into that of the queen's. From him Bothwell obtained the keys of some of the doors of the Kirk-of-field house, and caused impressions to be taken from them. His four other assistants were the Laird of Ormiston, Hob Ormiston his uncle, John Hepburn of Bolton, and John Hay of Talto.

Bothwell's plans being after much deliberation matured, powder was secretly brought into Edinburgh from Dunbar Castle, and deposited in Bothwell's lodgings, which were in the immediate vicinity of Holyrood Palace. Having assembled his accomplices, Dalgleish and Wilson, the gunpowder was brought from his residence, and being put up in small bags and placed in trunks, was carried on horseback. The party was not allowed to come nearer than the Convent gate, at the foot of the Blackfriars wynd, where Ormiston, Hepburn, and Hay, received the gunpowder, and carried it to the house of Kirk-of-field, and Dalgleish and Wilson returned home without having seen Bothwell, who was walking up and down the Cowgate. Haubert, as the queen's valet-de-chambre, kept the keys of the lower flat of the house, and was already in the chamber where the Queen usually slept, ready to receive the powder, which was carried bag after bag, into that room, and emptied on the floor in a heap. All things being arranged, Hepburn and Hay were locked into the room with the gunpowder to keep watch, and the others left the under part of the house. The queen that day dined at Holyrood Palace, and went in the evening to a banquet given to her by the bishop of Argyle, where Bothwell also was present. Mary rose from the supper table about nine o'clock, and went to the Kirk-of-field, to visit her husband, accompanied by the earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Cassils, and these were present with Darnley, at the very time the gunpowder was placed in the room below. Bothwell joined them immediately after seeing Hepburn and Hay locked into the queen's apartment, where the gunpowder was deposited. Mary, after remaining sometime with her husband, went to the palace accompanied by Bothwell, Argyle, Huntly, Cassils, and others, and immediately joined the marriage party. Darnley, little aware of the plot that was going on beneath him, went to bed and fell asleep; Taylor his page slept in the same apartment; and Thomas Neilson, Edward Simmon, and a boy, lay in the servants' apartment on the same floor. Bothwell left the wedding party, went to his lodgings, exchanged his rich court dress for a common one, wrapt himself up in his cloak, and met Dalgleish, Wilson, Powrie, and Haubert, in the convent garden, a short way behind Darnley's residence; Dalgleish, Wilson, and Powrie were ordered to remain, and Bothwell and Haubert went over the

wall to relieve Hay and Hepburn from their confinement; but their miserable victim was awakened by the noise of the keys while unlocking the door, and rushing down stairs in his shirt, followed by his page, endeavoured to make his escape; but they were caught and strangled after a desperate resistance, and their bodies were carried into a small orchard, without the garden wall. The murderers then took a piece of lint three or four inches long, and setting fire to one end, they laid the other on the gunpowder, which, as before-mentioned, was lying on a heap on the floor, in such a manner as would allow them sufficient time to retire to a safe distance. Having joined their associates in the convent garden, they all stood for a quarter of an hour in anxious expectation of the explosion. Bothwell becoming impatient, proposed to return and look in at the back window of the room, where the powder lay, to see if the light was still burning; but while the others were pointing out to him the danger in doing so, the explosion took place; and so complete was the destruction of the house of the Kirk-of-field, that scarcely a vestige of its walls were left standing. So tremendous was the noise that it even startled the inhabitants of the city from their sleep. The assassins, hurrying from the spot, passed out of the convent gate, and having proceeded down the Cowgate, separated. When Bothwell arrived at his lodgings, he called for a drink, and taking off his clothes, went to bed; but in less than half an hour, the cry arose in the city that the house of the Kirk-of-field had been blown up, and the king murdered; and a servant rushing into Bothwell's chamber, imparted to him the dreadful tidings. Affecting the greatest indignation and alarm, he rose and put on the same clothes he had worn the previous night when with the queen, and being joined by Huntly and others, they repaired to the palace to inform the queen of what had happened. When Mary heard of what had taken place, her grief knew no bounds; and seeing that it was hopeless to console her, they left her at day-break, and proceeded to the Kirk-of-field.

The murder having been committed on Monday the 10th of February, about two o'clock in the morning, as day broke, multitudes crowded to examine the house of the Kirk-of-field. Darnley and Taylor his page were at first supposed to have been carried over the wall by the explosion, and to have fallen into the small orchard, where they were found in their night-clothes; but on their bodies being examined, they appeared unscathed by fire or powder; and no external injuries nor blood-wounds being discovered in either, it was supposed that they had been first strangled or assassinated, and then carried out and laid where found. Little time, however, was allowed for scrutinizing, for Bothwell soon repaired to the spot with a guard, and the king's body was carried into a neighbouring house, where it lay till it was produced before the privy council. The other three persons that were in the house when blown up were all buried in the ruins, out of which Neilson alone was taken alive. Amid the conflicting stories of the ruffians who were examined, as also from the depositions of the witnesses on their trials, some of whom were

Bothwell's accomplices, it is difficult to arrive at the whole truth; but no obscurity rests on the part taken by Bothwell, the arch conspirator. The state in which Darnley and his page's bodies were when found, gave rise to innumerable contradictory reports and conjectures, but all agreed that instant inquiry should be made into the cause of his death. Two thousand pounds reward were offered to any one who should give information on the subject, and although no one came forward to claim the reward, placards, accusing Bothwell, were openly exposed in the city, and voices were heard in the streets arraigning him, Mr. James Balfour, and David Chalmers, as guilty of the king's murder; and as the fate of the king had excited the deepest indignation in the minds of the people, Mary's friends looked with the utmost anxiety to the conduct she should pursue. After keeping her chamber for a few days, she, accompanied by Bothwell, Argyle, Huntly, the bishop of St. Andrews, and Secretary Lethington, removed to the seat of Lord Seaton, a short distance from the capital. The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, wrote to the queen, and implored her to apprehend the suspected persons, and mentioned the names of Bothwell, Balfour, Chalmers, John de Bordeaux, and Joseph, Rizzio's brother, as having been denounced in the placards as the murderers of his son, and earnestly besought the queen to take steps for their apprehension. But he besought her in vain, as the very men whom he accused continued in high favour, and enjoyed the most familiar intimacy with Mary; and in the interval of delay, many of those implicated took the opportunity of leaving the country.

Bothwell continued to have the chief direction of affairs, although placards and drawings appeared daily in the city, in which he and even the queen herself were plainly pointed at as the murderers of Darnley, which so raised Bothwell's passion, that he one day rode from Seaton to Edinburgh, accompanied by fifty men, and with furious oaths and gestures declared publicly if he knew who were the authors of the bills or drawings he would "wash his hands in their blood." His deportment and fierce looks were much noted by the people, who began, at the same time, to express themselves openly and bitterly against the queen. Mary, infatuated in her predilection for Bothwell, admitted him to greater power and favour than ever. The castles of Edinburgh, and Blackness, the Inch and the superiority of Leith, were conferred on him.

Mary, urged by Elizabeth, the queen-mother of France, and the Cardinal her uncle, to clear herself from the imputations brought against her, at last resolved that Bothwell should be brought to trial; but who dared be so hardy as accuse him? The Earl of Lennox had been summoned to appear and make good his accusations; but he was afraid to place himself in direct opposition to so powerful an adversary, who enjoyed the royal favour, and held command of the town and castle. On the day of trial, Bothwell's friends assembled at the palace; these with their followers amounted to 4000 men, besides a guard of 200 hagbutters, who kept possession of the streets, and filled the outer

court of the palace; and he, being governor of the castle, had a complete command over the town. When Bothwell left the palace he proceeded to the Tolbooth, where the trial was to take place; Mary, who stood at a window, gave him a friendly greeting. Bothwell's hagbutters surrounded the Tolbooth door, and allowed none but those friendly towards him to enter. Most of the jury were his friends, while the law officers of the crown were either in his interest or overawed into silence, and no witnesses were examined. The Earl of Lennox, while on the road to the city with a numerous company of friends, was ordered not to enter with more than six in his retinue. This order intimidated him from making his personal appearance; but a gentleman, named Cunningham, appeared for him, and publicly protested against the validity of any sentence of acquittal, and withdrew. Bothwell pleaded not guilty; and, in the absence of all evidence, the jury pronounced a unanimous verdict of acquittal. This trial was little else than a mock ceremonial, directed by himself and completely overruled by his creatures.

Bothwell's acquittal was so loudly reprobated by the populace, that in the public streets, the market women, as Mary passed, would cry out, "God preserve your grace, if you are saikless [innocent] of the king's death;" and the people's indignation and disgust were more strongly expressed on hearing of the rumours of a divorce between Bothwell and his countess, a sister of the Earl of Huntly. Instead of Mary opening her eyes to the perils of her situation, she seems to have resigned herself to one strong and engrossing passion. She selected Bothwell to bear the crown and sceptre when she rode to Parliament, which met a few days after his acquittal; she conferred upon him the lordship and castle of Dunbar, with an enlargement of his office of High Admiral.

When Parliament met, the acquittal of Bothwell was confirmed, and the conduct of the jury approved of. On the evening of the 19th of April, when Parliament rose, Bothwell invited a number of the nobility to supper in a tavern in Edinburgh, kept by a person of the name of Ansley. After plying them with wine, he rose and proposed his marriage with the queen, affirming that he had gained her consent. All his guests, except the Earl of Eglinton, who in the confusion made his escape, were overawed by Bothwell and his friends into compliance, and affixed their signatures to a bond, in which they declared their conviction of his innocence, and recommended him as a suitable husband to the queen. Mary's late conduct sufficiently indicated how acceptable this match would be to her. Sir William Kirkaldy, in a letter to the Earl of Bedford, on the day after the supper, says, "She has become so shamelessly enamoured that she has been heard to say, she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she would leave him." But as Mary could not with decency give her hand to a person impeached as the murderer of her late husband, apparent compulsion was employed to force her into compliance. She, on the 21st April, having gone to Stirling to visit her son, on her return, Melville says, "Betwixt Linlithgow

and Edinburgh the Earl of Bothwell reincountered her with a great company, and took her majesty's horse by the bridle; his men took the Earl of Huntly's, the secretary Lethington, and me, and carried us captives to Dunbar; all the rest were permitted to go free. Then the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the queen, who would, or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not. Captain Blackater, who had taken me, alleged it was with the queen's own consent. The next day, in Dunbar, I obtained permission to go home."[1] On the 26th April, only two days after the above event, Kirkaldy, or, as he was commonly called, "The Laird of Grange," wrote to Bedford, "The queen will never cease, unto such time as she have wrecked all the honest men in the realm. She was minded to cause Bothwell ravish her, to the end that she may the sooner end the marriage, whilk she promised before she caused Bothwell murder her husband." Mary lived with Bothwell for a short time in Dunbar, in a state of supposed violation, and Melvill adds, "and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will." On leaving Dunbar on 3rd May, the queen and Bothwell rode to Edinburgh; on entering the city, his followers cast away their spears to save themselves from any charge of treason; and Bothwell dismounted and took hold of the bridle of the queen's horse, and led her into the Castle.

Bothwell was not long permitted to triumph in the success of his villany; many even of his friends began to think that he had carried through his measures with a high hand. Grange, on 7th May, wrote again to Bedford, stating that many of the nobility had, for fear of their lives, granted sundry things against their honour and conscience, "who since have convened themselves at Stirling, where they have made a 'band' to defend each other in all things that shall concern the glory of God and commonweal of their country. The heads they agree upon are: first, to seek the liberty of the queen, who is ravished and detained by the Earl of Bothwell, who was the ravisher, and hath the strength, munition, and men of war at his command. The next head is the preservation and keeping of the prince. The third is to pursue them that murdered the king. For the pursuit of these three heads they have promised to bestow their lives, lands, and goods."

Mary's hand and Scotland's crown were objects which the Earl of Bothwell had long kept in view. To attain these, he had removed Darnley, divorced his own wife, the Earl of Huntly's sister, and submitted to a trial for Darnley's murder, in which he foresaw he would come off triumphant; and the predictions of Melvill and Grange were soon to be fulfilled, for the Church was ordered to proclaim the banns of the queen's marriage. This they peremptorily refused. Craig, one of the ministers, alleged as the excuse, that Mary had sent no written command, and stated the common report that she had been ravished, and was kept captive by Bothwell; but a letter, signed by Mary herself, was produced to him, asserting the falsehood of such stories, and requiring his obedience. Craig, when called upon before the

[1] Memoirs of Sir James Melvill, pp. 155, 156.

privy council to answer for his temerity, with great boldness told them, Bothwell being present, "That the bounds of his commission were from the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of them, it would appear infamous and dishonourable to the whole world." On the 12th of May, Bothwell was created Duke of Orkney and Shetland, the queen with her own hands placing the coronet upon his head; and on the 18th of that month the marriage took place, at four o'clock in the morning, in the presence-chamber of the palace of Holyrood. The ceremony was performed after the rite of the Protestant Church, by Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney; few of the nobility were present, and there were neither pageants nor rejoicings.

Bothwell, who was universally reputed the principal murderer of the king, was now the husband of the sovereign; and it was commonly reported that he did not scruple to avow his wish to get the young prince into his possession, and vaunted if he could once do so, he would warrant him from revenging his father's death.

Mary had summoned her nobles to attend her with their feudal forces, intimating her and her husband's intentions to proceed to the borders to suppress some disturbances there; but most of them had already left court, and no army therefore could be assembled; so detested indeed was Bothwell, that even the soldiers whom he had in pay incurred his suspicion. The combined lords suspecting that the expedition to the borders was merely a pretence, and that Bothwell's real intention was to attack Stirling Castle, and make himself master of the young prince's person, concentrated their forces at Stirling, and learning that the queen and Bothwell had left Edinburgh on the 6th June, with 800 horsemen, and had retired to Borthwick Castle, situated about ten miles from the capital, they immediately marched and suddenly invested it, and deemed themselves sure of their prize; but Bothwell escaped through a postern, and reached Dunbar, where he was joined by the queen, who fled from Borthwick in men's apparel, booted and spurred, and thus eluded notice. The associate confederates, amounting to 3000 men, thus disappointed, marched on 11th June to the capital. The Earl of Huntly endeavoured in vain to animate the citizens to defend the city against the troops of the nobles, but they were allowed to enter without opposition, and were instantly joined by many of the inhabitants, who became the firmest supporters of their cause. In the meantime, Mary and Bothwell had assembled about 2000 men; with these they left Dunbar on the 14th June, and entrenching themselves on Carberry hill, there awaited their opponents. The lords with their army made a circuit towards Dalkeith, and took up a position to the west of Bothwell's army. Both parties, hourly expecting additional strength, drew out the time under various pretences of mutual accommodation. Bothwell's troops showed no inclination to fight, and it was evident that desertion was rapidly spreading in his army. Mary endeavoured in vain to stimulate them, she implored them to advance, assured them of victory, taunted them with cowardice, reproached and threatened them, but all to so

little purpose, that when Grange, at the head of his troops, began to wheel round the hill, so as to turn their flank, the panic became general, and the queen and Bothwell were left with only sixty gentlemen and a band of hagbutters, and Mary found herself under the necessity of surrendering herself to her rebellious subjects. She agreed to dismiss Bothwell, provided the lords returned to their allegiance and conducted her to Edinburgh. These terms having been accepted, it was not without much difficulty that Mary prevailed on Bothwell to mount his horse; he appeared to waver and remonstrate, but when she gave him her hand, he took farewell, turned his horse's head, and rode off the field, none of the confederate lords offering the least impediment. It was the last time they ever met. The confederate nobles had declared, that their object in taking arms was to bring this infamous man to justice as the murderer of the king; yet, at the moment when they had him in their power, he was allowed to escape, as many of them well knew that although he was the principal murderer of Darnley, if driven to his defence, he could bring them in as accomplices. It was now the evening of the 14th June, and Mary, riding between Morton and Athole, entered Edinburgh. The populace as she rode through the streets received her with yells and execrations; the women pressing round, accused her in coarse terms as an adulteress, stained with her husband's blood; and the soldiers, unrestrained by their officers, kept constantly waving before her eyes a standard, on which was painted the dead body of Darnley, stretched on the ground, and the young prince kneeling before it, uttering these words, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" Covered with dust and overwhelmed with grief, Mary was conducted to the house of Sir Simon Preston, the provost, and compelled to pass the night without her female attendants, in solitude and tears. The first object that met her eyes in the morning was the same dreadful banner, hung up directly opposite her window. The sight brought on an agony of despair and delirium, in the midst of which she tore her dress from her person, and, forgetting that she was almost naked, attempted in her frenzy to address the people:[1] her piteous situation produced an impression in her favour, and the citizens were taking measures for her rescue, when she was suddenly removed to Holyrood Palace.

The confederated lords, instead of fulfilling the promise they made to Mary when she surrendered to them, sent her in the evening a prisoner to Lochleven Castle, situated in the midst of a lake, belonging to Douglas, one of the confederates, and from which escape was deemed impossible. Her valuables in Holyrood Palace were seized; her plate sent to the Mint to be converted into coin; and her chapel in Holyrood spoiled of its furniture and ornaments, and generally demolished. The last of these acts, however, was chargeable, not to the body of the confederates, but only to the Earl of Glencairn.

Mary, while a prisoner, was compelled to resign the government into the hands of a regency, who, during her son's minority

[1] Tytler, vol. 7, p. 109, Seq.

should rule in her name. With streaming eyes and trembling hand she subscribed three deeds, presented to her by Lindsay, who at the same time threatened her with instant death if she refused to comply. By one of these she resigned the crown, renounced all share in the government of the kingdom, and consented to the coronation of her son. By another, she appointed the Earl of Moray regent; and by a third, she nominated other noblemen in the regency, (Moray being abroad) in case the office should be declined by him. On the 29th day of July the infant prince was, after an animated discourse by John Knox, crowned in the High Church of Stirling, by the Bishop of Orkney, under the title of James VI., he being only thirteen months and ten days old. On this occasion three of the magistrates of Edinburgh attended to represent the city.

The town council, during Queen Mary's reign, enacted many ridiculous laws against those guilty of the crime of fornication. To the punishments already mentioned, they added ducking in filthy and stagnant pools, and confinement in the most dismal dungeons, with diet of bread and water. They also erected a pillar in the North Loch, where those guilty of this crime were by their authority ducked. Many of their acts received by gradual steps the sanction of the legislature, and amongst others the following, at the commencement of the reign of James VI.[1] "It is statute and ordained be oure Soveraine Lord, with advice and consent of his dearest Regent and the three Estaites of this present Parliament, that gif ony person or personis within his realme, to burgh or to land, sall commit the filthie vice of fornication, and beis convict thereof, that the commiteris thereof sall be punished in maner following. That is to say, for the first fault, alsweill the man as the woman, sall pay the summe of fourtie pundes: or then baith he and she sall be imprisoned for the space of aucht dayes, their fude to be breade and small drinke, and thereafter presented to the mercat place of the towne or parochin bair-headed, and there stand fastened, that they may not remove, for the space of twa houres; as fra ten houres to twelve houres at noone. For the second fault being convict, they sall pay the summe of ane hundreth markes, or then the foirnamed dayis of their imprisonment sall be doubled, their fude to be breade and water allanerlie. And in the end, to be presented to the said mercat place, and baith the headis of the man and the woman to be schaven. And for the third fault, being convict thereof, shall pay ane hundreth pundis, or else their above imprisonment to be tripled, their fude to be breade and water allanerlie. And in the end, to be tane to the deipest and foullest pule, or water of the towne, or parochin, there to be thrise dowked, and theirafter banished the said towne or parochin for ever. And fra thenc furth, how oft that ever they be convict of the foresaide vice of fornication, that sa oft the said third penaltie be execute upon them." These pecuniary penalties were by the said act ordained to be securely "keiped in ane close box, and converted *ad pios usos.*"

[1] James VI., parl. 1, cap. 13.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM A.D. 1568, TO A.D. 1573.

1568, Moray returns to Scotland—Appointed Regent—The Castle delivered to him—The Plague in the City—Mary makes her escape—Flies to England—Is made prisoner by Elizabeth—1569, Death of Moray—King's-men and Queen's-men—Edinburgh suffers severely—Measures taken for its defence—1570, The citizens greatly excited—The leaders of the king's faction assemble their friends in the city—Mary's faction encouraged by France—They advance to the capital—Have a conversation with Kirkaldy—Summon a general Convention—An English army enters Scotland—Destroys the country by fire and sword—An English army in the capital—A skirmish at the Watergate—"Carnie fight"—Lennox elected Regent—Hostilities suspended—Two Parliaments sit in the city—Issue forfeitures against each other—Daily skirmishes in the city and neighbourhood—The forces of Lennox and Morton unite and fortify Leith—Kirkaldy fortifies the city and repairs its walls—Holds out the city against the king's faction—Morton's plate and wines seized by Kirkaldy—Morton in revenge destroys Kirkaldy's estate—Kirkaldy in retaliation sets Dalkeith on fire, and kills a number of Morton's soldiers—The miserable state of the capital and country—The Provost deposed—A fierce Border Chief placed in the civic chair—His retainers act as bailies—Death of Lennox—Mar elected regent—He bombards the city—The prisoners taken by either faction branded or hanged—1572, Queen Mary's affairs in a prosperous state—Death of Mar—Morton elected regent—Death of John Knox—Episcopacy virtually established—1573, Kirkaldy cannonades the city—Kills some of the citizens—Mary's cause hopeless—An English army enters the capital—A Parliament assembles—Pronounces sentence of treason and forfeiture against Kirkaldy and his associates in the fortress—The castle besieged—Defended by Kirkaldy with great gallantry—He proposes to surrender—His terms rejected—Castle surrendered to the English commander—Kirkaldy and his friends given up to Morton—Kirkaldy and his brother executed—The reign of Queen Mary virtually terminates.

MORAY, on his return to Scotland in 1568, paid a visit to his sister at Lochleven Castle, not in brotherly love to console and soothe her under her afflictions, but to insult her in her misfortunes, and upbraid her with her crimes. His conduct was a cruel disappointment to Mary. Melville says, "it cut the thread of love between her and her brother for ever." Moray on leaving the queen, went with his companions to Stirling, and visited the young king. On 19th August they returned to Edinburgh, and on 22nd of that month he was solemnly declared Regent, and proclaimed amid universal acclamations, at the cross of Edinburgh. Two days after, the infamous Sir James Balfour, governor of the

Castle, delivered up to him that fortress, upon receiving full remission, as an accomplice in Darnley's murder, (he having been one of the principal actors) five hundred pounds, the Priory of Pittenweem, and an annuity to his son. To cover the shame of this transaction, some of the inferior delinquents in Darnley's murder, were seized and executed. Moray's measures restored a degree of order and tranquility to Scotland. On 15th September, in writing to his friend Cecil, he informs him that the whole realm was quiet.

During this year, a dreadful malady, or plague, raging in the city, the town council ordered all infected persons, and their whole furniture and effects, to be removed to the Borough-Moor; and appointed persons to clean the houses of those so removed, as also to bury those who died in the Greyfriars church-yard. For each of these persons the treasurer was ordered to cause be made, "ane gown of gray with Saint Androiss Cross, quhite behind and before, and to everie ane of them ane staff with ane quhite clayth on the end, quhairby they may be knowin quhairevir they pass." When any person fell sick "in quhatsomevir kynd of seikness that evir it be," they were ordered to shut their doors, and neither come out, nor admit any person into their house, till they were visited by the bailie of their quarter of the town, "and ordours be taken be him under the *paine of death.*" Many other regulations were enacted by the town council for preventing this disease spreading, all of which were ordered to be strictly obeyed, under *pain of death.*

On the 2nd May, Mary made her escape from Lochleven Castle, at which period Moray's government was in a precarious state. The Hamiltons and many other nobles had deserted him, while the people, never long of one mind, began to pity the queen in her protracted and rigorous imprisonment. Although the capital was at this time desolated by the plague, yet the citizens armed to repress insurrection. The result of the battle of Langside, however, compelled Mary to fly, and induced her to take refuge in England. This was a hasty and fatal resolution, dictated more by fear of her own subjects than confidence in Queen Elizabeth, who, instead of receiving her as a friend and sister, as she styled her in her correspondence, seized and imprisoned her during a time of peace, contrary to every feeling of generosity, and in flagrant violation of every principle of law and justice.

Moray, still little more than a youth, possessed almost uncontrolled power, as the leader of the Reformed party; but, as might naturally have been expected at a period when the country was convulsed with struggles for power between Papists and Reformers, he had many enemies, one of whom, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, shot him on 21st June, 1569, while passing through Linlithgow, on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Moray died the same night of his wound; Hamilton escaped to France. The intelligence of the regent's assassination threw the capital into the greatest alarm and confusion, and caused it to be placed under a strong guard night and day. The lords of the Court of Session

were with difficulty dissuaded from abandoning the city, as too tumultuous for the quiet discharge of their judicial functions. Mary's party, now closely united, exulted as if her speedy restoration were certain; while the king's party, instigated by the arts, and trusting to the aid of Elizabeth, would come to no terms of accommodation. The Hamiltons had already taken arms on behalf of the queen, the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were in the hands of her friends, and succours had arrived in the Clyde from France. On the other hand, Randolph, Elizabeth's ambassador, promised that his royal mistress would increase the rigour of Mary's confinement, and support the king's party, both with money and soldiers. Scotland, at this period, presented a melancholy spectacle; torn between two factions, distinguished by the name of *King's-men* and *Queen's-men*. Both pretended an equal desire for the peace of their country, but they were thwarted in every effort to accomplish it by their own ambition and the intrigues of England. The miserable state of Scotland at this moment has been strikingly described by Sir James Melville, an eye-witness, who says, "The two furious factions, being framed in this manner, the hatred and rage against each other grew daily greater." During the struggles of these two parties for power, Edinburgh suffered severely, being sometimes in the possession of the one party and at other times under the control of their opponents. The magistrates, to preserve the peace of the city, put it in the best possible state of defence, and gave L.500 Scots to place guns on the walls and buy ammunition. They also appointed a guard of one hundred men to watch the city by night, and twenty-four by day; and ordered the deacons of the Incorporated Trades to convene their respective craftsmen, and examine them on oath as to which side they were attached.

On 1st March, 1570, the populace, by whom the late regent had been much beloved, was highly excited by the display of a black banner in the streets, on which Moray was painted lying in his bed with his wounds open; and beside him, Darnley, as he was found after his murder, as also the young prince, kneeling and imploring God to avenge his cause. At this time, every baron assembled his vassals, and armed conventions of the *king's men* and *queen's men* were held in various quarters of the country. Morton and Mar, encouraged by Elizabeth, assembled their friends in great strength in the capital, but the arrival of Monsieur Verae from the court of France with letters of encouragement and ample promises of succour to Mary's friends gave a sudden check to their hopes. Mary's friends, thus encouraged, concentrated their whole strength, advanced to Edinburgh, consulted with their friend Kirkaldy, the governor of the Castle, restored the Duke of Chatelherault and Lord Herries to liberty, and summoned a general convention of the whole nobility at Linlithgow. In the meantime, the passion of Elizabeth was roused to so high a pitch, that she commanded Sussex, her lieutenant in the north, to advance into Scotland at the head of 7000 men, under pretext of seizing her rebels, but her real design was to let loose her vengeance upon the friends of Mary, to destroy the country by fire

and sword, and to incite the different factions to actual hostilities. Sussex, in Teviotdale and the Merse, destroyed fifty castles or houses of strength, and 300 villages; and the march of the English army was marked by the flames of villages and granges, and the utter destruction of the labours of the husbandman.[1] Elizabeth, to follow up these severities, despatched Lennox, (Darnley's father,) her intended regent, and Sir William Drury, at the head of 1200 foot and 400 horse, with orders to advance to Edinburgh and avenge the death of Regent Moray upon the house of Hamilton. They accordingly advanced to the capital, and formed a junction with Morton and the king's party. Morton conducted a party from Leith to Restalrig on 28th June, where they drew up in order of battle. Huntly, with a party of the *queen's men*, marched from Edinburgh to encounter them. Sir William Drury interposed to spare the effusion of blood. The armies separated, agreeing to retire to their respective quarters; but Morton, taking a circuit with his troops, made an unexpected attack upon the queen's party when entering the Water-gate, and killed Lord Kilwinning and about fifty of them. Of Morton's followers, only two were slain. While 130 horse of the queen's party were returning from the south country with a hundred sacks of meal and eight oxen, they were attacked by a party of king's men; but their number being nearly equal, they fought desperately. Assistance arriving from Edinburgh, the king's party was routed, twenty-seven were killed and thirty taken prisoners; only two of the queen's party were slain. This skirmish was long thereafter called "*Carnie fight*," from the name of the place where it happened.

At the request of Elizabeth, and to give union and vigour to the king's party, the Earl of Lennox was, on 12th July, by a convention held at Edinburgh, elected regent. After his election he got both factions to agree to a cessation of hostilities for two months, to commence on 3rd September; which truce was continued by successive renewals till the 5th April, 1571. During the suspension of hostilities, two Parliaments sat at the same time in this miserable city; the one by the queen's faction and the other by the king's. The former met in the Tolbooth, and the latter in the Canongate; these two legislative bodies fulminated forfeitures against each other. Although many overtures were made by the two factions to come to a mutual understanding, all were frustrated by the duplicity of queen Elizabeth and her ambassadors; her policy being that the two factions should exhaust each other by continued strife, but that neither should be overwhelmed. At same time, she upbraided both parties for keeping up hostilities, and with much apparent anxiety encouraged negotiations for Mary's restoration; but after repeated protracted deliberations between the commissioners of Elizabeth, Queen Mary, and the regent, the issue plainly demonstrated the insincerity of the English queen. The Castle was kept for the queen's party with great superiority of advantage, and Holyrood Palace was retained

[1] Spotiswood, p. 237.

for the king by regent Lennox; their respective partisans having frequent skirmishes in the streets and neighbourhood.

The capture of Dumbarton Castle by the regent gave a severe blow to the queen's cause. Lennox having collected his whole force, advanced to Edinburgh with the determination of holding a Parliament, and put at once an end to the struggle. Kirkaldy, however, still held out the Castle, and kept the citizens of the capital, who favoured the king's faction, in constant terror, and afforded a rallying point to the queen's friends. On the 9th May, Lennox and Morton having united their forces, encamped at and fortified Leith. Kirkaldy, on the other side, issued a proclamation, declaring Lennox's authority to be unlawful and usurped, and commanded all who favoured his cause to leave the city within six hours, seized the arms belonging to the citizens, planted a battery on the steeple of St. Giles, repaired the walls, fortified the gates, and held out the city against the regent. He was soon joined by the Duke of Chatelherault, Huntly, Herries, and other chiefs of the faction, with their followers; and having received a small sum of money and ammunition from France, formed no contemptible array within the walls. At this time, daily skirmishes took place between the factions, both in the city and country, with various success.

Morton having resolved to give a splendid entertainment at Dalkeith, to celebrate the marriage of Lord Maxwell to Elizabeth Douglas, sister to the Earl of Angus, he sent his servants to Leith for his plate, wines, provisions, etc. Kirkaldy being informed of the time they were likely to return, sent out a party and took possession of the whole. Morton, enraged at this, sent a party to Fife, who plundered and burnt several houses on Kirkaldy's estate, and killed three of his tenants. Kirkaldy, in revenge, sent a party to Dalkeith, who set that town on fire, killed ten of Morton's soldiers, and carried nine of them prisoners to Edinburgh castle, without the loss of a man. Both the country and the capital presented, at this time, a miserable spectacle by the struggles of the two exasperated factions, whose enmity became daily more implacable, so that the very children fought under the name of king's-men and queen's-men. The citizens, placed between the fire of the Castle and the camp of the regent, were compelled to serve either under the queen's banner, or to join Lennox and have their property confiscated. Two hundred of the citizens having fled to Leith, Kirkaldy deposed the provost and Magistrates, and placed Kerr of Fernyhirst, a fierce and powerful border-chief, in the civic chair, with a council of his retainers to act as bailies. Early on the morning of 4th September, the king's party, who held a Parliament at Stirling, were roused from their sleep by the followers of Kirkaldy, who took the regent and principal nobility prisoners by surprise, and might have obtained a complete victory had not a number of unruly servants neglected their duty to encumber themselves with booty. In the midst of the confusion and struggle, Lennox was shot by a person from behind his back, at the command, as was alleged, of Lord Claud Hamilton. Before he expired, he begged the chief nobles to come

to his bedside, and recommended the young king, his grandson, to their affectionate care. Kirkaldy greatly lamented the regent's death, and said openly, "If he knew who had done that foul deed, or had directed it to be done, his own hand would revenge it."

The Earl of Mar was, without delay, chosen regent by the nobles of the king's party. Mar confidently hoped that by a judicious mixture of rigour and conciliation, he would be able to reduce the queen's faction, and restore peace to the country; but he had more complicated and greater difficulties to contend with than he anticipated. He made an attempt to bombard the city, first on the east side, and afterwards by a strong battery on the south; but he was unsuccessful in both quarters, and forced to retire to Leith; and all his negotiations were defeated by the unreasonable and overbearing conduct of Morton. The winter of 1571–2, was replete with misery and ruin to Scotland. Little was indeed heard from the one end of the country to the other, but the clash of arms and the roar of artillery. The violence of party spirit, heightened by mutual injuries, had now exasperated both parties to such a pitch, that the prisoners on each side, without respect to either quality or condition, were tortured or massacred in cold blood, or led by fifties to immediate execution, and hung upon gibbets within sight of their friends. Countrymen driving their carts and provisions to the city were hung or branded with a hot iron; and women, for carrying butter, cheese, and eggs to the city markets, were seized and scourged. Morton's principle was never to sheathe the sword till his enemies had unconditionally surrendered, and the cause of the captive queen rendered utterly hopeless; but before the middle of summer, 1572, the affairs of the queen were in a prosperous condition. Gordon had completely triumphed in the north, and her party had been repeatedly supplied with money, arms, and ammunition by France and Spain. Elizabeth, who looked with alarm upon the increasing strength of her opponents, proposed a truce for two months, preparatory, as she said, to the conclusion of a general peace. The truce was signed on the 30th July, and was on the same day proclaimed in the capital amid the shouts and joy of the citizens, and the now harmless thunder of the ordnance of the Castle. Before the expiry of this truce, Mar was seized with a mortal sickness, and died at Stirling, on 28th October. Morton, now without a rival to obstruct his aspiring views, was elected regent in a Parliament held in the capital on 24th November. On the same day the celebrated Reformer, John Knox, died in his house at Edinburgh, in his 67th year; he could scarcely be called an aged man, but his life had been an incessant scene of theological and political warfare, and his frame, at no time robust, had been worn out by his ardent and restless intellect. The great he neither feared nor flattered; and neither the pomp of the mitre, nor the revenues of the wealthiest, had any attraction in his eyes. During his illness, he still took an interest in public affairs; and from the following, among other predictions, it appears he was intimately acquainted with the designs of Morton and his party. The Laird of Grange was one of his oldest friends, whose defection he often

bewailed. During his illness, addressing Lindsay, the minister of Leith, he said, "Go to yonder man in the Castle, whom you know I have loved so dearly, and tell him that I have sent you once more to warn him in the name of God to leave that evil cause. Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man (meaning Secretary Lethington) whom he esteems a demigod, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows against the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God."[1] In this remarkable man were united the various qualities of zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, learning, and eloquence. He was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles. At his grave regent Morton pronounced the following short but honourable eulogium: "There lies one who never feared the face of man."

Morton made a vain attempt to prolong the truce; but although hostilities had commenced, a Parliament assembled in the capital, in a house protected by a bulwark from the fire of the Castle. In this Parliament Episcopacy was virtually established in Scotland; it decided that the title and office of archbishop and bishop should be continued as in the time which preceded the Reformation, and that a spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their respective dioceses.

Kirkaldy, early in the morning of the 1st January, 1573, cannonaded the city; Morton, to shelter it, had erected two bulwarks across the High street, nearly opposite the Tolbooth. Some of the cannons having been directed against the fish-market, which had been lately built, and the shot falling amongst the fish, scattered them about the street, and drove some of them so high that they fell on the tops of the houses. The poorer classes, incited by a desire for prey, began to gather them, but five of them were killed and twenty wounded by a cannon-ball which unexpectedly landed among them. Some days after, a few thatch houses were set on fire by the guns of the Castle. These proceedings greatly enraged the citizens against Kirkaldy.

At this moment the fortunes of Kirkcaldy and the queen's party seemed reduced to a low ebb; a vessel bringing them relief from France was driven by a tempest into Scarborough, and detained by Elizabeth; Kirkaldy's brother, who had landed at Blackness with a large supply of money, arms, and military stores, was betrayed and seized. Huntly, the Hamiltons, Lords Gray and Oliphant, the Lairds of Buccleuch and Johnstone had acceded to the regent's overtures; but the spirit of Kirkaldy remained unbroken amid disappointment, loss, and desertion, and he and Lethington declared that although deserted by all their friends they would defend the Castle to the last.

Elizabeth having been applied to by the regent for aid, she on 25th April sent an English army to Scotland under Sir William Drury, consisting of 500 hagbutters and 140 pikemen; these entered the capital and were joined by 7000 soldiers of the regent's.

In the mean time, a Parliament assembled and pronounced a

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 27.

sentence of treason and forfeiture against Kirkaldy, Lethington, and those with them in the Castle. The battering rams sent by Elizabeth having arrived, operations for the siege commenced; five batteries were erected, one on the site of Heriot's Hospital, the other four in a curved circle at nearly equal distances, to the west of the castle; one of them was raised in Bearford's park. These cannonaded the fortress, which was defended with great gallantry. Though most of the principal men in the Castle would fain have come to terms with the regent, the governor declared that rather than surrender, he would hold the Castle till he was buried in its ruins. On the 17th May, the batteries being completed, opened their fire on the principal bastion of the castle, and was answered by long and loud shrieks from the women in the fortress, which were distinctly heard by those in the city. The cannon continued to play incessantly upon the castle until the 23rd, without any annoyance from it, the store of powder in it having been exhausted, the well choked up with rubbish, and every supply of water cut off but what they got by letting men with cords down over the walls and rock of the castle, to a well on the west side, which was afterwards poisoned and caused the death of many. Preparations were now made for a general assault, and Morton was already exulting in the near prospect of laying hands upon his victims, when Kirkaldy, after a siege of thirty-one days, made his appearance on the castle wall, displaying a white flag, and obtained from his old friend, Drury, a truce for three days, preparatory to a surrender. In the evening of the same day, a meeting took place between Kirkaldy, Drury, and other leading men of both factions, when Kirkaldy requested that he and his companions should be restored to their estates, and the common soldiers be allowed to march out with 'bag and baggage.' These conditions were scornfully rejected by Morton, and he named nine noblemen and gentlemen, whom, he said, must be excepted, (among these were Kirkaldy and Lethington), and submit themselves unconditionally. It being, therefore, evident to these unfortunate men, that nothing but their lives would satisfy the regent, they declared their resolution to hold out to the last extremity; but the soldiers mutinied, and threatened to hang Lethington over the walls within six hours, if he did not advise a surrender.

In this dilemna, Kirkaldy, on the 29th, admitted two companies of the English within the walls, and he and his companions surrendered to Drury, their commander, expressly stating that they submitted, not to the Regent of Scotland, but to the Queen of England, and her general, Sir William Drury; but Elizabeth, regardless alike of her general's honour and her own, gave them up to the regent's disposal. Much interest was exerted to save the life of Kirkaldy, but without success. On 3rd August, he and his brother, Sir William, were brought from Holyrood to the cross of Edinburgh, and executed in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, and their heads were placed on the city walls. Thus died the famous Laird of Grange, reputed one of the best soldiers of his time; and the prediction of Knox, uttered

on his death-bed, or rather his reputed prophecy, was literally fulfilled. With the death of these men, and the surrender of the castle, the reign of Queen Mary may be said to have terminated, as from that period no subject dared to acknowledge her as his sovereign.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM A.D. 1577, TO A.D. 1588.

1577, Superiority of Leith—Morton deposed from the regency—James VI. assumes the reins of government—The Castle delivered up to him—1578, A riot in the Castle—The Provost deposed by the Privy Council—The King demands a body guard—The Magistrates maintain their privileges —1579, Presentation to the King by the citizens—The Provost nominated by the King—Morton resumes his former power—The King's impatience at being confined and ruled by Morton—The citizens rise in arms to relieve the King—The Provost imprisoned—Two men hanged for writing a satire on Morton—The King's public entry into the city—1580, Morton accused of Darnley's murder—Imprisoned—1581, Tried, condemned, and beheaded—His head placed on a pinnacle of the Tolbooth—The King interferes with the election of Magistrates—The citizens ordered by the King to raise 160 men—Raid of Ruthven—A public feast and a solemn fast in the city on the same day—How the city records kept—1583, The constitution of the Burgh settled by arbitration—James VI. interferes with the citizens in their election of municipal rulers—1584, Honours conferred on the Provost—Regulations for the better government of the city—Measures adopted by the King to humble the Clergy—Numbers of them flee to England—The privileges of Burgesses' daughters interfered with by the Magistrates—1585, Fees payable by Freemen on being admitted a guild-brother—The great zeal of the town council in matters of religion—Severe laws to be observed by Freemen—1583, Queen Mary condemned to be executed—The King and citizens' behaviour on the news of her execution reaching the city—1578, Whimsical procession—1588, The Spanish Armada.

THE ministry being very anxious in 1577 to have the superiority of Leith restored to the Crown, prevailed on King James to write the following letter to the town council: "We understand the superiority of oure toun of Leyth, with the Linkis thairof, and thair pertinents, conquest be the Quene Regent, our deirest Guddame, of gude memorie, fra unquhill Robert Logane of Restalrig, and resignit be him, in favour of the Quene oure moder, and hir successors, to remaine perpetuallie with the Croun of this oure realme, the sam superioritie and Linkis war analyt be hir to zow upoun sic occasioun and necessitie as occurrit for the tyme, for ane certaine sowme of money.

"And now we, with Goddis Grace, growing to perfectioun of zeiris and knawledge of the effaris of our croun and realme, understanding that na pairt of oure patrimonie aucht to be analyt, and willing with the first to recover oure richt and possessioun of the said superioritie and Linkis; we have thocht gude be oure awin letter and this Gentilman, berer hairof, oure familier and dalie servand, hartlie and effectuislie to requeist zow, of quhais gude effection and constancie to oure service in oure les aige we have had gude prufe; that the premissis considerat, respecting alsua quhat commodite zow have resavit of the said alienatioun, ze will now thairfor gratifie us, be letting us have again the said superioritie of Leyth and Linkis, to be usit be us as oure patrimonie, to sic use and end as may best serve for advancement of oure service. Quairupoun ze sall nocht only do us an thankfull pleasure, but ze sall have experience of oure favourable gudewill towert zow in ony matter tending to zoure weill and commoditie, althoch it wer of greittar avale. And remytting the further declaratioun of oure mynde to this Gentilman, Berer hairof, we commit zow to God."[1] The above letter is dated at Stirling, 3rd December, 1577. On the town council receiving it, they became alarmed for their favourite superiority, and immediately sent a deputation of their number to Stirling, with a memorial to lay before James, setting forth their unquestionable right to the superiority, and the injustice that would be done to the citizens by taking it from them, without at least paying them the money they had lent over it. The deputation was graciously received by James, who, instead of doing any thing to their prejudice, said he would contribute everything in his power to their welfare and prosperity, and promised to write to the regent in their favour.

By the treaty above-mentioned, the civil war was extinguished, and Morton firmly established in the regency. Avarice, however, prompted him to acts of rapacity and oppression; and to these, his zeal to preserve power added cruelty. His administration having become universally odious, a great number of the nobles formed a conspiracy against him. King James, who resided in Stirling Castle, having become anxious to be relieved of the tyranny exercised over him by Morton and his faction, called, at the request of Argyle, who was at the head of that conspiracy, a Convention; in which, when assembled, a resolution was passed that the king, then in his twelfth year, should take the reins of government in his own hand. Morton's regency was therefore at an end; and he, although startled at first, received the envoys sent to him by the king, requesting his resignation, with apparent cheerfulness, and rode with them from his castle at Dalkeith to Edinburgh, and there, at the Cross, heard the heralds proclaim his deprivation, and the assumption of the government by the young king, and witnessed the excessive and tumultuous joy with which the proclamation was received by the citizens. Edinburgh Castle was at same time (March 12, 1577,) summoned to surrender; but the Governor, who was Morton's brother, refused to yield it up, and made preparations to defend it. He despatched

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 5, f. 84.

a party of the garrison to the east end of the city,[1] to purchase provisions to supply the fortress; but being intercepted on their return by the citizens, the soldiers fought their way through them, killed one, and wounded several; but they were obliged to drop their provisions. The Castle was thereafter delivered up without resistance to Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, who took possession of the royal apartments and jewels of the crown, and Seaton of Touch and Cunningham of Drumwhassil received the keys of the gates.

A riot happening in the Castle in 1578, in which several of the citizens were killed, so greatly enraged them against George Douglas of Parkhead, who was governor of the Castle and provost of the city, that they complained to the privy council, who wrote to the town-council to remove him; the council craved delay, the greater part of their number being out of the kingdom; on which the privy council deposed Douglas from the civic chair, and sent a precept commanding the town-council to make choice of another within three hours, on pain of being denounced rebels. In obedience to this threatened denunciation, the council made choice of Archibald Stewart to be interim provost till their annual election at Michaelmas.

James having now assumed the reins of government, commanded the town-council to send him one hundred of their principal young citizens to guard his person during the sitting of Parliament, at their own expense,[2] from which it would appear that James had had no body-guard previous to this period.

When the council assembled at Michaelmas to make choice of their magistrates, a letter from the king was read to the meeting, commanding them to elect the persons therein named as magistrates for the ensuing year. Notwithstanding this arbitary command, the council, to their honour and praise, maintained their privileges, and made choice of those in their own *leets* for magistrates.

The citizens, anxious to regain the king's favour, which they had lost by not obeying his commands in the election of their magistrates, presented him, in 1579, with the following pieces of plate, viz. a silver basin and ewer, weighing six pounds ten ounces; two flackets of eight pounds weight; six cups, with covers, four weighing twenty-eight ounces each, and the other two twenty-four ounces each; four candlesticks of thirty ounces each, one salt-cellar of twenty ounces, a plate of twenty ounces, and one dozen of plates of ten ounces each.[3] However, the generosity of the citizens was not sufficient to secure their liberties; for although they had nobly withstood the King's command in choosing their magistrates, yet they, at the request of the king, made choice of Alexander Clark of Balbirney for their provost.

Ex-regent Morton having still a number of friends among the nobles, embraced the first opportunity of resuming the power he had so reluctantly resigned. The nobles of his faction having by

[1] It was probably to the head of the Canongate, where a fish market was then, and for many years thereafter, kept. [2] Coun. Reg., v. 5, p. 102.
[3] Coun. Reg., v. 5, p. 136.

intrigues got possession of Stirling Castle, and with it the custody of the young monarch, Morton, on the morning of the 9th of May, with a small retinue, repaired suddenly to that Castle, where his own friends received him within its gates. He soon resumed his former ascendancy over his majesty, and reinstated himself in the chief direction of affairs. The king, however, impatient of being kept under restraint by Morton, sent a letter to the chancellor lamenting his confinement, and entreating him to raise all the forces he could to aid his escape. The citizens of Edinburgh, on being informed of his majesty's confinement, became alarmed for his safety, rose in arms, and offered their services to the privy council. Meantime, Morton sent a herald in the king's name, commanding the magistrates to apprehend all those who had taken up arms within their jurisdiction. The magistrates, uncertain how to act, sent the provost to Stirling to make inquiry how matters stood; but, upon his arrival there, he was committed prisoner to the Castle of Downe. An accommodation, however, was soon thereafter effected. Morton, who never was a favourite with the citizens, increased their hatred by the imprisonment of their provost, as also by the following mean and revengeful act. One Turnbull, a schoolmaster, and a W. Scott, having written a satire against him, in which they enumerated, with some humour, all his real or fancied delinquencies, were apprehended for the squib, and, in spite of every application for mercy, were carried to Stirling, tried, and executed.

Morton had now triumphed over his enemies, and crushed all attempts to deprive him of the chief rule of the State; but the citizens of Edinburgh remained still turbulent and dissatisfied at the want of their sovereign. Morton, to regain their good will, determined to acquiesce in their wishes, by bringing the king to the capital. A Parliament was summoned to assemble in Edinburgh on 30th October; and three days previous to its meeting, the king, accompanied by his favourites, set out for the city. The citizens received him with the loudest acclamations of joy, and his public entry into the capital was graced with an absurd and expensive pageant, which, while it testified the loyalty of the citizens, also displayed the pedantic and fantastical taste of the times. The king, alighted from his horse at some distance from the Westport, at which place a stately canopy of purple-coloured velvet was held over his head, while he received the lord provost and magistrates of the city, who came bare-headed without the gate, accompanied by three hundred citizens clad in velvet and satin. Within the gate stood the representative of Solomon, with a numerous train habited in the Jewish, or rather Roman costume, with the two women contending for the child, as mentioned, 1 Kings, chap. 3. As his majesty ascended the West Bow, there hung down from the arch of the old gate a large globe of polished brass, out of which a little boy, clad like Cupid, descended in a machine, and presented him the keys of the city, all made of massy silver, and very elaborately wrought, an excellent concert of music all the while accompanying the action. When he came down the High Street as far as the Tolbooth, *Peace*, *Plenty*, and

Justice met, and harangued him in Greek, Latin, and Scotch. Opposite to St. Giles' Church stood *Religion*, a grave matron, who addressed him in the Hebrew tongue; upon which he entered the church, where he heard a sermon preached by Mr. Lawson. After sermon the monarch and congregation repaired to the market-cross, where *Bacchus* sat on a gilded hogshead, distributing wine in large bumpers, all the while the trumpets sounding, and the people crying, "*God save the King!*" At the east gate was erected his majesty's nativity; and, above that, the genealogies of all the kings of Scotland from Fergus I. The pageant was guarded by two thousand horsemen. The windows were all hung with pictures and rich tapestry, and the streets were strewed with flowers. The cannon of the Castle continued firing till his majesty entered the palace of Holyrood. The procession being concluded, the city presented the king with 6000 merks.[1] James, three days thereafter, held his first Parliament in the usual place of meeting in the Tolbooth. The office of high chamberlain, which had long lain dormant, was revived, and bestowed upon the Earl of Lennox; Alexander Erskine, captain of Edinburgh Castle, Morton's bitterest enemy, was nominated his deputy, and a guard of twenty-four young noblemen, under their command, was appointed to wait constantly upon his majesty. Morton, fully aware of the insinuations intended to be conveyed by these precautions, meditated a retreat from the court. He was, however, in December 1580, accused, by Captain Stewart, before the privy council, of being accessory to the murder of Darnley, the king's father. Morton, who was present, with a disdainful smile maintained his innocence; but notwithstanding, he was first warded in the palace of Holyrood for two days, and on the third conveyed to the Castle, and from thence, to make the measure of his indignity complete, he was removed, under a strong guard, to Dumbarton Castle, and committed to the charge of his enemy Lennox, who had the command of the fortress. Morton, even in dejection and disgrace, seems to have been an object of terror to the king, he having been afraid of some desperate attempt being made upon his person. To allay these fears, the town council raised a hundred men as a body-guard to his majesty while he resided in the palace of Holyrood; but thinking himself still insecure, he commanded his guard to be doubled; and the citizens, anxious to please him, raised a company of sixty from among themselves to guard the palace by night. Thereafter the citizens were obliged to keep up, at their own expense, a company of thirty men to guard the palace every night during his majesty's residence in it.

Morton was brought to Edinburgh under an escort of one thousand men on 29th May 1581, and was tried on 1st June; and such was the terror of a rescue, that the whole city was in arms; two companies of soldiers were placed at the cross, two bands above the Tolbooth; while the citizens armed, and a body of troops, filled the principal streets, for the purpose of conducting him from his lodgings to the Tolbooth, where the trial took place. The indictment contained twelve heads, but was restricted to the

[1] £333 6s. 8d. sterling.

murder of the late king. Absolute and direct proof might not have been procured on that point, but Morton's own defence supplied the defect; for although he denied that he had ever given his consent to the death of Darnley, he distinctly admitted that he knew the murder was to be committed, and had concealed it, upon which confession he was found guilty. He seems to have anticipated condemnation from the moment he saw the complexion of his jury, and the partial manner in which they were impannelled, for he afterwards said he was convinced it would have been the same whether he had been as innocent as St. Stephen, or as guilty as Judas, his blood was sought, and he must have gone. He heard the savage sentence which our law denounces against traitors pronounced without apparent emotion; but the revolting part of the punishment was remitted by the king, and he was ordered to suffer death next day by beheading. Next morning some of the leading ministers of the church breakfasted with him in prison, when a long and interesting conference took place. In speaking of Darnley's murder, he confirmed the admissions made by him at the trial, and affirmed that he, and many others, knew that the king was to be cut off, but did not dare to forwarn him; and added, that the queen was the contriver of the whole plot, but as to being art and part (as charged in the indictment) in the commission of the crime, he called God to witness he was entirely innocent. The jailor entered the room and said, All things are ready now, my lord, and I think they will not stay. I praise my God, said he, I am ready also, passed down to the gate, and proceeded to the scaffold, which he ascended with a firm step. In his address to the spectators he adhered to his confession of the foreknowledge of the king's murder, and declared he died in the profession of the Gospel, as it was at that day taught and established in Scotland. After prayer by James Lawson, one of the city ministers, he shook his friends by the hands with many expressions of kindness, bidding them farewell, and having declined to have his hands bound, knelt down and laid his head upon the block, and after crying with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul," his head was struck off by the falling of an instrument called the *Maiden*, said to have been contrived by himself.[1] His body lay till near eight o'clock at night on the scaffold, covered with an old blue cloak, without any person taking notice of it, or coming near him, to shew their gratitude for past favours, or to express the least sign of grief for his unfortunate end. His body was then carried away by common porters to the usual burial place of criminals, unattended and unlamented. His head was next day, between eleven and twelve o'clock, fixed upon the most conspicuous pinacle of the Tolbooth, where it remained a barbarous and disgusting spectacle for eighteen months, till the king sent the following letter to the magistrates: "Provest and baillies of oure burgh of Edinburgh, we greit zow weill.[2] It is oure will,

[1] This infamous machine, which afterwards drank the blood of patriots and martyrs, was, for this purpose, removed from place to place over the country, as exigency required. It is still preserved among the curiosities of the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 6, f. 223.

and we command zow, that incontinent efter the sicht heirof, ze tak down the heid of James, sumtyme Erll of Mortoun, of the pairt quhair it is now placeit upon zour auld Tolbuith, swa that the said heid may be bureit. For the quhilk this oure lettre sall be to zow sufficient warrant, subscrivit with oure hand at Halyruid hous, the aucht day of December, and of our rene the sixtein zeir, 1582."

Previous to the elections this year, the privy council wrote to the town council to make choice of one out of three persons, named by his majesty to be their provost, and their bailies and Dean of Guild out of a list of seven. The council, indignant at such request, or rather command, returned for answer that they would make choice of persons for their provost and bailies whom they thought most beneficial for the interest of the town, and for whose actings they would be responsible to his majesty: however, that answer not being agreeable to the king, he first wrote, commanding them to make choice of such persons as had been sincerely attached to his interest since his coronation, and in a second letter he enjoined them to continue their present provost, and elect their bailies out of a list he therewith sent. It appears that the citizens of Edinburgh were more tampered with in their elections, and put to more expense, raising soldiers and guarding his majesty's person, than any other burgh in the kingdom. The same year they were commanded, in a letter from his Majesty, to raise "ane hundred and thre scoir habill hagbutters," and maintain them for a month, to enable him to repress some disturbances on the borders.

His majesty having been, on 22nd August, 1582, seized by William, earl of Gowrie, and other noblemen, at Ruthven, and kept in confinement, while they directed the affairs of the nation; this act of treason was so highly approved of by the General Assembly that an Act was passed, declaring the conspirators "to have done good and acceptable service to God, their sovereign, and the country." The pulpit resounded with applauses of the godly deed, and the Assembly threatened with ecclesiastical censures those who, by word or deed, should oppose *the good cause*. On his majesty being brought to Edinburgh, he was met by the ministers; and the whole procession, as they walked up the streets, sang a psalm, expressive of the great deliverance they had lately obtained by the captivity and subjection of their sovereign. The conspirators lodged the king in Holyrood palace, and demanded of the magistrates a body of hagbutters to guard him. The news of James' confinement[1] having spread all over Europe, Henry III. of France sent an ambassador to Edinburgh with instructions to exert his utmost endeavours to obtain the king his freedom and independence.[2] On the ministers of the city learning the purport of the embassy, they declared against the ambassador and the purpose of his visit with equal scurrility. James, who since he assumed the government had received no foreign ministers, except from England, was greatly delighted with the honourable embassy from the French monarch, but was at same time vexed at the contemptuous treatment they received from the populace.

[1] Robertson's Hist., v. 2, p. 95. [2] Spottiswood's Hist. p. 324.

The ambassador, La Motte, and his companion, La Meneville, were so disgusted at the railings of the clergy and the insults of the public, that they earnestly urged their dismission; but, before leaving, his majesty commanded the magistrates to give them, as had been usual on such occasions, a farewell banquet. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the clergy at such a proposal, and they used the most opprobrious and abusive terms possible to convince the citizens of the sinfulness of Protestants dining with Catholics. But, finding their influence was insufficient to stay the feast, they determined to damp the hilarity of the dinner-party, and for that purpose proclaimed a solemn fast, to be kept on the same day of the feast, and appointed three of their number to preach successively in St. Giles' church, so that the pulpit might be occupied the whole time the feast lasted. On the day of the feast, the scene in the capital was truly extraordinary. On the one side, the king and his courtiers indulged in mirth and festive carousals, while on the other was heard the thunder of the Kirk and its ministers, "crying out all slanderous and injurious words that could be spoken against France," and thundering with anathema and excommunication the citizens who had dared to countenance the unhallowed feast; and were with difficulty prevented from proceeding the length of excommunicating the city rulers. This banquet cost the city £13, 9*s.* 10¾*d.* sterling.[1]

At this period, the records of the city appear to have been kept in a very loose and irregular manner. To remedy this, the council ordained "that the haill councall-buikes" be patent and ready at all times when required, and that they be kept in locked chests in the apartments above the clerk's chamber, and four honest men chosen to record the minutes of the council, who should be sworn to keep the transactions of the council secret, and give no copy from the record so to be kept.[2]

Disputes having arisen at this period between the merchants and craftsmen relative to their respective rights, a reference was made by them to parties mutually chosen, and the king was appointed umpire. In this reference, a Decree-arbitral was in 1583 awarded, that settled the *Sett* or *Constitution* of the Burgh, which was acted on till the Reform Bill was passed in 1832.

Although the constitution of the burgh was solemnly settled as above stated, yet the king, at Michaelmas, the subsequent year, sent a letter containing a list of persons to the town council, and requested them, "because oure intention is, God willing, to be for the most part resident among you," to choose from that list four new councillors, the bailies, dean of guild, and treasurer; and adds, "herein we lippin to be satisfied, oure request being so reasonable."

The citizens, greatly alarmed at this unjust and violent attempt against their privileges, which they considered had been, by the decree-arbitral passed the previous year, sufficiently secured to them against all such arbitary interference on the part of his Majesty and council, sent a deputation to James to represent to him that he would be graciously pleased to regard their ancient liber-

[1] Coun. Reg., v. vii, c. 62. [2] Ibid. v. 6, f. 122.

ties and immunities, confirmed to them by Parliament; and to consider how dangerous a thing it was for them to break any part of the decree-arbitral so lately pronounced by himself, and humbly to remonstrate and entreat his majesty not to offer violence to their undoubted rights and privileges, but suffer them to enjoy such according to the established laws of the kingdom, and his own decree-arbitral. Instead of these remonstrances and entreaties having any impression on James, he, recollecting that he had omitted to name a provost to them, sent a second letter, in which he commanded the town-council to make choice of Alexander Clark of Balbirney to that office, and the persons named in his previous letter, into the respective offices he had assigned to them. Many other instances might be brought forward to show the unjust and arbitary interference of James VI., and his privy council, with the citizens in their election of municipal rulers.

The chief magistrate of the city was, in virtue of his office, entitled, previous to the Union, to a seat in Parliament; and, for the honour of the city, the town council, in 1584, ordered him to be accompanied during its sittings by twenty of the principal citizens from the Tolbooth to Holyrood Palace, as also on his return from thence to the Tolbooth, under the penalty of forty shillings Scots. These citizens were summoned for that purpose by the bailies.[1]

To prevent riots on the streets of the city by night, the town council, the same year, enacted, that nightly, at the hour of ten, forty strokes should be given on the great bell, after which, any person found in the streets were to be imprisoned during the magistrates' pleasure, and fined twenty shillings Scots.[2] For the better regulation of the nightly watch, the city was divided into thirty divisions, over each of which the magistrates appointed two commanders, one a merchant, the other a craftsman; as also, an officer to summon the citizens occasionally to take into consideration the affairs connected with the several divisions.[3]

The Popish ecclesiastics long struggled for and at last obtained an exemption from the civil jurisdiction, not only for the church, but for her officers as individuals. The Reformers, however much they differed from them on other points, heartily concurred with them in the maxim that the Church is totally independent of the State. The ministers of Edinburgh had all along justified *the raid of Ruthven.* One of them being summoned before the privy council, refused to acknowledge himself to have been guilty of any offence. And one of the ministers of St. Andrews being cited on the same account, declined the jurisdiction of the king and council, and exclaimed, in his wrath, that "the king perverted the laws both of God and man."

James, jealous to excess of his prerogative, was alarmed at the daring encroachments of the clergy, whom he resolved to humble. In a Parliament held on 2nd May it was enacted, that a refusal to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy council, or to pretend an exemption from the authority of the civil courts was high treason. The holding of assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiasti-

[1] Coun. Reg., v. 7, f. 88. [2] Ibid., f. 101. [3] Ibid. f. 119.

cal, without the king's permission or appointment, was pronounced a capital crime, as was also the uttering, either publicly or privately, in sermons or acclamations, any false or scandalous speeches against his majesty or the throne, or the wisdom of the privy council; or to criticise in sermons, declamations, or private conferences, their conduct and proceedings. All ecclesiastical assemblies, general or provincial, were prohibited from convening, and the whole spiritual jurisdiction was declared to be resident in the bishops. Such severities, however, did not intimidate the clergy; for when these laws were, according to ancient custom, published at the cross of Edinburgh, a solemn protest was taken against them, because they had been passed without the knowledge or consent of the church. The ministers, at same time, deeming it proper to provide for their own safety, fled in the night, and were followed hard by some of the king's guards, who had orders to arrest them, but they escaped and entered Berwick by day-break. The people bewailed the loss of their pastors, whom they esteemed, and openly expressed their rage against Lennox, now Earl of Arran, the king's favourite, and even had some suspicion of James himself being an enemy to the Reformed religion. The king, disregarding these complaints, enjoined all churchmen to subscribe to the recent order, by which Presbyterianism was abolished and Episcopacy established. Many of the clergy, rather than do so, left the kingdom; others, overawed or corrupted by the court, yielded obedience to the mandate.

Although the daughters of freemen of the city were, by its ancient constitution, entitled to its freedom, as also non-freemen who married them; yet the town council, to fill up the measure of absurdity against furnication, enacted,[1] on 19th July, that unless burgesses' daughters were, at their marriage, *reputed pure virgins*, their husbands would not enjoy the freedom of the city, to which, in virtue of such marriage, they would otherwise have been entitled. By this absurd and unjust act the husband was not only deprived of his right as a freeman, but he, his wife and family, branded with an indelible mark of infamy during their lives.

The town council, on 27th September, 1585, enacted that the eldest son of a freeman, on being admitted a guild-brother, should pay 1s. 1⅓d., and the rest of his children 1s. 8d.; those serving a regular apprenticeship, 16s. 8d.; and all others, £3 6s. 8d. sterling, exclusive of other fees. Every merchant, previous to being admitted a guild-brother, was to be considered, (by what means the act does not point out), worth in goods or personal estate, £55 11s. 1⅓d. sterling, craftsmen in trade half of that sum, and craftsmen out of business the same sum as merchants.[2]

The council the same year passed an act, that should any young man, after serving his apprenticeship, marry his master's daughter, or the daughter of any other freeman, he would, by virtue of such marriage, be immediately admitted a guild-brother; but in the event of remaining a bachelor, or marrying a non-freeman's daughter, he was not to be admitted into that fraternity until he had served three years as a journeyman, and been a burgess for

[1] Coun. Reg., v. 7 f. 9. [2] Ibid f. 148.

five years.[1] By which act a grievous servitude of thirteen years had to be fulfilled by those young freemen who married strangers, previous to being admitted guild-brothers.

About the same period the council seems to have been inspired with a great zeal for religion, by passing an act, ordaining all the shops in the city to be shut on the Wednesdays and Fridays, and that no person should go to a tavern, or walk the streets, during divine service, on these days, but all should go to church, under the penalty of eighteen shillings for the first fault, forty shillings for the second, and five pounds for the third, Scots money.

Mary Queen of Scots had now been nineteen years a captive; and upon the cruelty and illegality of her imprisonment during that long period there can be but one opinion. No blame could be attached to her in attempting every possible means of escape; and she being a rigid Papist, it was but natural, and what might have been expected, that the Popish party in England and Scotland should have combined with France and Spain, to deliver her from her captivity, and avenge upon Queen Elizabeth such an outrage on the laws of nations, as the seizure of a free princess. Many plots during Mary's long captivity for her deliverance had been entered into, with all of which she had been, in some degree, either directly, or indirectly connected. All these conspiracies had been detected by the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. Some of the conspirators went so far as to consider Elizabeth an illegitimate usurper, whose throne belonged legally to the Queen of Scots.

Mary was, in 1586, tried by a special commission, on a charge of having conspired against the life of Elizabeth, which she denied, but was nevertheless found guilty, and condemned to be executed. When the news arrived in Edinburgh of Mary's condemnation, James, her son, who was by no means a favourite with the clergy, commanded them to pray for his mother; but such was the animosity they bore towards him, or the contempt, which they entertained for their sovereign, that none complied with his request but his own chaplains, and David Lindsay, minister of South Leith. James, irritated at their refusal, appointed a new day, when prayers should, in all the churches, be offered up for his mother, and to prevent the cavilling of the clergy, James was scrupulously cautious in the form of prayer he had chosen. It contained only a petition, "That it might please God, in his infinite mercy, to illuminate her mind with the light of truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." James, that he might not be exposed to personal annoyance by a refusal, ordered the Archbishop of St. Andrews to preach before him. But on the day appointed, when the king entered the church, he found the pulpit occupied by one Couper, a young man, who had not yet received holy orders, and whom the ministers of Edinburgh had instigated to mount the pulpit, to preclude the prelate. The king called to him from his seat, "Mr. Couper! that place was destined for another, but as you are there, if you will remember my mother in your prayers, you may go on." Couper replied, "he would do as the Spirit of God would direct

[1] Coun. Reg., v. 7, f. 180.

him," whereupon he was commanded to leave the pulpit, but as he seemed unwilling to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from it, upon which he exclaimed, "That this day would be a witness against the king, in the great day of the Lord;" and as he descended from the pulpit, he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh, for suffering him to be so ignominiously treated.

When the news arrived in Edinburgh of the execution of Queen Mary, James' grief and resentment was seconded by the general indignation of his subjects, and he publicly avowed his determination to employ the whole force of his kingdom to avenge his mother's death. Elizabeth's conduct was marked with much dissimulation and injustice; after signing the warrant for Mary's execution, she delivered it to Davidson, her private secretary, and positively interdicted him from any further communication with her till it was obeyed; yet, immediately after Mary's execution, Elizabeth attired herself in deep mourning, appeared dejected, and often bathed in tears, and allowed none to come near her except her female attendants, and although she had assured Davidson, with a great oath, that she meant the execution to go forward, yet so soon as it was over, she declared that Mary was put to death without her knowledge, and in opposition to her will, and committed Davidson to the Tower, degraded him from his office of secretary, and inflicted on him a fine which amounted to absolute ruin. By these hypocritical indications of sorrow, she hoped to appease James. She sent a letter of condolence and apology to him by Sir Robert Carey, a son of Lord Hunsdon; but he was so indignant that he refused to give Carey an audience, and recalled his ambassador from the English court. Many of the nobility urged him to take up arms without delay. Elizabeth was extremely anxious to pacify James and his nobles, and after allowing him a decent interval to vent his indignation and sorrow, she employed her emissaries to prevent him, by every motive of fear or hope, from involving in war the two kingdoms. Her representatives having convinced James, who looked forward to his succession to the English throne, of the dangers and disadvantages of a war, he was induced to stifle his resentment, and preserve the semblance of friendship with the English court.

James VI. on attaining majority, finding himself unable to subdue the turbulent spirit of the ecclesiastics, directed his attention to put an end to those personal quarrels and deadly feuds which had subsisted for ages among many of his nobles, and long distracted the country. A Parliament held in Holyrood having concluded its deliberations on 13th May, 1578, James invited his nobles to a feast, and having, after many preparatory negociations, apparently reconciled them to each other, requested the magistrates, as was his favourite practice to save his own purse, to prepare a collation of wines and sweetmeats at the cross, and then caused his guests walk hand in hand in peaceful procession to the banquet prepared by the magistrates, and there drink to each other in token of reciprocal forgiveness and future friendship, amid the thunder of the castle guns and the shouts of the

populace. But the venom of feudal hatred and the sacred duties of feudal revenge were not so easily forgotten or removed; and though James' good offices did not destroy the seeds of discontent, they at least for a time smothered them.

Partly owing to the expensive contributions levied on the city by King James, and partly through domestic broils, the capital was in a more ruinous and backward condition at the end of the sixteenth century than it had been in the time of James V. It also suffered severely by the plague about this period, (1585-6) which added much to its depression.

The eyes of all Europe had for some time been anxiously watching the progress of the mighty Spanish Armada, which Philip of Spain had been for some time preparing for the subjugation of Britain and the subversion of the Protestant religion, and in which he had exhausted all the treasures of his domestic and foreign dominions. King James put the nation in a posture of defence, and assured the English ambassador that he expected no other favour from Philip, than what Polyphemus had furnished to Ulysses; that when he had devoured all his companions, he would make him the last morsel. The patriotism of the king was nobly seconded by the zeal of the nation; the people entered into a bond for the maintenance of the true religion, and defence of the king's person; and when intelligence arrived in Edinburgh in August, 1588, that the Spanish Armada was approaching the shores of Scotland, the magistrates made preparations by commanding the citizens to provide themselves with arms to prevent a descent, and, at the same time, directed three hundred men to be raised for the defence of the city. Continual disasters pursued the Spanish fleet; from the moment it entered the English channel it was dispersed and shattered by successive battles and tremendous storms, and of this Armada, to which the Spaniards gave the name of *Invincible,* not one-half returned to Spain.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM A.D. 1588, TO A.D. 1621.

1589, James VI. married by proxy to Anne of Denmark—She sails for Scotland—Is driven back by a storm—The King sails in quest of her—Lands at Upsal—Married—Passes the winter at the Danish Court—1590, The King and Queen's reception at Leith—The citizens present the Queen with a rich jewel—General banquet to those who accompanied her from Denmark—The citizens imposed upon by the King—The Queen's coronation—The King's activity in the condemnation of Witches—Bothwell accused by Witches—Imprisoned—Escapes—Denounced rebel—Carries off a witness from the bar of the court—Obtains admission within the Palace—Surprises and nearly takes the King and Chancellor prisoners—They are rescued by the citizens—Moray murdered by Huntly—The King and Council insulted by the citizens for not avenging his death—They retire to Linlithgow—1592, Presbyterianism established—1593, Differences between the King and the Clergy—Daily scenes of riot and outrage in the city—Bothwell takes possession of the palace—His interview with the King—His trial and acquittal—1594, Prince Henry born—Rejoicings in the city—Presentation by the citizens to the King—1595, James obtains a body-guard—Regulation to prevent riots within the city—1596, The Queen delivered of a daughter—The magistrates invited to her baptism—Promise her 10,000 merks on her marriage day—Disputes between the King and the Presbyterian clergy—The citizens support their Ministers—Popular tumult—Quelled by the provost and deacon-convenor—The King retires to Linlithgow—Orders the Courts of Justice to leave the city—Lord Hamilton's treachery—The nobility commanded to return to their country-houses—The clergy exert all their influence to counteract the royal mandate—The King orders the magistrates to seize and imprison the city clergy—They fly to Newcastle—The Clergy decline the jurisdiction of the King and Council—The magistrates send a deputation to his majesty—Their reception—The King's public entry into the city—The magistrates appear in a convention of the Estates, and endeavour to exculpate themselves from the late riot—The popular tumult in the city declared treason—The city criminally prosecuted—The magistrates commanded to enter themselves in ward in Perth—The city denounced—The burgesses declared rebels—Public property confiscated—The city in a state of desolation—The King compromises matters with the magistrates—Terms of compromise—They meet and drink to reciprocal friendship—1598, The magistrates honourably maintain their independence—Royal invitation baptism card—1600, Commencement of the year changed—The Duke of Rohan's description of Edinburgh—Gowrie conspiracy—1603, Death of Queen Elizabeth—James proclaimed King of England—His declaration in St. Giles' Church—Sets out for London—Superiority of Leith—The plague in the city—1609, The King confers favours on the magistrates—1616, He makes a compound with the citizens for a debt he owed them—1617, The town council purchase the mills of Bonnyton—1618, The King visits Scotland—His reception in the capital

—The bishops invested with supreme power in Church matters—1621, Improvement Act—Water introduced—Church bells imported—James' severity to the clergy and citizens of Edinburgh—His death—Two singular condemnations—Punishment of those taking the benefit of *cessio bonorum*—Mode of living in Scotland, and manners of the time—Act against excess in eating and drinking at marriages, etc.—Extravagance in dress restricted—Act against drinking.

National rejoicings were generally as detrimental to the pecuniary interests of the city as national calamities or danger. James having been married by proxy to the princess Anne of Denmark, notwithstanding the intrigues of Queen Elizabeth to prevent the connection, commanded the magistrates to find suitable accommodation and entertainment for his royal bride, from the time of her arrival at Leith, till Holyrood palace could be properly fitted up for her reception. The magistrates aware of James' extravagance when it was not coming out of his own purse, chose rather to compromise the matter with him by payment of 5,000 merks Scots (£277, 7s. 6⅔d., sterling). The young princess sailed for Scotland, but being overtaken by a violent storm, her fleet was driven back to Norway in so shattered a condition that she was under the necessity of wintering there. James was a true lover, and thought every day a year till he saw his love and joy approach. At one time he commanded prayers and fastings for her safe arrival; at another he, having a solid and sincere belief in witchcraft, fell upon the Scottish witches, to whose unhallowed rites and incantations he ascribed the tempests which delayed her. When at last the news arrived of the princess' danger and escape, James' amatory impatience got the better of his fears; and having resolved to proceed himself to the north and bring home his bride, he made another demand on the magistrates, in obedience to which they provided him with an elegant and commodious ship for his voyage, the maintenance of which cost the city £41, 13s. 4d. sterling per month. On the 22nd Oct., 1589, James set sail with a small fleet, accompanied by a number of his nobles, in quest of his young bride. Having reached Upsal in five days, he immediately rode to the palace, booted and spurred, and hurried into the presence of his bride who was waiting him, and in the rude fashion of Scotland would have kissed her, had he not been repulsed by the offended delicacy of the royal bride; however, explanations followed, the princess was soon appeased, and after a few words privily between them, there were no want of familiarities and kisses. The marriage took place on 23rd November; and James, after enjoying himself at the court of Denmark all winter, set sail in spring, carrying his youthful queen along with him, accompanied by a splendid retinue of Danish nobles and ladies, and arrived at Leith on 1st May, 1590, where they were welcomed by immense crowds with every demonstration of joy. The king mounted his horse, and, followed by his youthful queen in her chariot, drawn by eight horses gorgeously caparisoned, proceeded to the palace of Holyrood, accompanied by the Danish nobles and ladies, as also the town council and principal citizens,

richly apparelled. At the solemnization of her marriage in St. Giles' church, the city presented her with a rich jewel which had been deposited by the king with the magistrates as security for a considerable sum of money advanced to him, and were content with the royal promise of payment. The citizens had also the honour, at the request of the king, of entertaining the Danish ambassador, and the ladies and gentlemen that accompanied the queen, at an expense of £44 19s. 0d, sterling; yet, adds Maitland,[1] "all the above acts of generosity, and many others already mentioned, were not sufficient to secure the injured and oppressed citizens from intolerable impositions and grievous exactions; for now James compelled them to take the sum of £40,000, Scotch money, (£3,333 6s. 8d. sterling) part of his queen's portion, and to pay ten per cent. interest for the same; whereas they were then in such good credit, that sometime before they borrowed money at five per cent. interest." On the 17th, the queen's coronation took place in the chapel of Holyrood, on a scale of unusual magnificence, clouded only by a dispute between the king and the clergy on the subject of anointing, which the latter declared was a Jewish custom, abolished by the coming of Christ, and only revived by Papists; yet on James' threatening to call the bishops to perform the ceremony; they allowed him to take his own pleasure. All the foreign ambassadors were present at the ceremony, and an immense number of the nobility and gentry. Mr. Robert Bruce, a Presbyterian minister of much reputation, had the honour of anointing the queen; and the crown was placed on her head by David Lindsay, minister of Leith, assisted by Chancellor Maitland, created Lord Thirlstane, on the occasion.

James, amidst a number of sanguinary feuds which he was neither active in repressing nor punishing, found leisure during the winter after his marriage to attend to the discovery and examination of witches and sorcerers. He became exceedingly active upon the subject: although the confessions which were extorted from the unfortunate creatures were at variance with credibility and common sense, yet upon their incoherent ravings were many men and women committed to the flames, for crimes which were certainly imaginary. The commissioners appointed by James to try those accused of witchcraft, eagerly seized upon the report of his bride having been driven back to Norway by a combination of Danish and Scottish witches, and had a few unfortunate beings tried for that crime.[2]

[1] Maitland, B. 1, cap. 3, p. 45.

[2] It was proved against John Cunningham, that the devil appeared to him in white raiment,[1] and promised that if he would become his servant he would never want, and should be revenged of all his enemies. It was farther proved, that he (the prisoner) *raised the wind on the king's passage to Denmark: that he met with Satan on the king's return from Denmark, and Satan promised to raise a mist, by which his majesty should be thrown upon the coast of England; and thereupon threw something like a football into the sea, which raised a vapour!* He was condemned and burned.

Euphan M'Calzeane, daughter of lord Cliftonhall, one of the senators of the college of justice, (his death, in 1581, spared him the disgrace and misery of

[1] Rec. of Just. 26th Dec., 1590.

At the trial of some of these unfortunate creatures, they confessed that the Earl of Bothwell had consulted them in regard to the king's death. He, amid loud asseverations of innocence, was seized and committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. Soon thereafter, by corrupting his keeper, he escaped. His flight was construed into a confession of guilt, and he was denounced a traitor upon a former sentence. Having taken refuge on the Borders, he welcomed every bankrupt and murderer who chose to ride under his banner.

During the trial of some witches, Bothwell invaded the supreme court, while it sat in Edinburgh, and carried off a witness from the bar, who was about to give evidence against one of his retainers; while the king, although in the next room, did not dare to interfere. He afterwards suddenly made his appearance before the palace of Holyrood at the head of 500 of his desperate

seeing his daughter fall by the hands of the executioner,) who was married to a gentleman, by whom she had three children, was accused of treasonably conspiring the king's death by enchantment;[1] particularly by framing a waxen picture of the king; *of raising storms to hinder his return from Denmark;* and of various other acts of witchcraft. She possessed a considerable estate in her own right; was heard by counsel in her defence; was found guilty by the jury, which consisted of landed gentlemen of note; and was *burnt alive,* and her estate confiscated. Her children, however, after being thus barbarously robbed of their mother, were restored by Act of Parliament,[2] against the forfeiture. The act does not say the sentence was unjust, but that the king was *touched in honour and conscience* to restore the children. But, to move his majesty's conscience, the children had to pay five thousand merks to the donator of escheat,[3] and relinquish the estate of Cliftonhall, which the king gave to Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno.

Agnes Sampson,[4] in Keith, a grave matron-like woman, of a rank and comprehension above the vulgar, was accused of having renounced her baptism, and of having *received the devil's mark, and of raising storms to prevent the queen's coming from Denmark;* as also, of being at *the famous* meeting at North Berwick, where six men and ninety women, witches, were present, dancing to one of their number, who played to them on a Jew's harp. It was charged in the indictment, that the devil was present at this meeting, and started up in the pulpit, which was hung round with black candles: that he called them by all their names, and asked them if they had kept their promises, and been good servants, and what they had done since the last meeting: it was stated that they opened up three graves, and cut off the fingers from dead bodies; *and that the prisoner got for her share, two joints, and a winding-sheet to make powder of, to do mischief:* that the devil was dressed in a black gown and hat, and that he ordered them to keep his commandments, which were to do all the ill they could. Agnes declared, when questioned by her judges, that "she had a familiar spirit, who, upon her call, appeared in a visible form, and resolved her of any doubtful matter, especially concerning life and death." She added that "she had undertaken to make away with the king, but failed." She was condemned and burnt. Of James' labours with this miserable woman, Mr. R. Bowes, the English ambassador, writes Lord Burghly, "The king by his own especial travels had drawn Sampson the great witch to confess plainly her wicked estate and doings, and to discover sundry things touching his own life; how the witch sought to have his shirt, or other linen about him for the execution of her charms." "The number of witches known," he adds, "was about thirty, but many others were accused of acts filthy, lewd, and fantastical."

[1] Rec. of Just. 8th May, 1591.
[2] Unprinted Acts, A. D. 1592, No. 70.
[3] He who obtains a gift of forfeiture.
[4] Rec. of Just. 27th Jan., 1590.

followers on horseback, and having been admitted by some accomplices within the palace, he nearly surprised and made prisoners both the king and Chancellor Maitland, to the latter of whom he imputed the whole measures adopted against him. An alarm, however, was given, and the king, who was then in the queen's chamber at supper, on hearing the noise, took refuge in one of the turrets; and the chancellor, with a few servants, barricaded his room door, and resolutely defended himself. The citizens on hearing of this attack on his majesty, headed by William Little, their provost, and animated by their ministers, cheerfully ran to arms, rushed into the outer court of the palace, and cut their way through the ranks of the Borderers, and led by Sir James Sandilands, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, through the chapel, arrived just in time to drive away the assailants, while Bothwell was calling for fire to burn the doors of the rooms in which the king and chancellor had taken refuge. The chief assailant escaped with the utmost difficulty, having been favoured by the darkness of the night. Nine of his followers were taken, and hanged next morning. Only an equerry of the king's party was killed by Bothwell as he attempted to take him.

It having been reported to the king that the Earl of Moray, heir of Regent Moray, had been seen in the palace along with Bothwell, he gave the Earl of Huntly, his avowed enemy, a commission to apprehend and bring him to trial. Huntly attacked him while quietly residing at Dunibirsle, a castle on the north side of the Forth, which he set on fire, and inhumanly murdered him. Next morning the king went with the greatest unconcern to enjoy his usual pastime of hunting about Innerleith and Wardie, opposite Dunibirsle, whose flames were yet hardly extinguished; but on his return to town, he was met by the general and loud lamentations of the citizens, calling upon him to inflict exemplary punishment on the perpetrators of so atrocious a crime: but as there appeared no disposition in the court to do so, the discontent increased, the citizens rose in a tumultuous manner; and though they were restrained by the magistrates from any act of violence, they threw aside all respect for the king and his ministers, and openly insulted and threatened both. So openly were the king and his ministers insulted by the citizens, that they deemed themselves unsafe in the capital, and removed to Glasgow. Huntly, not long after, without even undergoing the form of a trial, was permitted to return to court.

On 5th June, 1592, Presbyterian church government was established by a solemn Act of the legislature; but though James had been induced to grant this boon to his subjects, mutual distrust prevailed between him and his clergy, it being well known that he hated that form of church government with the most rooted antipathy.

The leading ministers of the Kirk strenuously insisted in a convention of the Estates held in April, 1593, on a number of sweeping and severe penalties against the Papists; but to the passing of these James would not consent; and the Kirk, irritated

by his refusal, withdrew the assistance and co-operation which it had hitherto lent him in preserving peace and good order. The effects of these steps were soon apparent, for the capital thereafter presented almost daily scenes of outrage. The security and sanctity of domestic life were invaded and despised. Ruffians, under the command of and openly protected by the nobles, tore honourable maidens from the bosom of their families, and carried them off in open day. James Gray, a brother of the notorious Master of Gray, seized a young lady named Carnagie, an heiress, and then living under her father's roof, carried her forcibly down a narrow close to the North Loch, delivered her to a party of armed men, who dragged her into a boat, her hair hanging about her face, and her clothes almost torn from her person, whilst Gray's associate, Lord Hume, kept the streets with his retainers, beat off the provost, who attempted a rescue, and slew some of the citizens who had presumed to interfere. Next day, the provost carried his complaint in person before the king. "Do you see here any of my nobles whom you can accuse?" said James. At that moment Hume was standing beside the king, but when the unhappy provost encountered his fierce eye, the impeachment stuck in his throat from terror, and he retired silent and abashed.[1] James, among the complicated distresses that surrounded him, had scarcely one councillor on whom he could rely. The capital swarmed with steel-clad barons, each feeling himself superior to the throne or the law; the streets were in possession of tumultuous bodies of retainers and feudal banditti, armed to the teeth, and commanded by men at mortal feud with each other; while the court and palace were divided by the intrigues of the several rival factions. James became suspicious even of the gentlemen who waited on his person, and was distracted by reports that troops had been seen hovering in the neighbourhood, completely armed and disguised. However, instead of sinking under such a state of things, James was roused, and, by an unusual exertion of firmness and good sense, succeeded in warding off the dangers, by persuading the barons to dismiss their followers, and in effecting a reconciliation between some of the factions. But his majesty had scarcely averted one danger than he was thrown into a state of excitement by another. The Earl of Bothwell and some of his faction met secretly in the city, and organised a formidable confederacy, the object of which was to take possession of the king's person, and overwhelm Chancellor Maitland and his faction. To this plot the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Mar and Athole, and all the noblemen and barons of the name and race of Stewart, were parties. The Parliament, which was then sitting, being about to terminate, Bothwell was secretly conveyed into the house of Lady Gowrie, which adjoined the palace of Holyrood, whose daughter was the Countess of Athole. Early on the following morning, Bothwell and the notorious John Colvil were smuggled, by a back passage, into the outer room adjoining the king's bed-chamber, and hid themselves behind the arras, removed the weapons of the guards, and locked the door of the queen's bed-chamber that the

[1] Tytler, v. 9, pp. 82, 83.

king might not escape. The gates of the palace were then occupied by Lennox and Athole, who placed a guard upon them. All this time James was asleep; but he awoke about nine o'clock, and called for one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, got up, and threw his night-gown about him. An alarm now suddenly rose in the next room; and the king, rushing out with his hose about his heels, and his under-garments in his hands, confronted Bothwell, who had glided from behind the hangings, and stood with his drawn sword in his hand, Colvil being beside him. James shouted "Treason!" and ran to the door of the queen's bed-room; but finding it locked, nothing remained but to face his enemies, which, when driven to it, he did with unwonted spirit. "Come on," said he, "Francis; you wish my life; and I know I am wholly in your power. Take your king's life; I am ready to die. Better to die with honour than live in captivity and shame. Nay, kneel not, man," he continued, (Bothwell and Colvil had thrown themselves upon their knees, and Athole and Lennox had by this time joined them;) "Kneel not, and add hypocrisy to treason. You protest, forsooth, you only came to sue for pardon, to submit yourself to your trial for witchcraft, to be cleared by your peers of the foul imputations which lie heavy on you. Does this violent manner look like a suppliant? Is it not dishonourable to me, and disgraceful to my servants, who have allowed it? What do you take me for? Am I not your anointed king, twenty-seven years old, and no longer a boy or a minor, when every faction would make me their property? But you have plotted my death; and I call upon you now to execute your purpose; for I will not live a prisoner, and dishonoured." After saying this, James sat calmly down, as if prepared for the worst; but Bothwell, still on his knees, loudly disclaimed all such murderous intentions, and, kissing the hilt of his sword, took it by the point, delivered it to the king, and placed his head beneath James' feet, bared his neck, and called upon him to strike it off, if he believed that he ever harboured a thought against his royal person.[1] Lennox and Athole now vehemently interceded for Bothwell; and James, raising him from his knees, retired into a window recess to talk apart. At this moment an uproar arose in the streets; and the citizens, who had heard a rumour of the enterprise, rushed tumultuously into the palace yard, headed by their provost, Alexander Hume, who loudly called to the king, then standing at the open casement, that, on a single word from him, they would force the doors, and rid him of the traitors about him. James, however, dreading to be slain, or torn in pieces, if the two factions came to blows, commanded the citizens to disperse, and, pretending to be reconciled to Bothwell, fixed an early day for his trial, and simply stipulated that, till he was acquitted, he should retire from court. Bothwell agreeing to all this, his peace was proclaimed next day at the cross; and the people, of whom he was a great favourite, crowded around him. When Bothwell's trial came on, he was accused, on the evidence of several depositions made by Richard Graham, who had been burnt for witchcraft, of three several attempts against the king's

[1] Tytler, v. ix, p. 88, et Seq.

life and estate; one by poison, another by fabricating a waxen image in the likeness of the king, and the last, by enchantments to prevent his ever returning out of Denmark. The poison was compounded, according to the declaration of the wizard, of adders' skins, toads' skins, and the *hippomanes* in the head of a young foal, and was to be placed where it might ooze down upon the king's head, where he usually sat, a single drop being of such devilish and pestilent strength as to cause instant death! the Earl defended himself with much spirit and eloquence; and the result was his triumphant acquittal.

On 19th Feb. 1594, the queen brought forth a son, her first-born, in the castle of Stirling. By the nation this event was hailed with universal joy; an old chronicle declares that "The people in all parts appeared to be daft for mirth." When the joyful news reached Edinburgh, great rejoicings took place in the city. The town-council presented his majesty with ten tuns of wine[1] for the prince's baptism, who was named Henry, and caused one hundred citizens, richly accoutred, march to Stirling, as a guard, to attend the ceremony.

A Parliament having been summoned to assemble in the city in Feb. 1595, so great were the numbers that crowded thither, that James, apprehensive of danger, requested the magistrates to send him fifty men to guard his person during the sitting of Parliament. These were soon raised, accoutred, and paid by the generous citizens; and for the better preventing riots and insurrections, the magistrates strictly enjoined the citizens to be ready to appear in arms upon the shortest notice, and commanded the names of all strangers to be nightly sent to the several bailies, and that neither tavern nor ale-house doors be kept open, or persons appear on the streets, after ten o'clock at night.[2]

On 19th August, 1596, the queen was delivered of a princess; and in consideration of the great services rendered by the citizens to the government, his majesty conferred upon the magistrates the honour of an invitation to the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth (afterwards queen of Bohemia). The ceremony took place on first December, in the palace of Holyrood. The town council in return for so distinguished an honour, promised to present this princess on the day of her marriage with 10,000 merks Scots (£555, 6s. 5½d. sterling), which engagement was, in 1613, faithfully fulfilled, with an additional gift of 5000 merks,[3] besides a rich casket of pearls of the value of about £400 sterling. The ceremony was very imposing. The foreign ambassadors, with their trains, and the noblemen and others present were royally feasted. Certain silver and gold pieces were cast forth at a window among the crowd; and a number of knights were created in the evening. The remainder of the month was spent in plays, running at tilt, and sundry other exercises.

It would be tedious and trifling to relate the various disputes between James and the Kirk. The fears and indignation of the clergy were, however, excited to the highest pitch by his granting,

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 9, p. 261, 264. [2] Ibid. v. 10, f. 18.
[3] Ibid. v. 10, f. 100.

with the sanction of a convention of Estates, permission to the Popish lords to occupy their own houses. Circular letters were addressed to all the presbyteries in the kingdom, warning them of the approaching danger, and exhorting them to rouse the people in defence of their just rights. Under the name of "*The Standing Council of the Kirk*," the most eminent clergymen from different presbyteries were appointed to reside constantly at Edinburgh, and to meet every day with the ministers of the city, in whom were vested the supreme ecclesiastical authority, and they were enjoined to take care *that the Kirk should receive no detriment.* Although these proceedings of the clergy were unconstitutional, yet James was extremely unwilling to come to an open rupture with them; but his indignation was at length provoked by their obstinate pertinacity in demanding that the Popish lords should be punished with death as traitors, which the intemperate zeal of Mr. David Black, minister of St. Andrews, kindled into a rage by proclaiming from the pulpit that the Queen of England was an atheist, the religion professed in that kingdom nothing better than an empty show, guided by the injunctions of the bishops; and that not content with this pageant at home they were persuading the King to set it up in Scotland. As for the King, he said, none knew better than he did of the meditated return of the Popish lords, and herein he (the King) was guilty of manifest treachery. But what could they look for, he continued; was not Satan at the head of both court and council? Were not all kings devil's bairns? Was not Satan in the court, in the guiders of the court, in the head of the court? Were not the lords of Session miscreants and bribers, the council cormorants, false, godless, and degenerate? And the Queen of Scotland, a woman whom for fashion's sake they might pray for, but in whose time it was in vain to hope for good. This insolent attack was followed, as might have been expected, by an indignant complaint of Bowes, the English ambassador, and Black was immediately cited to appear before the privy council; but he having declined the jurisdiction of the tribunal, greatly enraged the King, and convinced him that the great question concerning the right of the Crown to interfere in the discipline of the Kirk was now at issue. He therefore resolved to act with more firmness and vigour than he had hitherto done. Black having been a second time summoned, again declined the jurisdiction of the tribunal, and refused to appear; on which the King ordered the privy council to proceed with the trial. On Black being pronounced guilty, James condemned him to banishment beyond the river Spey; at same time all the clergymen of the kingdom were required to subscribe a bond, obliging them to submit to the jurisdiction of the civil courts for all offences against the common laws of the realm. The Kirk protested that every effort had failed to obtain redress for the wrongs offered to Christ's kingdom, proclaimed a fast, and commanded all faithful pastors to betake themselves to their spiritual armour, "cause the doctrine to sound mightily," and protested that whatever might be the consequence, they were free of his majesty's blood.[1]

[1] Spottiswood, p. 426.

It having been reported to his majesty that a number of the citizens assembled every night for military training, and had placed strong guards round the houses of their ministers, he issued a proclamation, commanding twenty-four of the principal citizens to leave the city within six hours, a proceeding which greatly enraged the ministers, and whose indignation blazed to the highest pitch upon receiving an anonymous letter assuring them that Huntly, one of the Popish lords, had been admitted to an interview with the King, and had been the author of the severe proclamation against the citizens. This letter came to hand just as one of their number was going to mount the pulpit, who acquainted the people of their danger, in all the glowing colours which men naturally employ in describing any dreadful and instant calamity. When the sermon was over, he desired the nobles and gentlemen to assemble in the *Little Kirk*. The whole multitude crowded thither, promising and vowing to stand by the Kirk. The Assembly accordingly drew up a petition to the King, craving the redress of those grievances of which the clergy complained, and beseeching his majesty to remove such of his councillors as were known to be enemies to the Protestant religion, which petition two commissioners from each of the Estates were appointed to present. The King then happened to be in the upper tolbooth with some of his privy council, while the judges of the Court of Session were assembled in the lower house, their usual place of meeting. When the deputation was admitted, the Rev. Robert Bruce informed his majesty that they were sent by the noblemen and barons then convened in the Little Kirk, to bemoan and avert the danger threatened to religion. "What danger see you?" said James. "We see," said Bruce, "the most sincere professors banished the city, and Lady Huntly, an open Papist, entertained at court, nor is it thought her husband is far off." "What have you to do with that?" said James, and then changing the subject said, "How durst you convene against my proclamation?" "Dare!" retorted the fierce Lord Lindsay, "We dare do more than that, and will not suffer the truth to be overthrown, and stand tamely by." As he said this, the clamour increased, numbers were thronging rudely into the presence chamber, and the King, starting up in alarm, without giving any answer to the petitioners, retired abruptly into another apartment, and commanded the doors to be shut behind him. Meantime the multitude who continued to assemble, in expectation of the return of the deputies, were entertained by Cranstoun, a forward minister, reading the story of Haman and Mordecai from the Old Testament. When the deputies made their appearance, and informed the multitude that the king would not listen to their petition, the church was in a moment filled with threatenings, execrations, tumult, and uproar. Some called for their arms, some to bring out the wicked *Haman;* others cried, "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," and rushing out with great fury, surrounded the tolbooth, in which were the king, the judges and chief officers of state, and demanded some of his councillors, whom they named, that they might tear them to pieces.

At this moment had not a brave deacon convenor, named Watt, assisted by the craftsmen, beat them back, the gate would have been forced, and none could have answered for the consequences. At length the provost, Sir Alexander Hume, whom the shouts of the mob had reached, as he lay on a sick bed, seized his sword, rushed in, all haggard and pale, among the citizens, and with difficulty quelled the tumult, partly by authority and partly by force. At same time the King promised to receive their petition when put into proper form and presented in a regular manner. James, seizing the moment of tranquillity, ventured to open the doors of the lower tolbooth, and, accompanied by the provost, bailies, and councillors, slipt quietly into the street and proceeded to the palace of Holyrood. He was no sooner in safety than his courage revived, and he expressed himself with the utmost indignation against the ministers and leaders of the late tumult, vowing that they, the city, the barons, and every living soul connected with the recent disgraceful scenes, should bitterly repent them of it.

As soon as the King retired, the malcontents assembled and drew up a new petition, in which they demanded the punishment of the Popish lords, the removal of those councillors who were suspected of favouring them, and the repeal of all the late acts of council, subversive of the authority of the Kirk. When the deputies went next day to present it, they learned that James had withdrawn with all his attendants to Linlithgow during the night. A proclamation was, that same day, published in the city, setting forth, that on account of the late treasonable uproar, in which the citizens of Edinburgh, instigated by the ministers, had taken arms to bereave the King and council of their lives, his majesty deemed Edinburgh unfit for the residence of the courts or for the administration of justice; he therefore required the courts of law to follow him, and commanded the nobility to return to their country-houses, and not to re-assemble without his permission. The citizens, sensible how much they would suffer by the King's absence, and the removal of the courts of justice, began to repent of their conduct; the clergy, on the contrary, exerted all their influence to counteract the royal mandate. They proclaimed a fast, and Mr. John Welsh, one of their number, thundered from the pulpit that his majesty was possessed with a devil; and one devil having been put out, seven worse spirits were entered in his place. They endeavoured to prevent the nobles from dispersing, inflamed the people by violent invectives against their sovereign, laboured to form the leaders of their party into an association for their mutual defence, and wrote a letter to Lord Hamilton, soliciting him in the most earnest terms to become the leader of their confederacy; but he, instead of complying with their desire, carried the letter directly to the King, who was irritated to such a degree by this new insult, that he commanded the magistrates of Edinburgh to seize and imprison their ministers as incendiaries and promoters of rebellion. The magistrates, in order to regain the King's favour, were preparing to obey; and the clergy, perceiving no hope of safety, fled to Newcastle.

James not only discharged the standing council of the Kirk from holding any further meetings, but commanded them to leave the capital, and repair within twenty-four hours to their flocks; on which they instantly convened and declared, that as the spiritual jurisdiction flowed immediately from Christ, and could in no way proceed from a king or civil magistrate, so also the power to convene for the exercise of such jurisdiction came direct from Christ, and could neither be impeded nor controlled by any Christian prince. They railed against the King in the most furious manner, and as they endeavoured to persuade the people to take up arms, the magistrates were ordered to imprison them; but they escaped by a timely flight.

A deputation of the most respectable citizens waited on his majesty at Linlithgow, and attempted in vain to mitigate his resentment, but he would receive no apology. "Fair and humble words," he said, "could not atone for such a fault, but he would ere long come to Edinburgh, and let them know he was a king." To enforce this, James summoned his Highland nobles with their fierce attendants, and the Border barons with their lawless followers. Dark surmises ran through the court, and soon reached the ears of the citizens, that their city was doomed to indiscriminate pillage, to be sacked, perchance razed and sown with salt. On the first day of January, 1597, the dreaded entry of the monarch took place, the streets and gates had early in the morning been occupied by the various chiefs and clans appointed for that purpose. There was not a spectator to view the silent and solemn procession, the citizens having been ordered to keep within their houses. The keys of the city were delivered to one of the king's officers, and the charge of the town committed to the Earl of Marr, with the Lords Seyton and Ochiltree.

A convention of the Estates having, on 5th January, met in the Tolbooth, before whom (the King being present) the magistrates, falling on their knees, declared their willingness to exculpate themselves of the riot before his majesty and council. James was not remiss in availing himself of the ascendancy which he had thus acquired. A convention which afterwards met in Holyrood palace, pronounced the late riots to be high treason, and ordained, that if the magistrates did not find out the authors, the city itself should be subjected to all the penalties due to that crime; nay, it was even proposed that the city should be razed to the foundation, and a pillar erected on its site, as a monument of its treason. The citizens were now reduced to the utmost despair; but Queen Elizabeth interposing in their behalf readily, the king, whose severity was dictated more by policy than inclination, abated somewhat of his rigour. A criminal prosecution was however commenced, and the town council, as representing the city, were commanded to enter themselves in ward, within the town of Perth, by the first of February. On their petitioning, the time of their appearance was prorogued to the first of March, and the attendance of thirteen of the council was declared sufficient, provided they had a proper commission from the rest. The trial commenced on the fifth of March; but one of the members having

failed in his attendance, the cause was immediately decided against the council, the city was denounced, the burgesses declared rebels, and all the public property confiscated to the King.

The capital of the kingdom, deprived of its magistrates, deserted by its ministers, abandoned by the courts of justice, and proscribed by the King, remained in a state of desolation and despair for fifteen days; but, at last, on an earnest supplication of the magistrates and council, offering to submit entirely to the king's mercy, the community was restored against the forfeiture on the following conditions, which they had previously professed their willingness to fulfil, namely, That they should continue to make a most diligent search for the authors of the tumult, in order to bring them to condign punishment; that none of the seditious ministers should be allowed to return to their charges, and no others be admitted without his majesty's consent; and that in the election of their magistrates, they should present a list of the candidates to the King and his lords of Council and Session, whom his majesty and their lordships might approve or reject at pleasure. To these conditions his majesty added the following: That the houses which had been possessed by the ministers should be delivered up to the King, and the ministers afterwards live dispersed through the different quarters of the city, each in their respective parishes. That the town council house should be given up for the accommodation of the Court of Exchequer, that the town should become bound for the safety of the lords of Session, in their persons and estate, from any attempt of the burgesses, under the penalty of 40,000 merks, and lastly, that the town should immediately pay 20,000 merks, (£1111, 10s. $2\frac{2}{3}$d,) sterling, to his majesty. All these terms having been agreed to, James in token of his reconciliation drank with the provost and magistrates, and pledged reciprocal friendship; and it was also agreed that the degraded ministers should return to their respective charges.

In 1598, the magistrates, having arrested an offender who was rescued by one of the King's servants, prosecuted the rescuer, and compelled him to give assurance that he would deliver the original culprit; but the courtier failed in his promise, and the civic authorities seized him and sent him to prison. An outcry arose. It was deemed disgraceful that an officer of the royal household, a gentleman responsible solely to the King, should be imprisoned by a set of burgers and bailies. The King interfered, and commanded his servant to be set free; but the bailies refused. He then sent an angry message, which was met with a still firmer reply; the provost and magistrates declaring that they were ready to resign their offices into the king's hands, but as long as they kept them they would do their duty. James was much enraged, but cooled, and digested the affront.

In power and splendour, the sovereign was so little exalted above the great barons, that till the reign of Jame VI. no guards attended the royal person. Far from affecting the solitary pomp of modern princes, the Scottish kings lived with their nobles in a state of social intercourse. The following letter in the possession of David Bethune, of Balfour, is a curious illustration of the fact:

"Right trusty friend, we greet you well. Having appointed the baptism of our dearest daughter to be here, at Halyrood-house, upon Sunday the fifteenth day of April next, in such honourable manner as that action craveth; we have therefore thought good, right effectually to request and desire you to send us such offerings and presents against that day, *as is best then in season*, and convenient for that action, as you regard our honour, and will merit our special thanks. So, not doubting to find your greater willingness to pleasure us herein, since you are to be invited to take part of your own good cheer, we commit you to God. From Halyrood-house, this tenth day of February, 1598.—James R.

Right Trusty Friend, the Laird of Balfour, Bethune Elder."

The year 1599 is remarkable in history for the change which was made in the manner of computing time. The year had been hitherto calculated as beginning on the 25th day of March, agreeable to a very ancient custom, and hence the confusion which frequently occurs in relating transactions of Scottish history that happened in the months of January, February, and March, till the 25th day, which period of time as belonging to two years at once (1597-8) has always to be referred to. A convention held at Edinburgh removed that evil by passing an act, appointing in all time coming the "first day of the year to begin upon the first day of January." The year 1600 was opened in conformity to this arrangement.

The Duke of Rohan having the same year in his travels visited Edinburgh, states that the city was about one thousand paces in length, and from four to five hundred in breadth; and adds, that there was nothing remarkable in it but the great street, which was very long and broad, and extended from one end of the town to the other; the houses, he says, were not sumptuous, being almost built of wood.

The capital had no share in the Gowrie treason which occured at this period, except that its favourite and popular minister, Robert Bruce, with four others, were, by proclamation at the cross, banished, and forbidden on pain of death, to preach, or come within ten miles of the king's residence, on account of their scepticism as to the reality of the conspiracy. The dead bodies of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were brought from Perth to Edinburgh, and hung up at the cross as the bodies of traitors, and were afterwards beheaded and dismembered on the same day that the ill-fated Charles I. was born at Dunfermline.

On the 24th day of March, 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, in the 70th year of her age and 42nd of her reign, and James VI. of Scotland, was the same day proclaimed her heir and successor; and his succession was hailed with joy by all ranks of his new subjects. When these important news were communicated to James, he received them with composure, and caused the Lyon-king-at-arms solemnly proclaim his titles at the cross of Edinburgh, amid the loud acclamation of thousands. Though his Scottish subjects participated in his joy at his elevation, they foresaw with serious regret the consequence of being deprived of

the presence of their sovereign, who proposed to depart immediately, in order to take possession of the English throne. On the Sunday previous to his departure he repaired to St. Giles' church, to take a formal farewell of his Scottish subjects, when a sermon was delivered by the Rev. John Hall, in which he enumerated the many mercies that had been poured out upon their prince, and declared the peaceful succession to that mighty kingdom which now awaited him none of the least. After the service was concluded, James rose and addressed the people in a speech full of affection and regard for his native country, which no circumstance, he declared, would ever alter. He promised to visit them frequently, at least every third year, and assured them, notwithstanding his necessary absence, they would feel that he was their native prince, no less than when he resided among them, and requested them not to be dejected at his leaving them, since, as his power to serve them was increased, his inclinations, he assured them, were not diminished. His speech was often interrupted by the sighs and tears of the audience, who, though they rejoiced at his prosperity, were melted into sorrow by his tender declarations. James, having appointed his queen to follow him within a few weeks, and entrusted the government of Scotland to his privy council, left his capital on 5th April, amid the lamentations of his subjects, the castle firing a volley at his departure.

James left his Scottish capital, the citizens of which, through good report and bad report, had now been attached to his fortunes for twenty-four years, with a splendid, but not very numerous retinue, composed not only of Scottish, but of English noblemen, (who had hurried to his court to offer their homage,) and next day entered Berwick. On his journey through England, which occupied a month, he was delighted with the loyal zeal displayed by his new subjects, who crowded in immense multitudes wherever he went, to welcome his arrival; and on 6th May, he entered London, accompanied by a numerous body of his nobility and councillors, guarded and ushered by the Lord Mayor and five hundred citizens on horseback, and welcomed by the deafening shouts of an immense multitude. Thus were the two rival nations, whose deadly quarrels had so long deluged the island with blood, united under one monarch.

The 10,000 merks Scots, advanced by the citizens of Edinburgh in 1565, as before stated over the superiority of Leith, having only conferred a partial acquisition; they, on being informed, in 1605, that the inhabitants of Leith were in treaty to purchase the reversion of this right, in order to emancipate themselves from "the yoke of Edinburgh," were so anxious to obtain it, that John Hay, depute-town-clerk, was immediately despatched to England, with instructions to leave no means unattempted to obtain a right to the reversion for their use. Hay managed matters so well, that, to the great grief of the inhabitants of Leith, he purchased the reversion from Lord Thirlstane for 14,000 merks Scots. It does not appear that the inhabitants of Leith were ever repaid the £3000 Scots, which they gave Logan of Restalrig, in 1555, for this superiority.

About this period that dreadful malady, the plague, raged in the city and carried off great numbers. At the election of magistrates at Michaelmas, it was so difficult to get any of the citizens to accept of office, that the privy council compelled those elected to officiate under the pain of rebellion.

James, not forgetful of his native capital, by royal mandate, in 1609, conferred a mark of his favour on the city, by empowering the magistrates to have a sword of state carried before them; and at same time privileged them to wear gowns on public occasions; he also, with his usual attention to trifles, sent two from London as patterns, one of red and the other of black cloth, faced with sable. Shortly after this, the council ordered the members to wear gowns on Sundays, and attend the provost to and from the church. As the peers did not, previous to 1606, appear in Parliament in robes, (which were of red cloth lined with white,) it is probable that the magistrates had never, previous to the above date, been privileged to wear official robes. The King, who had been long indebted to the city, was, at his departure for England, owing 59,000 merks Scottish money, (£3277, 15s. 6⅔d. sterling.) In 1616 the Corporation, being in want of money, solicited payment; but James either compelled or flattered them into the acceptance of 20,000 merks, (£1111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling,) in full payment; the latter is most probable, as this composition did not interrupt the friendship that had so long subsisted between them.

In 1617 the town council purchased the mills of Bonnington from Robert and John Logan, with the lands and tiends belonging to them, for 1230 merks Scots, (£68, 6s. 8d. sterling.)

James, on his ascension to the English throne, had promised to visit Scotland every third year, but his poverty had hitherto prevented him from fulfilling that promise; however, his finances being somewhat improved, he put on a resolution to redeem his pledge, but previous to his setting out, he sent directions for repairing the royal chapel at Holyrood, and ordered an organ to be erected, and a loft for the choir. He sent also English carpenters to superintend these alterations, who brought with them wooden statues of the twelve apostles, finely gilt, to be placed in stalls; but the populace being under the impression that these were the forerunners of the restoration of idolatry, began to exhibit symptoms of aversion, which, being represented to the King by the ministers of Edinburgh and others, he deemed it prudent to countermand his orders, but accused the objectors of ignorance, who could not distinguish between pictures intended for ornament, and images erected as objects of worship.

In 1618 his majesty set out for Scotland. When he entered the borders, he lighted from his horse and received the Scottish nobility, many of whom were waiting his arrival, and at same time welcomed the English nobility who accompanied him to Scotland. His reception, wherever he went, was extremely flattering. His return to his native land was hailed by the "Muses' Welcome;" and panegyrical orations and poems, in the classical languages of Greece and Rome, were pronounced in every city he visited. From Berwick he proceeded by slow marches to Edinburgh, where

he arrived on 16th May. He entered by the West Port, at which place the magistrates and council in their robes, and the principal citizens dressed in black velvet, met him. John Hay, depute-town-clerk, in a bombastic style, for nearly an hour, complimented him in a strain which must have been truly gratifying to his royal ears. In the introduction to his address, he stated as follows: "How joyful your majesty's return (gracious and dread sovereign) is to this, your majesty's native town, from the kingdom due to your sacred person, by royal descent, the countenances and eyes of these your majesty's royal subjects speak for their hearts. This is that happy day of our new birth, ever to be retained in fresh memory, with consideration of the goodness of the Almighty God, considered with acknowledgment of the same, acknowledged with admiration, admired with love, and loved with joy, wherein our eyes behold the greatest human felicity our hearts could wish, which is to feed upon the royal countenance of our true Phœnix, the bright star of our northern firmament, the ornament of our age, wherein we are refreshed, yea, revived with the heat and beams of our sun, (the powerful adamant of our wealth,) by whose removing from our hemisphere we're darkened, deep sorrow and fear possessed our hearts; without envying your majesty's happiness and felicity, our places of solace ever giving new heat to the fever of the languishing remembrance of our happiness. The very hills and groves accustomed before to be refreshed with the dew of your majesty's presence, not putting on their wonted apparel, but with pale looks, representing their misery for the departure of their royal king.

"I most humbly beg pardon of your majesty, who, most unworthy and ungarnished by art or nature with rhetorical colours, having presumed to deliver to your sacred majesty, formed by nature and framed by education to the perfection of all eloquence, the public message of your majesty's royal subjects here convened, upon the very knees of my heart, beseeching your sacred majesty that mine obedience to my superior's command may be a sacrifice acceptable to expiate my presumption; your majesty's wonted clemency may give strength and vigour to my distrustful spirits, in a gracious acceptance of that which shall be delivered, and pardoning my escapes." The address itself is framed in the same bombastic style, and is full of affected pedantry and servile adulation.

The streets through which his majesty passed were lined on both sides with the trained bands, all clad in satin, with halberts in their hands. The King marched with his retinue to St. Giles' church, where he heard sermon; after which he proceeded towards Holyrood, and when at St. John's Cross in Canongate, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon the provost of the city.

The citizens, in proof of their loyalty, invited James to a royal banquet, and, not only entertained him in a sumptuous manner, but presented him with 10,000 merks of double golden angels.

On 28th June, James convened his 22nd Parliament, in which some very remarkable acts were passed, and, among others, an act for the restitution of the archbishops and chapters. After presiding at a scholastic disputation of the professors of the university at Stirling, he departed in September for London.

The common covering of the houses in the city, previous to 1621, however curious the fact may now appear, was thatch, and the town upon the whole must have had a very mean and miserable appearance: for notwithstanding the sanitary acts previously passed, the streets and lanes must have been kept in a very filthy state, as appears from an act[1] passed in that year by the legislature, which provides, that in order to prevent fire, the houses, instead of being covered with straw, deals, or boards, should in time coming be covered with slates, lead, tile, or thatch stones; and that brewers, bakers, and others, who had previously kept stacks of heather, broom, whins, and other fuel, in the heart of the town, and in the vennels and closes, should remove them to some remote parts of the burgh. The act farther states, that "besides this abuse, which is both fearful and dangerous, there is another shameful abuse therein; which although it be not altogether so fearful and dangerous, yet it is noysome to the whole civil and honest neighbours, and to all the nobilitie and countrie people, which come hither for their privat adoes; and with that, it is detestable in the sight of strangers, corrupteth the aire, and carrieth many disgraceful and shameful imputations against the burgh as being a puddle of filth and filthinesse: To wit, the oversight which is given to candlemakers to keep their shoppes and houses where they melt their talloue and cracklings within the heart of the burgh; and to fleshers to keepe their slaughtershoppes within the towne, and to tuime the filth of the slaughtered goods upon the high streets, and in open vennalles and cloases, whereby it often-times falleth out, that in many streets and vennalles of the said burgh, the filth of the slaughtered goods is in such abundance exposed unto the view of the people, and the cloases and streets are so filled therewith, as there can no passage be had thorow the same." All these nuisances were, by the said act, ordered to be removed to the side of the North Loch, or some remote part of the burgh, under the penalty of £500, Scots, (£41, 13s. 4d. sterling.)

Water was introduced by pipes the same year, and three bells were imported from Campvere, two of which were for St. Giles' church, and the third for the Netherbow-port. These cost £120, 5s. sterling, besides the metal of the old bells which had been sent thither to recast.

The whole of James' policy towards Scotland seemed influenced by the desire to establish his absolute authority over the Scottish Church. He had obtained, after much opposition, an act of Parliament to be passed, which invested the King, archbishops, and bishops, with the supreme power of the Church. The clergy who refused to conform, were suspended, deprived, or imprisoned. The citizens of Edinburgh, for their adherence to Presbyterian forms, were threatened with removal of the government and courts of justice; the magistrates, hostile to the new ceremonies, were displaced; and the most obstinate of the inhabitants sentenced to ruinous fines, or remote imprisonment. By these oppressive measures, the general dislike to the innovations was increased. The deposed clergy continued to preach, in private and in public,

[1] James VI. Parl. 23, c. 23 and 29.

to multitudes of eager listeners; conventicles, in spite of the royal prohibition, were every where established; and the baffled monarch and his high commission were meditating schemes of greater severity, when he, on 26th March, died of a tertian ague, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after reigning over Scotland fifty-seven years, and over England twenty-two years and some days. On the subsequent Sunday the ministers of Edinburgh preached his funeral sermon, in which they praised him as the most religious and peaceable prince that this unworthy world had ever possessed.

During the reign of James VI., a man was tried at Leith, before the resident bailies and one of the bailies of Edinburgh, for stealing grain by means of false keys, and condemned to have his hands tied behind his back, and to be instantly carried out to Leith roads and there drowned.

Archibald Cornwall, town-officer of Edinburgh, was "delaited (accused) of ignominiously dishonouring and defaming of his majesty, in taking of his portrait, and laying of the same, and setting thereof to the stoops and upbearers of the gibbet, pressing to fix the same thereupon." The jury, most of whom were tailors, delivered the following verdict by their chancellor: "The assize, *for the most part, file and convict* Archibald Cornwall officer, of the *treasonable* setting of his majesty's portrait to the stoops of the gibbet, and putting of the same to be hung forth upon a nail infixt in the said gibbet." Cornwall was condemned "to forfeit his life, lands, and goods, and to be taken to the gibbet whereupon he *pressed* to hang his majesty's portrait, and there to be hanged until he be dead, and to hang thereupon for the space of twenty-four hours, with a paper on his forehead containing the vile crime committed by him."

Bankruptcies appear to have been so frequent about 1606, as to cause the Court of Session in that year to pass the following severe law against insolvent debtors taking the benefit of *cessio bonorum;* and in order that it might be carried into effect, they ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh. "to caus big, mak and erect, ane pillerie of hewin stayne, neir to the mercat cross of Edinburgh, upoun the heid thairof ane saitt and plaice to be maid, quhairupoun in tyme cuming sall be sett all dyvours, (insolvent debtors) quha sall sit thairon, ane mercat-day from ten houres in the morning quhill ane houre after denner; and the dyvours, before thair libertie, and cuming furth of the Tolbouith of Edinburgh, sall upoun thair awin charges, caus mak or buye ane bonnett or hatt of zallow cullour to be worne be thame all the tyme of thair sitting on the said pillerie, and in all tyme thairafter swa lang as they remayne and abyde dyvours." When found wanting the said hat or bonnet, the bailies of Edinburgh or any one of their creditors could apprehend them, and put them in prison, "thairin to remayne in sure custody, the space of ane quarter of ane zeir for ilk fault and failzie foresaid." The above act applied indiscriminately to all insolvent debtors, without making any distinction between the honest industrious man, ruined by misfortune in trade, and the man who had by luxury and extravagance profusely spent his creditors' money. This severe law put it out of the

power of any man who had taken the benefit of that act from ever again entering into business, or even into company, as his wearing the yellow hat or bonnet rendered him both infamous and odious wherever he went.

When Froissart visited Scotland in the reign of David II., he states,[1] that "they," the Scots, "in their military excursions, carried along with them no provisions of bread nor wine, no pots nor pans, for that they boiled the cattle in their hides; that upon their precipitately quitting their camp on the borders, the English found in it the carcases ef five hundred beasts, mostly deer, and three hundred caldrons made of their skins, with the hair still on them, stretched on stakes, filled with water and the flesh put in them ready to be boiled; that they found also a hundred spits with flesh for roasting, and five hundred pairs of shoes made of raw leather with the hair still on them."[2] Nearly two hundred years after the above period, at the fatal battle of Pinkie,[3] which was fought in 1547, the Scots appear to have improved considerably in their mode of living, if we may judge from what the English found in their camp, viz., oatmeal, oat-cakes, wheaten-bread, butter, cheese, ale and wine, and in some of the tents were found silver-plate.

The manners of the times are thus described by an Englishman who visited Edinburgh in the year 1598: "Myself," says he,[4] "was at a knight's house who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat with their heads covered with blue caps, the table being more than half furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little piece of sodden meat, and when the table was served, the servants sat down with us; but the upper mess, instead of porridge, had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery or furniture of household stuff, but rather rude neglect of both, though myself and my companions sent from the governor of Berwick about bordering affairs, were entertained after their best manner."

"They drink pure wines, not mixed with sugar as the English; yet at feasts they put confits in their wines after the French manner, but they have not our vintners' fraud to mix their wines. I did never see nor hear that they have any public inns with signs hanging out, but the better sort of citizens brew ale, their usual drink, (which will distemper a stranger's body) and the same citizens will entertain passengers upon acquaintance or entreaty. Their bedsteads were then like cupboards in the wall, with doors to be opened and shut at pleasure; so that we climbed up to our beds. They use but one sheet, open at the sides and top, but close at the feet,[5] and so doubled. When passengers go to bed, their custom was to present them a sleeping cup of wine at parting."

"The country people and merchants used to drink largely, the

[1] Bourchier's Froissart, v. i. pp. 8 and 10.

[2] The method of tanning leather was, however, long previous to this known in Scotland. Leges Burgorum, cap. 38.

[3] Holingshed's Hist. of England, p. 988.

[4] Morrison's Itinerary, part 1, b. 3, c. 4, pp. 158, 156.

[5] The same prevails at this day in Scotland.

gentlemen somewhat more sparingly; yet the very courtiers, by night meetings and entertaining any stranger, used to drink healths not without excess, and, to speak truth without offence, the excess of drinking was then far greater in general among the Scots than the English. Myself being at court, invited by some gentlemen to supper, and being forewarned to fear this excess, would not promise to sup with them but upon condition that my inviter would be my protection from large drinking, which I was many times forced to invoke, being courteously entertained, and much provoked to carousing, and so for that time avoided any great intemperance."

In the reign of James VI. the gentry, as well as the common people, appear to have gone to so great an excess in eating, drinking, and banqueting at marriages, baptisms, night-walkings, and funerals, as to require the interference of an act of the legislature,[1] to repress on these occasions, so extraordinary a consumption, not only of articles of home produce, but also of "droggs, confectoures, and spiceries," brought from foreign countries and sold at dear prices "to monie folkes, that were verie unabill to sustene that coaste." To put a stop to such abuses and disorders, Parliament ordained, "That na maner of persones under the degree of prelates, earles, lordes, barronnes, landed gentil-men or utheris, that are worth and may spende in zeirlie frie rent, twa thousand markes money, or fiftien chalders victuall, all charges deduced, sall presume to have at their bridelles, or uther banquettes, or at their tables in dayly cheare, onie drogges or confectoures, brocht from the pairtes bezond sea; and that na banquettes sall be at onie upsittinges, nor after baptizing of bairnes, in time cumming, under the paine of twentie pund, to be payed be everie persone doer in the contrair; asweill of the maister of the house, quhair the effect of this act is contravened, as of all other persones, that sall be found or tryed partakeris of sik superfluous banquetting, and escheitting of the drogges and confectoures apprehended."

Provosts of burghs, sheriffs of counties, etc., were authorised by this act to appoint searchers, and empower them to make open doors, in any house they pleased to search, and apprehend offenders and put them in prison until they paid their fines, which were divided equally between the searchers and the poor of the parish in which the defaulter resided.

In the same monarch's reign, the poorer classes had grown so extravagant in their dress, that they presumed to imitate the king and his nobility in the use and wearing of costly clothing made and brought from foreign countries, in consequence of which so exorbitant prices were charged for wearing apparel that the legislature interfered and passed the following regulations:[2] "That na man or woman, being under the degrees of dukes, earles, lordes of parliament, knichtes, or landed gentil-men, that hes or may spend of frie zearly rent, twa thousand markes, or fiftie chalders of victuall at least, or their wives, sonnes, or dauchteris, sall use or weare in their cleithing, or apparell, or lyning thereof, onie claith of gold or silver, velvot, satine, damask, taffataes, or ony

[1] James VI., Parl. 7, c. 714. [2] James VI., Parl. 7, c. 113.

begairies, frenzies, pasments, or broderie of gold, silver, or silk, nor zit layne, cammerage, or woollen claith, maid and brocht from onie foreine cuntries, under the paine of ane hundreth pundes of every gentil-man landed, ane hundred markes of every gentil-man unlanded, and fourtie pundes of ilk zeaman, for every day that he, his wife, his sonne, or dauchter, transgressis this present act." All judges and other officers belonging to the court, were exempted from the terms of this act, and servants were allowed to wear the old clothes of their master or mistress.

In the reign of the same monarch, drunkenness had become so prevalent as to attract the notice of the legislature, who, taking into consideration that, "that vile and detestable vice was daily increasing, to the high dishonour of God and the great harm of the whole realme, enacted,[1] "That all persons lawfully convict of drunkennesse, or of haunting of taverns and ale-houses after ten hours at night, or any time of the day, except in time of travel, or for ordinary refreshments, shall for the first fault pay three pounds, or, in case of inability or refusal, to be put in jogges or jayle for the space of six houres; for the second fault, to pay five pounds, or to be kept in stocks or jayle twelve houres; and for the third fault, to pay ten pounds, or be kept in stocks or jayle twenty-four houres; and thereafter, if they transgresse, to be committed to jayle till they find caution for their good behaviour in time coming."

CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1621, TO A.D. 1660.

1625, Charles I. proclaimed—The Citizens instructed in the tactics of war—1627, The King presents the city with a sword and gown—Gilmerton coal works—1631-3-4-48—Acts of the town council against females wearing plaids—1634, Ministers' stipends—Number of householders—Amount of rent payable by them—Charles I. visits Edinburgh—His coronation—Edinburgh erected into an Episcopal See—Riot in St. Giles' church—Tumult in the city—The Covenant—Hamilton as King's commissioner fails to satisfy the Covenanters—1638, General Assembly meet and abolish Episcopacy—The citizens ordered to prepare for war—The plague—War declared by the Covenanters—they take Edinburgh Castle and Dalkeith House—Pacification—The Castle delivered up—1640, War determined on—The Castle surrenders to General Lesly—Leith fortified—Hostilities cease—1641, Charles I. visits Edinburgh—Solemn League and Covenant—The Scottish army enter England—1645, Letter of Montrose to the magistrates—State of Edinburgh described—The Scottish Parliament disapproves of the execution of Charles I.—1649, Charles II. invited to fill the

[1] James VI., Parl. 22, c. 20.

Scottish throne—Declines—Montrose condemned and executed at Edinburgh—English army under Cromwell enter Edinburgh—Encamps in the Pentland hills—Retires to Dunbar—Charles II. arrives in Edinburgh—The clergy treat him with indignity—Battle of Dunbar—The city deserted by its civic rulers—Charles II. treated with more discretion—The city and castle delivered to Cromwell—(Note, History of Mons Meg)—A committee of citizens manage the city affairs—Civic rulers restored—The citizens alarmed for their superiority over Leith—A citadel erected in Leith.

CHARLES I. was proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh on 31st March, 1625. In the beginning of his reign a perfect harmony seems to have subsisted between the court and the citizens, for the town council agreed to advance Charles the city assessment, both ordinary and extraordinary, to assist in fitting out ships of war to protect the coasts of the kingdom, which were at this period greatly plagued with pirates; and as an additional mark of their liberality, they offered to contribute with the estates of the kingdom a proportional part towards the maintenance of ten thousand men, and assist in erecting forts in such places as should be judged necessary. At the same time the city guard was provided for, and the town council passed the following enactment to provide for the discipline of the whole citizens: "The proveist, bailies, counsell, and deacons of crafts being conveaned, and considering with themselves how that in thir tymes ther is nothing but combustiouns abroad, and weirs and rumours of weir," they therefore thought it expedient "that the haill inhabitants of this burgh be taucht and instructed in the lawis of weirfair and excercised and strengthened in militarie discipline, that that which maye be practised be the enemie in the field, maye be foresein and preventit be the knawledge of waerfair; for which caus, and for the mair commodious training up the people, it is thocht expedient that the haill inhabitants for the present be devydit into aucht severall companies, and ilk companie to contein ane number of two hundred persounes or mair, as sall be thocht expedient according to the number of the people." The council and deacons at same time drew out regulations to be observed by the commanders, officers, and men, and rules for preventing disputes amongst the officers in points of precedence.

In 1627, Charles presented the city with a new sword and gown, the former to be carried before the provost on civic processions, and the latter to be worn by him on like occasions. His object for so much courtesy will be apparent by the following excerpts from his letter accompanying these gifts: "We have sent you a token of oure favour, a sword and gowne, to be worne by your proveist at such tymes and in such maner as was appointed by oure late deare father." The letter requests them to give their best advice, "in so far as you can convenientlie doe to Sir James Baillie of Lochend, knicht, who is to advance divers greit soumes of money for oure important and urgent service abroad. And lykewayes, that you incourage our remanent borrowes to doe the like; and to pay such pairt of the taxatiounes as are to be payit by them, with all convenient diligence that possibill can be used."

The county of Mid-Lothian abounds in several valuable mine-

rals, especially coal, the seams of which that have been discovered are very numerous, and many of the strata are extremely valuable, being five, seven, ten, and even fifteen feet in thickness. Although there were collieries at Duddingston, Newbattle, and Gilmerton, in the reign of James I.[1] yet for many years after that period the ordinary fuel used by the citizens of Edinburgh was brush-wood, heath, furze, broom, etc.; large stacks of these were piled up in different lanes of the city for the use of the inhabitants. In 1584, one of these piles having caught fire during the night, the town council ordered all these stacks to be removed to the side of the North Loch and other waste ground around the city, under the penalty of twenty pounds Scots. As the lands in the neighbourhood of the city became cleared and cultivated, the use of the fuel above mentioned was gradually given up, and coal came into general use; and, in 1627, the colleries at Gilmerton were in active operation, and supplied the city with that useful article of fuel.

In 1631, the town council passed an act forbidding all women to wear plaids over their heads or faces, under the penalty of five pounds Scots, and forfeiture of the plaid. But little regard having been paid to that ridiculous act by ladies of distinction, the council highly incensed at them, passed, in the year 1633, a new act, strictly enjoining all women, of *whatever quality*, not to wear a plaid, under the pain of corporal punishment, and forfeiture of the plaid, and granted liberty to any person to seize the plaid and dispose of it as their own property. No attention being paid by the ladies to the above ludicrous acts, the worthy town council were very much displeased; but being determined that no females residing within their jurisdiction should either wear plaids or cover their faces with their petticoats when they appeared on the streets of the city, passed in 1636 the following thundering enactment: "Forasmeikell as nothwithstanding of divers and sundrie laudabill actes and statutis maid be the proveist, baillies, and counsall of this burgh in former tymes, discharging that barbarous and uncivill habitte of womens wearing of plaids; zit such hes bein the impudencie of manie of them, that they have continewit the foresaid barbarous habitte, and hes added thairto the wearing of their gownes and petticottes about thair heads and faces, so that the same is now becum the ordinar habitte of all women within the cittie to the general imputation of thair sex, matrones not being abill to be discerned from strumpettis and lowse living women, to thair awne dishonour, and scandal of the cittie; which the proveist, baillies and counsall have taken into thair serious consideration; thairfore have statute and ordaynit and by thir presentis statutis and ordaynis that none of whatsomever degrie or qualitie persume, after this day, under the payne of escheitt of the said plaids, not onlie be such as shall be appoyntit for that effect, but be all persones who sall challange the same.

[1] In 1329, a chalder of coal with the carriage to Parliament, cost 3s. 9¾d. Chamberlain of Scotland's accounts for 1329, from the originals in the Exchequer.

"And that nae women weir thair gownes or petticottes about thair heads and faces, under the payne of ten pundis to be payit by women of qualitie for the first falt, twenty pundis for the second, and under such farder paynes as sall pleas the counsall to inflict upon them for the third falt; and under the payne of fourtie shillings to be payit be servandis and uthers of lower degrie for the first falt, five pundis for the second, and banishment from the cittie for the third falt; and ordaynes this present statute to be intimate throwgh this burgh be sound of drum, that nane pretend ignorance hereof."

Notwithstanding the above acts, the ladies and other females continued to wear plaids after the then fashionable though condemned mode, which so enraged the town council that they, in 1648, enacted, That all women, of whatever condition, presuming to wear plaids about their heads in the streets, churches, or market places, should not only forfeit them, but be punished at the discretion of the magistrates, and ordered the town's officers and city guard to seize the plaids of all offenders, and apply them to their own use. And if any of these officers proved remiss or negligent in putting this act into execution, they were ordered to be imprisoned and deprived of their office.

With a view of raising twelve hundred merks annually towards payment of the ministers' stipends,[1] the town council, in 1634, caused the number of householders within the city and liberties to be taken, with the amount of annual rent payable by each of them. These were all carefully entered in a large folio book, kept in the town clerk's office. The total number of householders was found to be 5,671, and the annual amount of rents payable by them £16,009, 17s. 1d. sterling.

As early as 1628 Charles agreed to visit his ancient city of Edinburgh for the purpose of being crowned king of Scotland, but it was not till 1633 that he proceeded thither. On entering his native kingdom he was every where received with demonstrations of joy and affection. On the twelfth day of June he arrived at Edinburgh, but previous to entering its walls, William Drummond of Hawthornden addressed to him the following inflated piece of congratulatory bombast:[2]

"If Nature could suffer rocks to move, and abandon their natural places, this town, founded on the strength of rocks, (now, by the cheering rays of your majesty's presence, taking not only motion, but life,) had, with her castle, temples, and houses, moved towards you, and besought you to acknowledge her yours; and her indwellers your most humble and affectionate subjects; and to believe how many souls are within her circuits, so many lives are devoted to your sacred person and crown.

"And here, *sire*, she offers by me to the altar of her glory,

[1] In 1582 the stipends of the Reformed clergy over all Scotland, were as follows: In 200 parishes, £50; in another hundred, £25; and in the remainder, £8, 8s. 4d.[1] sterling. In 1588, the stipend of the first minister of Edinburgh was £50; the second, £41, 13s. 4d.; the third, £25; and the fourth, £5.[2]

[2] Coun. Reg. v. 14, p. 100.

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, or Acts of the General Assembly. M.S. in possession of the Church of Scotland.

[2] Coun. Rec. v. 8, p. 189.

whole hecatombs of most happy desires, praying all things may prove prosperous unto you; that every virtue and heroic grace which makes a prince eminent, may, with a long and blessed government attend you; your kingdoms flourish abroad with bays, and at home with olives; presenting you, *sire*, who are the strong key of this little world of Great Britain, with those keys which cast the gates of her affection, and design your power to open all the springs of the hearts of these her most loyal citizens.

"Yet this almost is not necessary; for as the rose, at the fair appearing of the morning sun, displayeth and spreadeth her purples, so that the noise of your happy return to this your native country, their hearts (if they could have shined through their breasts) were with joy and fair hopes made spacious; nor did they ever in all parts feel a more comfortable heat, than the glory of your presence at this time darteth upon them.

"The old forget their age and look fresh and young at the appearance of so gracious a prince; the young bear a part in your welcome, desiring many years of life that they may serve you long; all have more joys than tongues: For, as the words of other nations far go beyond and surpass the affection of their hearts, so, in this nation, the affection of their hearts is all they can express in words. Deign then, *sire*, from the highness of majesty, to look on their lowness and embrace it; accept the homage of their humble minds; accept their grateful zeal, and for deeds, accept that great good will which they have ever carried to the deserts of your ancestors, and shall ever to your own and your royal race, whilst these rocks shall be ever shadowed with buildings, these buildings be inhabited by man, and while men be either indued with counsel or courage, or enjoy any piece of reason, sense, or life."

As he approached the West Port, there was, on the south side, a beautifully painted view of the city, and on a veil being withdrawn, a female, representing the nymph Edina, attended by beautiful maidens, appeared, and presented the keys of the city to his majesty. On entering the gate, he was received by the provost and magistrates in their robes of scarlet, and the town councillors in black gowns faced with velvet, attended by a guard of honour consisting of 260 armed youths, dressed in doublets of white satin, black velvet breeches and white silk stockings, bearing gilded halberts and other arms. The provost made a short speech in name of the citizens, and presented his majesty with a bason of pure gold, estimated at five thousand merks, into which were shaken out of an embroidered purse, a thousand golden double angels. Spalding adds, "the king looked gladly upon the speech and gift both, but the marquis of Hamilton, master of his majesty's horse, meddled with the gift, as due to him in virtue of his office." At the top of the Bow was erected a triumphal arch, where he was addressed by a female, attired in the ancient garb, who represented the figure of Caledonia. At the west end of the Tolbooth stood another triumphal arch, with a representation of all the Scottish monarchs from Fergus to Charles. On the south side of the High Street, near the Cross, a large artificial mount was raised,

representing Parnassus, covered with trees, shrubs, and flowers. In the vale between the biforked summit, rose a pyramid, with a glistering fountain on the top, whence issued a stream of pure water, representing Hippocrene. In the cavity of the mount were two bands of vocal and instrumental music, with on organ, who, at the king's approach, performed an excellent piece of music called Caledonia, composed for that occasion by the best masters. On the north side sat Apollo, and nine boys clad like nymphs. When the music ceased, Apollo addressed the king, and at the conclusion gave him a volume of panegyrics, composed by the members of the college for the occasion. A closing speech was delivered at the Netherbow port. The whole of the speeches delivered to Charles on this occasion were, equally with Drummond's, full of bombast and servile adulation. All the streets through which this pompous, expensive, and absurd pageantry passed to the Palace of Holyrood, were decorated with carpets and tapestry, and lined with the trained bands.

The imposing ceremony of Charles's coronation, which took place in Holyrood with unwonted splendour on 18th June, was rendered offensive by the introduction of an altar, and some unusual rites, which the people conceived savoured of Popery. The citizens, however, entertained him on that occasion at a banquet which cost the city £3,457, 8s. 11d. sterling.

The establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland was a favourite object with Charles, in the prosecution of which began those troubles that so long desolated the country, and at last ended in the death of that unfortunate monarch. Charles, on 20th June, assembled his first Scottish Parliament in the Tolbooth, in which acts concerning the carrying out of his projects in favour of Prelacy and the introduction of the liturgy were confirmed. One of the most important acts of Charles during his residence in Holyrood was the erecting of Edinburgh into a bishopric on 29th of September, and appointing for its diocese all parts south of the Forth, which formerly belonged to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, constabulary of Haddington, shires of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Berwick, and bailiary of Lauderdale, with all the rights, powers, and privileges of a distinct bishopric or diocese, and appointed St. Giles' church in Edinburgh for its cathedral, with all the rights, liberties, and immunities, belonging to a cathedral church. He denominated it the bishopric and diocese of Edinburgh, and appointed it to consist of a bishop, (to whom he gave precedence next to the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow,) a dean and twelve prebendaries, to whom and their successors, he granted the churches of St. Giles, Greyfriars, Trinity College, Holyrood, Dalkeith, Dunbar, etc. Charles, on 11th October thereafter, sent a letter to the town council, in which he stated, "Our pleasure is, that with all diligence you caus raze to the ground the wester wall therein of the said church (St. Giles') betwixt this and Lambas insewing; at or before which time, we require you to caus finish the new tolbooth to the effect it may be for the use of our church and other judicatories and commissioners as the time and occasion shall require." Sometime after James Hanna, the Dean

of this cathedral, was requested by the town council to go to Durham and take a sketch of the choir of the cathedral of that city, in order to fit up and beautify the inside of the choir of Edinburgh cathedral in like manner.

Although Charles' brief residence in the city was hailed with every demonstration of delight, yet the acts passed in the first parliament in favour of Episcopacy and the erection of Edinburgh into a bishopric created much discontent, and kindled a fierce though secret fire in the breasts of his subjects; and scarcely had he returned to London before it burst forth in warm opposition to the measures adopted by him to promote his favourite scheme of having all his subjects of Great Britain under the same form of church government, and against his determination to introduce a liturgical service among a people to whose principles both were repugnant. He vested the power of kirk sessions and presbyteries in bishops, lay elders were dismissed from the Church courts, and the whole structure of Presbyterian polity in Scotland was overturned. A royal mandate having been issued for the immediate introduction of the liturgy into the Church of Scotland, intimation was made from the pulpit, appointing it to be read in all churches on Sunday the 23rd July, 1637. The liturgy for the use of the Church of Scotland was carefully revised, altered, and corrected by Charles; and where it differed in expression or form from the English service book, it appeared to approach more nearly to Popish tenets, and was therefore dreaded as an attempt for the introduction of Popery. In conformity to this intimation, the dean of Edinburgh was to officiate in St. Giles' church. At the hour of the forenoon service, the novelty of the scene had collected together a large and indiscriminate concourse of people; among whom were two archbishops, several bishops, the lords chancellor and treasurer, privy-council, judges, and magistrates. The dean, arrayed in his surplice, had no sooner made his appearance and opened the service book than a tumult arose, and an old woman, named Janet Geddes, started up and exclaimed, "*Out, out, does the false loon mean to say his black mass at my lug?*" and then threw her stool at the dean's head. This was the signal for general uproar; and there immediately followed a wild clamour, clapping of hands, hisses, curses, and exclamations, which rendered every sentence or attempt at speech unintelligible. Women rushed towards the desk; and the dean, disengaging himself from his surplice, with difficulty escaped from their hands. The bishop of Edinburgh, with a view of appeasing the tumult, ascended the pulpit; but had not a friendly hand averted a stool that was thrown at him, that member of the episcopal order might have been silenced for ever. He entreated the people to respect the sacredness of the place, and reminded them of their duty to God and the king. But the tumult was only increased by this address. Stones, and other missiles were thrown at the pulpit. The archbishop of St. Andrews, lord-chancellor, attempted in vain to quell the uproar; at last the magistrates, at command of the lord chancellor, called the town guard, and drove the ringleaders out of the church. The dean resumed his ungracious task, but his voice was drowned by the

multitude without, battering the doors, breaking the windows, and uttering loud exclamations of "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! Stone him! Stone him!" On returning from church, the bishop was attacked by the mob, and narrowly escaped falling a victim to popular fury. In the other city churches, the liturgy was received with less uproar, but not without obvious marks of disapprobation. In the Greyfriars' church, the service had to be given up; and the minister of the College church preferred the old extempore form of prayer, till he should learn the reception of the liturgy in the other city churches.[1] Throughout the country the liturgy met with the same decided opposition; and it was only at St. Andrews, Brechin, Ross, and Dunblane, that its introduction was attempted with success. In the interim between the morning and afternoon services, a meeting of the privy council and of the lord provost and magistrates was held, at which the latter engaged to exert their utmost endeavours to maintain decorum. The use of the liturgy was again attempted in the afternoon, and it was read in some of the churches without much disturbance. Still, however, an unruly multitude thronged through the streets; and when the bishop of Edinburgh was returning home after service in his carriage, he was attacked by the rabble and pelted with stones; and although the carriage was driven at full gallop, his Lordship's footmen were constrained to use their swords to repel the fury of the mob. Next morning the magistrates attended a meeting of the privy-council, and expressed their destestation of the outrage, and promised to find out and seize the ringleaders, in order that they might be punished. They also promised to indemnify the clergy, should they suffer harm from the people in the execution of their duty.

Charles, urged on by the counsels of archbishop Laud, insisted on forcing the hated liturgy on the people, whose opposition he regarded almost in the light of rebellion. The inhabitants of the country became so alarmed at the innovation made on their religion, that multitudes of all ranks, from almost every county south of the Grampians, repaired to Edinburgh to hear his majesty's answer to the representations of the council, who had thought it their duty to represent to Charles the general and increasing aversion to the liturgy; but instead of a gracious answer, he intimated his displeasure in two offensive proclamations. The first suspended the consideration of ecclesiastical affairs till the times were settled, and commanded all who had come to the city on that account to repair to their homes within the space of twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels; the second transferred the seat of government and the courts of justice to Linlithgow. On these being made known to the people, their rage and astonishment knew no bounds. A formal accusation of the bishops, as the authors of the obnoxious liturgy, was subscribed by the nobility, gentry, and by almost every corporation in the kingdom.

The bishop of Galloway, who was suspected of wearing a golden crucifix in his breast, was so violently assaulted on the street by

[1] This memorable day was long afterwards distinguished in Edinburgh by the appellation of *Stony Sabbath*.

the mob, that he would have been torn in pieces, had not some of his friends at the hazard of their own lives, got him into the council chamber. The Earl of Traquair, being informed of the bishop's danger, hastened with Lord Wigton and his followers to relieve him; but on getting into the chambers, where the privy council was, they found themselves in no better situation than the bishop and his friends whom they came to assist. The fury of the mob having increased with their numbers, they attacked the chamber of the privy council, which so alarmed them that they sent to the magistrates for assistance, but received for answer that they were in as bad a condition as themselves, their chamber being besieged by the mob, who threatened them with destruction, unless they joined them in opposition to the Service Book. Traquair and Wigton on receiving this information, ventured out, and by entreaties and supplications, endeavoured to prevail on the people to disperse; but the furious mob ran upon them with cries of "God defend those who will defend God's cause!" and "God confound the Service Book and all its maintainers," and assaulted Traquair, pulled off his hat and cloak, broke in pieces the white wand which he bore as his badge of office; and had not some of his friends came to his assistance, he would have been killed by the infuriated mob. In this pitiable state, the treasurer was without hat, cloak, or staff, conducted to the council chamber. Both the privy council and the magistrates remained besieged in their separate chambers, till they sent for some of the nobility and gentry, who were against the introduction of the liturgy. These being favourites with the mob, were allowed to conduct the prisoners to their respective homes without molestation.

Presbyterianism was now so deeply rooted in Scotland, that all attempts of its enemies to supplant it failed of success. The Solemn League and Covenant made in the reign of James VI. against Popery, was renewed by a convocation that assembled in Edinburgh, and many new articles added; each of the towns in Scotland had a copy, and that which belonged to Edinburgh was, on first March, solemnly read aloud to and subscribed by a great number of nobility, gentry, and others of all ranks and conditions, ages, and sexes, who had assembled in the Greyfriars' churchyard for that purpose. The original contract thus subscribed, is preserved in the Register office of Edinburgh; it is written on a large sheet of parchment, four feet long by three feet eight inches broad, and is so crowded with signatures on both sides that there is not the smallest space left for more; some were so zealous as to add to their subscription, "*till death*," and similar short sentences. It appears that when there was no more room left for signatures, the eager votaries of the Covenant signed the initial letters of their names, with which the margin and other parts are so crowded, that it would be a difficult task to number them correctly; but they are supposed to amount to upwards of five thousand.

Charles, alarmed at a combination so general and so violent, appointed the Marquis of Hamilton his high commissioner, with powers to treat with the Covenanters. When he came to Scot-

land, he took up his residence in Dalkeith House, which belonged to the Crown, not thinking it safe to enter Edinburgh, where there were upwards of sixty thousand people assembled.

Deputies being sent to entreat him to come and lodge in Holyrood palace, he, upon certain conditions, consented, and set out accompanied by the lords of the privy council and such of the nobility and gentry as were well affected to his cause; but before he had got half way, he was met by the whole body of Covenanters, who had assembled at Edinburgh, (amongst whom were about six hundred clergymen, dressed in their black gowns,) more with a view of displaying their own strength than honouring the king's commissioner.

The commissioner opened to the Covenanters his main propositions, which were, "to be informed what they expected from the king in satisfaction of their complaints, and that, on their part, they should return[1] to their obedience and renounce the Covenant." To these they replied, "that all they demanded from the king, was his inducting a General Assembly and Parliament; that as to what was desired of them, it was absurd to require people to return to their obedience who had never departed from it; and as for renouncing the Covenant, they would sooner renounce their baptism than abate one syllable of it." Nay, they invited the commissioner himself to subscribe it, informing him "with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people, what resolutions and beginnings of reformation of manners were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation above any measure they had ever before found, or could be expected; how great glory the Lord had received thereby, and what confidence they had that God would make Scotland a blessed kingdom."

In the meantime there was more zeal displayed against the liturgy than at the Reformation; for although the English service had been read in the chapel of Holyrood for nearly twenty years without interruption, the people, understanding that on the next Sunday, as usual, it was to be read before the commissioner, sent him notice that if it should be used there any more, the clergyman who officiated should infallibly be put to death. The commissioner considering it vain to treat with, and not very safe to reside among, people in such a frame of mind, returned to London.

He afterwards made other two journies to Edinburgh, with more ample powers and new concessions, without being able to come to terms with the Covenanters.

A General Assembly met at Glasgow on 21st November, 1638, agreeable to royal proclamation, which was attended by a vast concourse of people, and by almost all the nobility and gentry, either as elders or assessors.

The commissioner, perceiving that their proceedings were not only conducted without decorum, but hurried on with headlong impetuosity, and being aware of the resolutions they had formed, dissolved the Assembly. Notwithstanding the court continued to sit, and in one hour all the acts of Assembly passed since the acces-

[1] Baker's Chron., p. 461.

sion of James VI. to the throne of England, were declared null[1] and void, although many of them had been confirmed by Parliament. Afterwards, Episcopacy, the canons, and the liturgy were abolished, and every one ordered to subscribe the Covenant under pain of excommunication.

A meeting of the different estates of Parliament was held at Edinburgh on 20th February, 1639, and after receiving a favourable opinion from eminent lawyers and divines as to the legality of raising war,[2] (defensive as they termed it) it was unanimously resolved on.

The magistrates ordered the citizens to prepare for war, and to protect the city from the dangers that threatened it. The town council caused a proclamation to be made by beat of drum, forbidding any of the inhabitants to leave the city without their consent, under the penalty of £1000 Scots, the loss of their freedom, and forfeiture of all their effects within the city, to be applied to its defence; and all burgesses absent were commanded to return within forty-eight hours, under the like penalty; and for the greater security of the city, all householders were required, within forty-eight hours, to give into the magistrates a list of the names and quality of their lodgers, under a penalty of £1000 Scots, and the loss of their freedom for ever; and for preventing riots by night, a strong party of the trained band were ordered to guard the city from eight o'clock p.m. to six a.m.; and a new port or gate was made at the foot of Leith Wynd, and another at the Pleasance. The plague at this time raging in the city, all the debtors, with consent of their creditors, were relieved from prison, and the town council agreed to pay Joannes Pauletius, M.D., £80 Scots, monthly, to visit those affected.

On the 22nd September, proclamation was made, but too late, and in too excited a condition of popular feeling, that the use of the liturgy was abandoned, for the Covenanters had unanimously resolved on war, and appointed Lesly their general. Operations were begun by an attack upon the castle, in which they were aided by the town council, with a force of 500 men and a subsidy of £4166, 13s. 4d. sterling. Patrick Halden, the governor, being provided with neither men nor provisions to stand a siege, surrendered on demand. Their next enterprise was an attack on the house of Dalkeith, which also surrendered on demand, and being well furnished with military stores, they removed them to Edinburgh castle. But a pacification taking place in May between the king and his Scottish subjects, the castle was delivered to the Marquis of Hamilton as the king's commissioner. A Parliament, which sat in December, having broken up amid mutual criminations of unconstitutional conduct, war was early, in 1640, again determined on between the king and his Scottish subjects, the latter being emboldened by assurances of countenance and support from the English malcontents. The magistrates appointed a night guard, exercised the citizens to arms, and raised fortifications to defend the town against the castle. Ruthven, the governor, fired upon the city, but being invested by Lesly, was

[1] King's Dec., p. 317. [2] Guthrie's Mem., p. 44.

forced to surrender. The Covenanters having resolved to erect a fortification at Leith, the work was begun and carried on with such alacrity, that, besides the men who laboured for hire, an incredible number of volunteers assisted, among whom were noblemen and gentlemen of high rank; even ladies of rank and distinction, and other females, surmounted the delicacy of their sex, put their hands to the work and carried the materials, happy if in any way they could promote the cause. The treaty of Ripon put an end to hostilities. Notwithstanding the differences that subsisted between Charles and his Scottish subjects on the score of religion, he, in Aug., 1641, revisited Edinburgh and pardoned and conciliated the insurgents. He was well received by the magistrates, and sumptuously entertained by the citizens at an expense of £1000, sterling.

The contentions of the following years, during which the Scottish and English people united in a war against the king, are connected with general history; however, Edinburgh was the scene of the chief political and diplomatic transactions of Scotland. In Oct., 1643, the Solemn League and Covenant between England and Scotland, for the extirpation of Prelacy, was signed in St. Giles' church. Edinburgh raised and supported 1200 men at an expense of £5000, sterling, which went along with the army sent from Scotland to assist the English Parliamentary force against Charles.

In 1645, the Marquis of Montrose, who had taken arms in favour of the king, sent the magistrates and council a letter of the following tenor: "Loving friends, notwithstanding of your former discarriages and continuance in this present rebellion, which might move us to use all the rigour and severities you have thereby justly deserved; these are to will and require you in his majesty's name and authority, and as you will testify your loyalty to his majesty and tender your safety, that you will immediately after sight hereof, enlarge and put to liberty all such of our people as are prisoners with you, and in particular the Earl of Crawford and Lord Ogilvie, with all others within the tolbooth, and direct them to the army, which if you do, you shall be assured, not only to have your bygone enormities passed and forgot, but to have all the favour and protection from us you can either expect or desire hereafter. But if you refuse or neglect, you shall oblige us to use all the just resentment against you and your town, by fire and sword, that can be used against rebels and principal fomenters of so treasonable and unnaturable rebellion. Thus expecting your ready performance and real obedience herewith, we rest your loving friends.

Maitland[1] thus describes the state of the city at this time: "For aught I can learn," says he, "Edinburgh never was in a more miserable and melancholy situation than at present; for by the unparalleled ravages committed by the plague, it was spoiled of its inhabitants to such a degree, that there were scarce sixty men left capable of assisting in defence of the town in case of an attack, which the citizens had never more occasion to fear than at

[1] Maitland, b. i, c. v, pp. 85, 86.

this time; for the army of the Covenanters being routed at Kilsyth by the Marquis of Montrose, he sent them a letter (the letter above quoted), which occasioned great confusion in the city, the common council assembled in order to deliberate thereon. And having considered the dismal situation of their affairs by the defeat of their army at Kilsyth, the miserable and defenceless state to which their city and castle were reduced by pestilence and famine, the inability of their friends to assist them, the great riches in the towns of Edinburgh and Leith, which could not be removed because of the plague; the national magazines of military stores, the records of the kingdom, together with the great number of State and other prisoners in the town's prison, who, becoming desperate for want of money and provisions, (little or none of the last being brought to the city by reason of the pestilence) threatened to kill their keepers to favour their escape and prevent their being starved. These things being duly considered, the citizens thought it fit to comply with Montrose's demand."

Charles I. having been condemned and executed in 1649 by the English Parliament, the Scottish Parliament passed an ordinance disapproving of his execution. Being averse to submit to the Republican Government established in Britain, the Scots, without calculation, resolved to invite the exiled Charles II. to fill the Scottish throne; but at same time resolved, that previous to being admitted to exercise the royal authority, he should subscribe the Covenant. Edinburgh joined in the national engagements in favour of Charles, and consented to contribute a quota of 1200 men, but in lieu thereof, the town council afterwards offered £3333, 6s. 8d. sterling, which sum they had to borrow, for the plague and civil war had left the city very poor and in great difficulties.

Commissioners were accordingly sent to Breda, where Charles then was, but he declined the sovereignty on the terms proposed. In the meantime, Charles appointed the Marquis of Montrose captain-general of Scotland, and that nobleman being determined to place the king on his native throne on more easy terms than those proposed to him by the rigid Covenanters, embarked at Hamburgh with about six hundred Germans, chiefly commanded by Scots exiles, and landed in the Orkneys. His design was to penetrate to the Highlands, trusting that all the royalists throughout the kingdom would rise in support of their young monarch's cause.

The Covenanters, not wishing the king placed on the throne by such a champion, sent Lesly and Holborn against him with an army of four thousand men. Strahan, an experienced officer, was sent before with a body of horse to obstruct his passage. Montrose had advanced beyond the pass of Invercarron, on the confines of Ross-shire, when he was attacked by Strahan's cavalry, and suffered a total overthrow. After his defeat, he wandered about for some days in the disguise of a peasant, till betrayed by a false friend to Lesly. He was then conducted as far as Dundee, in the same mean habit he had assumed as his disguise. Previous to entering the city, he was met at the Watergate by the

magistrates, city guard, and executioner, and placed in an elevated chair in a cart, to which he was pinioned with cords. The executioner pulled off the hat of the Marquis, and rode before the cart with his livery coat and bonnet on. In this manner, the gallant Marquis, preceded by his principal officers, fettered together in couples, was conducted to the common gaol, amidst an immense crowd of spectators, who, so far from approving of these studied indignities, lamented in tears his sad reverse of fortune. Next day being Sunday, the pulpits rung with declamations against him, representing him as the grand enemy of all piety and religion, and with reproaches upon the people for the profane tenderness they manifested towards him. Nay, to such trivial matters did their resentment descend, that the General Assembly ordained those to be suspended from church privileges who would presume to drink Montrose's health. The following day he was brought before Parliament. He had dressed himself in gay and splendid attire, as if prepared to celebrate a festival rather than to meet his death by the hands of the executioner. Having been formerly attainted, he was condemned without the formality of a trial, and hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high; his head was affixed to the gaol, and his limbs were sent to and exposed on the gates of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, and Glasgow. Thus perished the illustrious and gallant Graham, at the age of thirty-eight.

The English Parliament forseeing that the treaty between Charles and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, determined, in order to frustrate arrangements of this kind, at once to carry the war into Scotland. Oliver Cromwell being raised to the rank of Captain-General of all the forces in England, and having received the command of the expedition against Scotland, hastened thither with an army of 16,000 veteran soldiers. In order to create divisions in the Scottish army, the English sent before them a declaration addressed, "To all that are saints and partakers of the faith of God's[1] elect in Scotland." In this declaration they, in very plausible arguments, charged the Scots with violation of the treaty between them; justifying the independence of their conduct in new modelling the Government as being a free state, and the necessity of taking up arms to prevent Scotland from entering into a treaty with the King, for restoring to him all his dominions. Cromwell's army crossed the Tweed on 22nd July, and marched by Haddington towards Edinburgh, and encamped near the Pentland hills within a few miles of the city; while the Scots, under the command of Lesly, were drawn up at Corstorphin, from whence the Chancellor, who was with them, wrote to the provost of Edinburgh the following letter requesting a supply of provisions:

"My Lord Provost,—The best service you can do your brethren, is to send out bread and chees, or other meat, to give them for this night and the morrow morning, for they will seek no more untill the Lord deliver us and them, or declare his pleasure in the contrary. Send out the Baxters with their own bread and

[1] Declaration of the Army of England, p. 3, et seq.

Hors together ; accommodat them all that you can, for truly they deserve it, and God is hitherto with them to their comfort. Send your provisions in by the other side of Curstorphin, we ar drawn up from bewest Curstorphin Meadow to the west along the bray syd. Let Mr. John Drummond cum along with it, to distribute and order it rightlie. You ar desired to stand to your arms ; ply the Lord and his throne with strong prayers and supplication for us and for his caus. It is easie with him, if he will, to deliver us, and their is noe help for us but in his name.

" We command you to God, and rest your assured friends.

" (Signed) LOUDOUN."

Addressed, " For the Lord Provest and Baillyies of Edinburgh, in hast."

The Scottish troops afterwards securely entrenched themselves in a fortified camp, flanked by the fortifications of Leith, and batteries erected on the Calton-hill.[1] Cromwell finding it impossible to dislodge them from the trenches, or provoke them forth to the plain, retreated to Musselburgh, and his rear being at same time attacked by Montgomery and Strahan, he sustained considerable loss. From Musselburgh, Cromwell retired to Dunbar, but returned and encamped on the Pentland hills. Lesly, by a skilful movement, intercepted his supplies from the coast, and he found it necessary again to retire to Dunbar, to preserve his communication with the English fleet.

The subscription of the Covenant being warmly urged upon Charles, and indeed made an indispensable preliminary by his Scottish subjects to their paying him allegiance, and he, seeing no other way of recovering his dominions, at last consented with exceeding reluctance. He set sail for Scotland, arrived at the mouth of the river Spey, but before being permitted to land was obliged to ratify the Covenant. He was received at Edinburgh with apparent respect, and a retinue and equipage suitable to his rank were appointed him ; in other respects he was merely a nominal king, all the powers of royalty being retained by Argyle and his associates of the Covenant. Charles, who was gay and careless in his disposition, might have submitted to his political insignificance ; but the tedious sermon sand prayers to which he was condemned to listen, containing invectives against the evil designs of his father and grandfather, the idolatry of his mother, and his own sinful connexion with wicked persons, was a penance which he endured with ill-disguised impatience ; nay, it was even ordained, that for these sins, he, his house, and the whole land, should do solemn and public penance ; an event, however, happened which saved him from that disgrace.

Cromwell's army lay at Dunbar in very bad condition ; they were so straitened for provisions, that he meditated a retreat into England, but was spared that mortification by the fanatical frenzy of the clergy. The Scottish army, instead of being under the authority of their general, was regulated by a committee of clergymen, who purged it of all profane and uncovenanted persons,

[1] Cromwell's camp was pitched on the ground now occupied by Leith walk, which took its form from the entrenchments then cast up.

amounting to nearly four thousand, among whom were eighty of the most experienced officers; they then fancied they were a body of saints, and consequently invincible, and declared that the Lord had, by revelation, assured them of victory, and would deliver the sectarians and heretical army into their hands, together with Agag (Cromwell). Puffed up with this imaginary revelation,[1] they compelled Lesly, in opposition to his prudent remonstrances, to quit his advantageous position, and descend into the plain to give battle to Cromwell's army. When Cromwell observed the Scottish army descending, he exclaimed with exultation, "They are coming down to us; the Lord will deliver them into our hands!" Before they could be drawn up in battle array, Cromwell attacked them, (3rd September) and in a few minutes, their army of 16,000 foot and 700 horse, was totally routed. When the news of the defeat of the Scottish army reached Edinburgh, the city was thrown into great confusion, and the provost and magistrates, together with a number of clergymen and others, left it, and fled to the head quarters of the Scottish army at Stirling.

Charles had been reduced to so singular a situation, that the defeat of the army fighting in his behalf was to him rather a matter of triumph than otherwise, and he was thereafter treated with somewhat more discretion, lest by urging him to extremities he might be induced to leave them entirely, and throw himself upon their enemies. The penance which they had ordained for their king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, and a numerous army marched with him into England, where they suffered a complete overthrow.

Cromwell, pursuing his advantages, again marched westward, and, on 7th September, took possession of Edinburgh and Leith, and the forts of Borthwick and Roslin. He also invested the castle of Edinburgh, but not till nearly two months' siege did he make himself master of it.[2] Cromwell went on with the fortifications at Leith which the Scots had left unfinished, and he used the people in general with great civility, yet plundered at

[1] Sir Edward Walker's Hist., p. 178.

[2] In the list of ordnance delivered by the governor to Cromwell, one item is, "*the great iron murderer called Muckle Meg;*" the popular name given to a large cannon which weighs 6½ tons, and is composed of a number of thick iron bars held firmly together by strong iron hoops in the form of a cask, and is about twenty inches diameter in the bore. This cannon is said to have been forged at Mons, in Germany, in 1485. Meg was carried by James IV. to the siege of Dumbarton on 10th July, 1489. In the treasurer's book under that date there is the following entry: "Item, given to the gunners for drink-silver when they cartet Mons, by the king's command, 18 shillings." Meg having been brought to Edinburgh, enjoyed an interval of eight years' repose. When James IV. besieged Norham Castle, in 1497, this large gun was, with great labour and expense, conveyed to the siege, and some of the items regarding her transport are amusing. The construction of a new cradle or carriage for her, seems to have been a work of great labour. In the treasurer's book, under date 24th July, 1497, is the following entry: Item to pyanaris to bore ye trees to be Mons' new cradill to hir at St. Leonards, quhare sche lay, iii$^{sh.}$ vi$^{d.}$" And on 28th July: "Item for xiii stane of iron to mak graith to Monsis' new cradill, and gavilokkis to ga with her, xxx$^{sh.}$ iiii$^{d.}$ Item, to vii wrights for twa

same time the houses of those who had manifested their enmity and terror towards him by deserting their habitations.

That the city might not remain in a state of anarchy and confusion for want of civic rulers, the more prudent of the citizens assembled those who still remained, and chose from among their numbers thirty of the most judicious and experienced, as a committee to manage the affairs of the city, and treat of such matters with Cromwell and his troops as were necessary in their present distressing situation, till the legal administration should be resumed. After Cromwell gained the battle of Worcester, he having entire possession of Scotland, sent commissioners to govern the kingdom, who arrived at Dalkeith in January, 1651; immediately thereafter, a deputation of the citizens waited upon them and solicited restitution of their magistrates. The previous grants of the political constitution of the burgh having been examined by the commissioners, they, on the 5th of December, restored to the citizens their civic rulers as formerly. The committee who had been appointed in September, 1650, had managed the public concerns of the city for the intervening fifteen months with such moderation and prudence, that, at the restoration of the town council, they not only received the thanks of their fellow-citizens, but a more solid mark of their approbation was conferred upon them, by legally confirming their whole acts and deeds during their management.[1]

A number of English families who had accompanied Cromwell to Scotland, having settled in Leith, found themselves so oppressed by the citizens of Edinburgh, as superiors of the town, that they complained to General Monk, who wrote several letters to Crom-

dayis and a half, ya maid Monsis' cradill, xxiii$^{sh.}$ iiii$^{d.}$ Item, for xxiii lb. of talloun (tallow) to Mons. Item, for viii elne of canwas, to be Mons' claiths to cover her. Item, for mare talloun for Mons. Item, to Sir Thomas Galbraith for paynting Monsis claiths, xiiii$^{sh.}$ Item, to the minstralis that playit before Mons doune the gait, xiii$^{sh.}$" Meg appears to have made a noise in the world at the nuptials of Queen Mary with the dauphin of France, it being on record that "certain pyanaris for their labour in raising Monss out of her lair, and for finding and carrying her bullet, after she was shot, frae Waldie Muir back to the castle of Edinburgh, a distance of two miles, 10s." In firing a salute in 1682, in honour of James, Duke of York, Meg unfortunately sustained some damage in having part of her hoop, next the touch-hole, blown away. The disaster is thus referred to by Robert Fergusson. the poet:

"Oh, Willawins! Mons Meg for you,
'Twas firing cracked thy muckle mou."

Meg was, in 1754, removed from her ancient residence in the castle, and placed in the Tower of London. When King George IV. visited Edinburgh castle on 22nd Aug., 1822, Sir Walter Scott pointed out to him the spot on the chief bastion of the old fortress, formerly occupied by Mons Meg, and earnestly requested that she might again be placed there, to which his Majesty readily assented; but through petty obstacles, stated by the official guardians of Meg, that object was not attained till 9th March, 1829, when she landed at Leith, and was brought in solemn procession to re-occupy her ancient site on the Argyle battery in the castle of Edinburgh, escorted by the 73d regiment, a detachment of artillerymen, and two troops of dragoons, with thirty gentlemen in full Highland costume, at the head of whom was Sir Walter Scott, accompanied by the greater part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Although useless, it is held in high estimation, and is mounted on an elegant new carriage sent from Woolwich.

[1] Coun. Reg., v. 17, pp. 291, 292.

well, their patron, setting forth their grievances. These differences being ultimately referred to the Council of State in Scotland, so alarmed the citizens of Edinburgh lest they should be deprived of their favourite superiority, more especially as they had been informed that the English intended to fortify Leith with walls, that they appointed a committee of their number to investigate thoroughly into their rights and privileges over Leith.

These reported as follows:

"The committee having long and seriouslie debated, and considered the heavie prejudice arysing to this burgh, if a frie trade sall be continued in Leith, or any farther liberties granted to the inhabitants thairof, by his Highnes or his counsall heir; and being informed that there is ane resolution to fortifie Leith presentlie with strong wallis of stone and lyme round about, which the committee conceaves may prove dangerous to the interest of this burgh:

"Thairfoir, and for preventing of these prejudices, their opinion is, that the Lord Provest or some otheris may be impowered to deall with the Lord General Monk, or others in authoritie, and to try if they may be induced rather to build there an convenient cittiedaill; and if need be, is to make to his Lordship, in name of the good town, ane offer of ane considerable soume of money towards the said work, upon condition, that the privileges and liberties of this burgh in relatioun to Leith, with all uther their auntient rights and liberties may be of new confirmed by his Highness (Cromwell) to stand as in former tymes befoir any guarrisone was put in Leith."

Upon the above report being taken into consideration by the council, they appointed commissioners, who waited on General Monk at Dalkeith, and represented to him the embarrassed state of the city affairs. Monk informed the commissioners that he had received an express order from the Protector, either to fortify the town of Leith, or to erect a citadel at South or North Leith, as he should deem most convenient; but professing great friendship towards the citizens of Edinburgh, he stated that he was of opinion that the fortifying of Leith might prove prejudicial to the commerce and privileges of Edinburgh, therefore, he thought it most advisable for the citizens to contribute towards the building of a citadel, and out of regard to the city, he would only request of them the sum of £5,000, sterling, towards its erection.

Monk's demand having been taken into consideration by the town council, assisted by two hundred and thirty-nine of the principal citizens, specially summoned to give their advice on this extraordinary occasion, they were unanimously of opinion that it would be better to give the sum demanded by the General, than risk the bad consequences with which a refusal might be attended; provided that assurance was given, that their ancient rights, privileges, and immunities over the town of Leith should be ratified and confirmed in as ample a manner as they enjoyed them before a garrison was placed in it. These arrangements having been finally agreed to, the £5,000, was paid to Monk by three instalments.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1660, TO A.D. 1707.

1660, Restoration—Actings of the Town Council on that occasion—Re-establishment of Episcopacy—Duplicity of Charles II.—Severities of the Government towards the Presbyterians—Insurrection—1661, The mutilated body of Montrose exhumed and re-interred in St. Giles'—Lauderdale's extortions—The Town Council purchase the citadel of Leith—1677, Actings of Sir Andrew Ramsey while chief magistrate—Exorbitant charges at penny weddings restricted—Act, 1621, against thatched houses renewed—1678, Major Weir burnt on the Calton hill as a wizard—1679, Population of the city—The Duke of York's entrance into the city—His and the magistrates actings during his residence in Holyrood palace—1680, The Pope burnt in effigy—1685, Rejoicings in the city on the accession of James VII. of Scotland and II. of England—Argyle executed—The Town Council present gifts to Lord Melville—1686, James invested with absolute power—His partiality to Papists—Riots in the city—Reciprocities between James and the civic authorities—Restrictions on the Press—1688-9, Revolutionary riots in the city upon the landing of the Prince of Orange—The Pope burnt in effigy—The magistrates' address to the Prince of Orange—Convention settle the crown on William and Mary—The civic rulers elected by poll—Presbyterianism established—Excitements in the city by the actings of the ex-monarch's adherents—Castle surrendered to William and Mary—Execution of John Chislie of Dalry—1690—The members of the College of Justice disarmed—The city guarded by 120 men—Rigours of the new Government—City revenue—1692, Tonnage and value of shipping at Leith—1695, Act to prevent lewdness in public houses—1697, Town guard—1698, Height of houses restricted—1699, Darien scheme—1700, Great fire in Parliament Square—Punishment for vitiating a bond—1702, —Accession of Queen Anne—1703, Riding of Parliament—1704, Popish trinkets burnt—1705, Trial and execution of Captain Green—1707, Discontents of the people—Riots in the city—Union of Scotland and England,

On the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the loyalists, so long depressed, displayed their love for monarchy by an ample increase of the powers and prerogatives of the Crown. So great was the joy on this occasion in Edinburgh, that the town council held a sumptuous banquet at the cross, and general rejoicings took place throughout the city. They also addressed a congratulatory letter to Charles on his recovery of the throne, and sent the town-clerk to London with a presentation to his Majesty, in the name of the city, of £1000 sterling. Charles was so well pleased at these indications of loyalty, that he sent them the following letter:

"Charles R.—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The affection we have to our good toune of Edinburgh, and the expressions we have received of their dutie and fidelitie in our service, by William Thomsone, your agent and clerk, hath in-

clined us to grant a ratification and new gift of the voluntarie imposition on Aile, Beer, and Wyn. We have also thought fit to let you know, that we intend in dew tyme to grant a more particular conformation of your former charters, rights, and privileges, and what other can in justice be proposed for the improvement of the same. So not doubting of the continuance of your zeal in our service, we bid you fairwell."

The magistrates took special care to obtain the grant promised in his Majesty's letter, and accordingly, on 18th December, they received power to levy, for eleven years, one-third of a penny on the pint of ale, and two pennies on the pint of wine, consumed in the city; for, in the words of Arnot,[1] "It has always been equally unfortunate for the inhabitants, whether the magistrates testified their loyalty or sedition, both were made pretexts for levying money from the inhabitants; the only difference lying in the name bestowed on the exaction, which in one case was called a *tax*, in the other a *fine*."

Charles, on 22nd August, abolished the English tribunals in Scotland, and directed a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh for the adjustment of the national affairs; and the city once more rejoiced in the presence of the officers of state, the privy council, and the Parliament. Notwithstanding the tide of loyalty[2] which swelled the breasts of the royalists, the majority of the nation being Presbyterians, were inclined to circumscribe the royal authority; and although Charles was sensible of this, yet he nevertheless adopted measures to suppress the party and to eradicate their principles; measures which, there can be little doubt, were the foundation of the utter ruin of the house of Stewart.

Charles, on his accession, had not only bound himself by his coronation oath to support the church government as by law

[1] Arnot, b. i, c. iv, p. 105.

[2] As an instance of the manner in which Charles' birth-day was observed in Edinburgh during the tide of loyalty which then set in, the following is quoted from the *Kingdom's Intelligencer* newspaper: "Edinburgh. May 29th, 1665, being his Majesty's birth and restoration day, was most solemnly kept by people of all ranks in this city. My lord commissioner, in his state, accompanied with his life guard on horseback, and Sir Andrew Ramsay, lord provost of Edinburgh, bailies and council, in their robes, accompanied with all the trained bands in arms, went to church, and heard the bishop of Edinburgh, upon a text as fit as well apply'd for the work of the day: Thereafter, thirty-five aged men, in blue gowns, each having got thirty-five shillings in a purse, came up from the abbey to the great church, praying all along for his Majesty. Sermon being ended, his Grace entertained all the nobles and gentlemen with a magnificent feast and open table. After dinner, the lord provost and council went to the cross of Edinburgh, where was planted a green arbour, loaded with oranges and lemons, wine liberally running for divers hours at eight several conduits, *to the great solace of the indigent commons there.* Having drunk all the royal healths, which were seconded by the great guns from the castle, sound of trumpets and drums, volleys from the trained bands, and joyful acclamations from the people, they plentifully entertained the multitude. After which, my lord commissioner, provost, and bailies, went up to the castle, where they were entertained with all sorts of wine and sweetmeats; and returning, the lord provost countenanced all the neighbours of the city that had put up bonfires, by appearing at their fires, being in great numbers; which jovialness continued with ringing of bells and shooting of great guns till twelve o'clock at night."

established, but had written to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, assuring them of his determination to support it. His future conduct, however, showed the duplicity of his professions, for one of the first acts of the Parliament which assembled at Edinburgh in January, 1661, was to rescind the whole acts passed during the last twenty-three years, those in favour of Presbytery being among the number. In this Parliament, the divine prerogative of the king was recognised in its fullest extent, and it directly repealed the covenant by an act to prevent its renewal without the King's consent. Thus Episcopacy came to be tacitly re-established, and a royal proclamation soon thereafter abolished the Presbyterian establishment, and restored Prelacy; but no attempt was made to re-introduce the liturgy, or other insignia of an Episcopal communion, farther than the institution of the authority of bishops. But such was the aversion of the Scots to Prelacy, that upwards of nine hundred clergymen were removed from their livings, who refused to procure presentations from their patrons and induction from the bishops. With few exceptions, the new incumbents were ignorant, careless, licentious, and violent; and the people, indignant at the rigorous treatment of their beloved ministers, and disdaining the instructions of men so despicable and odious, deserted the parish churches and resorted to the fields and woods, where they were edified and delighted by the ministrations of their cherished pastors. Charles was hardly re-established on the throne of his ancestors, ere the privy council, the court which issued the edicts of his tyranny, commenced proceedings which incited the Covenanters to arms, and threw the capital and the country into confusion. An edict was published[1] ordaining all inn-keepers and burgesses of Edinburgh, *every night*, to give up a list of strangers residing with them, and the disarming law, passed by James VI. was put in vigorous execution. Persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious were banished to the West Indies, and so enormous were the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the established churches and on other pretexts, that in the course of one session of Parliament, £85,000, sterling, were extorted[2] from the Covenanters by these tyrannical proceedings. Those suspected of being disaffected were imprisoned, and all who assisted at the meetings of the Covenanters, denominated *conventicles*, were made liable to fines,[3] imprisonment, and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the privy council.

Irritated by a course of such infamous transactions and manifold oppression, the country, especially the western counties, which had been the principal sufferers, rose to arms. They surprised and disarmed a small body of the King's forces at Dumfries, and about two thousand renewed the Covenant at Lanark; from thence they marched towards Edinburgh, still, however, professing loyalty and submission to the King, only requiring the re-establishment of the Presbyterian religion, and of their former ministers. The city of Edinburgh was put in a posture of defence,

[1] Rec. of Privy Coun., No. 1, p. 187.
[2] Wodrow's Hist., v. i, p. 121. [3] Hume's Hist., v. v, p. 450.

the gates were shut and fortified with cannon from the castle; and all ingress or egress being prohibited without a passport, the Covenanters were disappointed of the expected support of their friends. The gentlemen in the neighbourhood were called on to afford their aid. The College of Justice formed themselves into a company for the support of government, and were supplied with arms by the Lord Lyon ; and all the gentlemen in Edinburgh who had horses, were ordered to assemble in the meal market, there to be in readiness to march under the Marquis of Montrose.

The Covenanters, dispirited by the desertion of more than one half of their number, which never much exceeded 5,000, and fatigued by their long march without provisions, reached the Pentland hills, on 28th November, 1666, where they were overtaken by General Dalziel with a body of cavalry. Though now reduced to eight hundred, they bravely repulsed several attacks of the assailants, but were at length overpowered and dispersed ; about fifty were killed, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners. The business of the executioner followed. Twenty were executed at Edinburgh, ten of whom were suspended on the same gibbet, their heads stuck upon the city gates, and their arms sent to Lanark for a similar purpose ; thirty-five were executed in the country before their own doors ; and others were cruelly tortured, to extort from them discoveries concerning what the council affected to consider an extensive conspiracy. One M'Kail, a young preacher, was tortured, with a view of extorting from him some important information which he was supposed to possess, by an instrument called "the boot," into which, after his leg was thrust, iron wedges were gradually driven by hammers, till the bones were broken, and the leg shockingly mangled. Having been thus tortured, he was afterwards dragged to execution, and expired in an ecstasy of joy, uttering with his last breath these sublime exclamations, "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars! farewell, kindred and friends! farewell, world and time! farewell, weak and frail body! Welcome, eternity! welcome, angels and saints! welcome, Saviour of the world!"

Throughout this period of Scottish history, the capital was the scene of the trial, torture, and execution of vast numbers of Covenanters, many of them distinguished by their zeal, piety, and learning, endured the torture with firmness, and met death with exultation. But neither the tyrannical and inquisitorial nature of these proceedings, nor the martyrdoms which occurred, awed the citizens of Edinburgh into patient submission. At the execution of one Mitchell, who was concerned in an attempt to assassinate the Archbishop of St. Andrews in the High street of the capital, the scaffold was assailed by bands of the lower orders, the greater number females, who made a strenuous endeavour to effect a rescue. While these proceedings of the Privy Council were rousing the indignation of the middle and lower classes of the citizens, and occasionally met with resistance on their part, the town council were at once the boon companions of the Privy Council, and the instruments of their oppression.

The mutilated remains of the Marquis of Montrose, who was

executed in 1651, were, in 1661, raised and carried from the abbey church to that of St. Giles', and buried in the tomb of his grandfather. The members of Parliament and magistrates of Edinburgh attended the procession in their robes; the streets through which it passed were lined with soldiers; all the bells in Edinburgh and Canongate were ringing, and "the great common bell jawing and tolling." At lifting the corpse out of the abbey church, the whole cannons in the castle, and the soldiers drawn up on the streets fired a volley; as the corpse was carried out of the church, a second volley was fired; and a third at the reinterment in St. Giles' church. The solemnities were concluded with a most sumptuous supper and banquet, at the Marquis' house, with concerts of music, and all sort of diversions; for at this funeral the friends of the deceased rejoiced, and his enemies mourned.

Charles II. in 1667 gave Sir Alexander Ramsay a letter, stating that the provost of Edinburgh should have the same precedence in Scotland as the lord mayor of London has in England, and that no other provost should have the title of "Lord Provost."

The Duke of Lauderdale's extortions during the reign of Charles II. were too notorious to be concealed. He received from the royal burghs an annual pension for his countenance and protection, of which, on one occasion, there were due him £283, 6s. 8d. sterling, of arrears. The town council perceiving the necessity of paying this sum, ordered money to be borrowed on the city's account, to discharge it. Lauderdale fell upon many expedients for extorting money from the citizens, and was ably supported in his schemes of oppression by Sir Andrew Ramsay, provost of the city, whose influence was such, that he had for ten successive years been elected to that office, and consequently preses of the convention of royal burghs, an office which, together with his having a vote in Parliament, qualified him to be very serviceable to Lauderdale, who, in requital for his favours, obtained for him and his successors in office an annual salary of £200 sterling. This seems to have been the first regular salary attached to the office of chief magistrate of the city. Lauderdale, with the assistance of the provost, adopted the following expedient in order to frighten the citizens into payment of a handsome sum.

The citadel of Leith having been almost demolished at the Reformation, Lauderdale, in 1663, obtained from Charles II. a gift of the village called the citadel of Leith, built upon its site and dignified with the pompous name of *Charleston*, with the privilege *inter alia* of a free burgh of barony and regality, the office of bailiary, a weekly market and yearly fair. In obtaining this grant, Lauderdale had in view the purchase of it by the corporation of Edinburgh, knowing that the erection of this free burgh, which lay on the north side of the mouth of the water of Leith, would interfere with the interests of the city. The corporation, on hearing of the gift, became alarmed at the effect it might have on their favourite superiority over Leith, to save which they at once entered into terms for its purchase. Lauderdale offered them this 'toy' for the exorbitant sum of £6000, which was paid, as the magistrates were afraid to incur his displeasure

by the offer of a less sum. The corporation about the same time promised him a further sum of £5000 sterling, for obtaining for the city a perpetual grant of certain duties upon wines, spirits, and rum, brought into the city; but the coffers of the city being empty, he accepted their bond for the latter sum.

While Sir Andrew Ramsay occupied the civic chair, he acted with so much selfishness, and with such a total disregard of the interests of the city, as to apply to his own and his friends' use that which was intended for the common good of the burgh, and invented so many new employments and unnecessary offices within the city, to provide for his dependents, that the citizens, weary of his yoke, resolved to turn him out at next election; but he having had a majority, the citizens were forced to "intent a reduction of the election." The case being submitted to the chancellor and president, they ordered an act to be passed in the common council of the city, declaring, that none should thereafter continue provost for more than two years; and ordered this act to be sworn to by the present and every succeeding council.

During the reign of Charles II. the houses of those who entered into the bands of holy wedlock, were for a few days converted into inns, where every guest paid for what he ordered; and so exorbitant did the charges for eating at these penny weddings become, that the town council,[1] in 1677, found it necessary, in order to put a stop to those impositions, to ordain, that in time coming, no person within their jurisdiction should presume to take more for a man's dinner than twenty-four shillings, and for a woman's than eighteen shillings, Scots, that is, two shillings, and one shilling and sixpence, sterling.[2]

The act of the legislature, already mentioned as having passed in 1621, prohibiting the use of thatch on houses in the capital, was this year renewed, and fines were imposed on those who allowed thatch to remain on their houses, in consequence of the many destructive fires which had occurred in the city. Even at this period many houses within the city were built of wood and covered with straw.

It would be tedious to narrate the numerous trials that, about this period, took place for witchcraft; but taking into consideration the ignorance and superstition of the age, it is not to be wondered at; and when we further consider the then state of the laws, we can scarcely be surprised that many innocent persons should have been convicted of crimes which it was not in their power to commit; more especially as the records of the town council bear to have in 1661 granted to William Johnston, baron, bailie of Broughton,[3] all the goods and chattels of women condemned for witchcraft within his jurisdiction. Hence it was the interest of this magistrate to have as many innocent old women, residing within the barony, converted into witches as he could.

Major Weir, the celebrated Scottish wizard, was, in 1678,

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 28, p. 252.

[2] This custom is still kept up in some parts of Scotland, and from the profits of the wedding, the new married pair calculate on furnishing their house.

[3] Broughton was at this time, and for a long time after, a village in the vicinity of Edinburgh, but now forms part of the new town.

burned on the Castle hill. Innumerable superstitious notions prevailed against him. He was apparently a person of great external piety, yet indulged, it was alleged, in the most horrible crimes, amongst which, according to the belief of the age, sorcery was the chief. For above a century after his death, his house remained uninhabited, no one daring to encounter the horrors of a place in which it was supposed that all the powers of hell held their nightly revels.[1]

On account of the civil commotions, government, in 1679, enjoined the magistrates of Edinburgh to number the inhabitants within the city and suburbs, both men and women, from the age of sixteen to sixty, and deliver a statement of the same to the privy council; also, to take an account of the names, quality, and professions of all lodgers or inmates, together with such persons as should thereafter arrive, and deliver the same, nightly, to the bailies, who were ordered to give it up before ten o'clock p.m. to the captain of the guard, and he was enjoined to deliver it to the major-general, or the officer next in command, under the penalty of £100 Scots.

[1] An act[1] was passed in 1563 against witchcraft, from the words of which there is some reason to suspect that the legislature did not believe in sorcery; but the numerous commissions that were afterwards granted by the privy-council, and sometimes by Parliament, not only to the lords of justiciary, but bailies of regalities, and sheriffs of counties, show that the act did not remain *a dead letter*. The bloody zeal of these inquisitors attained to a refinement in cruelty, so shocking to humanity, and so repugnant to justice, as to be almost incredible; indeed, human ingenuity seems to have been exhausted in devising variety of torment against those who lay under the suspicion of witchcraft, but persisted with fortitude in denying the absurd imputation, even when urged with the sharpest tortures. Thrusting of pins into the flesh, and keeping the accused from sleep, were the ordinary treatment of a witch. But if the prisoner was endued with uncommon fortitude, other methods were used to extort confession. *The boots, the caspie-claws, and the pilnie-winks*, engines for torturing the legs, the arms, and the fingers, were applied to either sex, and that with such violence that sometimes the blood would have spouted from the limbs. Loading with heavy irons, and whipping with cords, till the skin and flesh were torn from the bones, have also been the adopted methods of torment. Not satisfied with tormenting the person of the accused, their ingenious malice assailed the most delicate feelings and ardent affections of the mind. An aged husband or an infant daughter would have been tormented in presence of the accused, in order to subdue her resolution. Nay, death itself[2] did not screen the remains of those miserable persons from the malice of their prosecutors. From the universal and excessive abhorrence entertained at a witch, a suspicion of that crime, independent of judicial severities, was sufficient to render the unhappy object anxious for death; and if an unfortunate woman, trembling at a citation for witchcraft, ended her sufferings by her own hands, she was dragged from her house at a horse's tail, and buried under the gallows.

This system of legal torture and murder, inflicted on numerous poor unfortunate wretches, who, in dread of being tortured, confessed crimes of which it was impossible for them to be guilty, continued to be practised till 1735, when Mr. Conduit, Alderman Heathcote, and Mr. Crosse, brought a bill into the House of Commons, which was passed into a law, repealing the former statutes against witchcraft, Scots as well as English, and discharging prosecutions for that crime, or for accusing others of that offence.[3] On the enactment of this statute, vanished all those imaginary powers, so absurdly attributed to women oppressed with age and poverty.

[1] Queen Mary, Parl. 9, c. 73. [2] Fountainhall's Decisions, v. i, p. 60, Oct. 9, 1679.
[3] Journal of the House of Commons, Jan. 22, 1735.

No record appears to have been kept of this enumeration, but there is a paper in the possession of the session clerk of Edinburgh entitled, "a list of the hail possessors (of houses) in the different parishes," taken the previous year, by which the number of families appear to have been 3333; and on the supposition of there being five individuals in every family, the total number of persons within the royalty would amount to 16,665.

When the Duke of York, (afterwards the unfortunate James VII.) his Duchess, and his daughter Anne, (afterwards Queen Anne) came, in 1679, to reside in the palace of Holyrood, then just finished in its present form, he was received on his entrance into Edinburgh with great pomp, and was magnificently entertained by the citizens, at an expense which testified their loyalty more than their economy. One entertainment given to him, his Duchess, and the whole court, in the Parliament house, cost nearly £1400, sterling,[1] on which occasion he and one hundred and twenty-three of his attendants were presented with the freedom of the city. The town council ordered the King a supply of seven months' cess to assist in supporting the Duke's succession to the throne, which had been for some time threatened by the famous Exclusion Bill. Although James had come to Edinburgh nominally as Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, his principal object was to await at a distance the fate of that bill, and to endeavour to draw the leading men of the kingdom around him.

The Duke endeavoured by every means to ingratiate himself with the citizens, and also to obtain the affections and esteem of the Scottish nation, so that in the event of his losing England upon the death of his brother, he might at least secure the kingdom of Scotland. During his residence, he and his Duchess introduced the drama and other sources of fashionable dissipation, such as balls and masquerades; and they were the first who gave 'tea parties' in Edinburgh, at that time a rare and costly entertainment, not previously known in Scotland.

In 1680, the students in Edinburgh having bound themselves by solemn oath to burn the pope in effigy at Christmas, the magistrates to prevent tumult, called out the military, and took some of them prisoners, but the young men in the city having openly espoused their cause, burnt the provost's house to the ground. This being construed to have been done in contempt of the Duke's religion; the college was for a time shut up, and the students banished, under a prohibition, not to approach within twelve miles of the city. The Duke after having lured the magistrates into numerous acts of extravagance which cost the city large sums of money, besides the presents which they at various times conferred upon him, amounting to upwards of £11,000 sterling, left the city in May, 1682, for London. His extravagant actings during his residence in the city had generated among the citizens an idle and ruinous taste for show and wasteful expense, which, it is said the aged had not forgotten even about the middle of last century. The brilliancy of James' court was to them a pleasing theme. It is said that it was at the suggestion of the Duke the project was

[1] Arnot, b. i, c. v, p. 125.

formed of extending the city over the fields to the north, by a connecting bridge between them and the city, which has been carried into execution by the erection of the North Bridge.

Although little mercy could be expected by the Presbyterians of Scotland from a prince who had already let loose against them all the terrors of persecution, yet when the accounts of the death of Charles II. reached Edinburgh on 10th February, 1685, the lord provost, magistrates and town council, in their robes of office, proceeded to the cross bare-headed, accompanied by the Lord-Lyon king-at-arms, and his heralds, together with the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer, and the rest of the officers of State, with the nobility and privy council, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Lords of Session in their robes.

The procession walked through files of the trained bands, which were drawn up on both sides of the street, from the Parliament House to the cross; there, having ascended a platform erected for the purpose, the Lord-Chancellor and Lyon king-at-arms proclaimed James king, with the usual solemnities; after which the privy council met and despatched a royal address to his Majesty with an account of what had taken place, and the citizens were so transported with the receipt of the following affectionate reply from his Majesty, that the town council ordered a beautiful box of ebony to be made, at considerable expense, to preserve it in:

"James Rex.—*Trustie and weel beloved, we greit you well.* Having receaved yesterday from our Secretarie Loudone your verie loyall and dewtyfull address, we have thought fit to let you know, that it was verie acceptable to us, and switable to that zeal and loyalty you have at all times expressed in the reign of our lait dearest and royall brother of blessed memory; and from these early and ample expressions of your dewty to us, we are sae much perswaded of your sincere resolutiouns to continew the same, that we are highly satisfied therewith; and doe assure you, that upon all occasions we will shaw our kyndnes to you, and that to our good toun, of whose concearnes in everie thing that may contribute to your and ther weel-being, we will have a particular caire, assuring you withall, that we are so sensible of your former services since you entered into the magistracie of that our good toun, as we think fitt to returne you our heartie thanks, and to assure you that you shall meitt with the good effects thereof, when ane opportunity shall be offered to us for the same.

"So not doubting your continewing to act faithfully and vigorously in our service, we bid you fairweel.

"Given at our Court at Whythall, the 28th day of February, 1685 years, and of our reign the first year. By his Majesty's command,

(Signed) "Drummond."

The Earl of Argyle was arrested for being concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's insurrection, and brought to Edinburgh on the 20th June under a strong escort. The noble prisoner was, by an express order of the privy council, conducted from the Watergate, up the High street, to the castle, bareheaded, with his

hands bound behind his back, preceded by the hangman in his uniform, and surrounded by the town guard; the horse guard marched in front and brought up the rear of the procession. When brought to the scaffold, after taking a tender and affectionate leave of his friends, and in kneeling to submit his neck to the block, he embraced the instrument of death, saying, with an allusion to its name, it was the sweetest maiden he had ever kissed. His body, after the separation of the head, started upward, but was held down by his friends. It was then deposited in the Chapel of the Hammermen, near the head of the Canongate, and afterwards interred in the family burying-place at Kilmun, Argyleshire.

The same year, the town council ordered the city treasurer to present Lord Viscount Melville, one of the principal secretaries of State, with a jewel of the value of £500, sterling, "as an evidence of their grateful acknowledgment for the many eminent services he had done the city;" and three days afterwards, they presented him with £300, sterling, for delivering the town's address to the King; such was the sycophancy of the town council at this time to men in power.[1]

After the accession of James VII. of Scotland and II. of England, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh on 29th April, 1686, and an act passed, in which it was maintained with equal pomp and falsehood, that the nation had, for a period of 2000 years, been lineally ruled with felicity and glory, by the sceptre of one hundred and eleven monarchs. This Parliament appears to have taken much pleasure in making a sacrifice of their liberties into the hands of their sovereign; they acknowledged "the King's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority, which none, whether persons or collective bodies, could participate of, but in dependence on and by commission from him;"[2] and declared that the whole nation, from sixteen to sixty years of age, should be in readiness to assist his Majesty as often as he should require them; at same time, the whole excise, both on inland and foreign commodities, was annexed to the crown for ever.

James' partiality to Papists became apparent in the above Parliament. A letter from him was read proposing indulgence to the Roman Catholics. The Parliament refused to adopt his Majesty's proposal, but he, by his own authority, did what the Parliament refused to do, by ordering the *test* to be dispensed with. The King took the Roman Catholics under his especial protection, assigned them for the exercise of their religion the chapel of Holyrood abbey, commanded the magistrates to be conservators of their privileges, and promoted as many of them as possible to the privy council and the offices of government. Wilson, a Popish printer, whose printing materials having been distrained for rent, the articles were violently rescued from the officers of the law and carried to the sanctuary of Holyrood abbey, where he was not only protected, but appointed by the King printer to the royal family, and by the privy council, the printer of prognosti-

[1] Mait., b. i. p. 105.
[2] James VII., Parl. i., c. 2, 5, 13.

cations in Edinburgh; and it was he who carried through the press the numerous books, the imprints of which indicate their having been printed during the reign of James VII.

The same year, the public attendance upon mass by the chief officers of State, excited a tumult in the city. The Chancellor's lady, and other persons of distinction, were insulted while returning from their chapel, by a rabble of apprentices and others. One of the rioters, a journeyman baker, having been taken, the privy council ordered him to be whipped through the Canongate. Whilst the officers were putting this order into execution, the populace rescued their martyr, beat the executioner, and continued in riotous possession of the city all night. The King's foot guards and the soldiers in the castle being called out to assist the town guard in quelling the disturbance, fired upon the mob, and killed two men and a woman. Next day, several of the captive rioters were ordered to be whipped; but the privy council, afraid of popular violence, took care to have musqueteers and pikemen to prevent the repetition of a rescue. An information was at same time lodged against a drummer, by two Papists, for having said he could[1] find in his heart to run his sword through them; and though he declared he meant the mob, and not the Papists, he was shot; and a fencing master was hanged at the cross, simply for having expressed approbation of the recent tumults, and for drinking the king's health, coupled with "confusion to all Papists."

While the country in general were discontented with these measures, the magistrates of Edinburgh sent his Majesty a letter, from which the following is an excerpt, thanking him for having restored the summer session, that had been discontinued in virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in the year 1581: "*May it please your most sacred majestie.* To allow this humble address in paying our dewtifull and graitfull acknowledgments to your majestie, for your constant royal protection, favour, and kyndness to this your royal Majestie's ancient and capital cittie, and particularly for your Majestie's late kyndness in returning to us the summer session, which your Majestie's Parliament have found to be equally necessar for the exigencies of your Government, and the universall benefite of your leidges, as well as for the good of this place; for which, and for all your Majestie's royall favours, we presume humblie to offer and assure your Majestie of our most heartie devotion to your service; being ready, with our lives and fortunes, to stand by your sacred person and royall interest, upon all occasions, and against all your enemies. And we humblie pray the continuance of your Majestie's princelie goodness and care towards this, your cittie, which so much needs your Majestie's speciale support and bounty, for rendering it capable to answer the heartie and dewtifull inclinations of its magistrates and inhabitants for your Majestie's service, as well as the trew ends of your Majestie's monarchie and government,"[2] etc. This letter was signed by Provost Thomas Kennedy.

[1] Fountainhall, v. ii. pp. 399, 401, 407. [2] Coun. Reg., v. xxxi, p. 316.

This adulation of the worthy magistrates was remunerated by the restoration of the impost on ale, which, although levied from the citizens, had been for some time seized by the treasury. During these reciprocities between the monarch and the civic authorities, the press laboured under very severe restrictions.

No books were allowed to be printed without consent of the Chancellor. To insert articles in the newspapers without license from the bishop of Edinburgh, or some member of the privy council,[1] was prohibited, and various persons were imprisoned for publishing or selling books reflecting on Popery, while those in its favour were published with impunity. Ogstoun, a bookseller, was threatened for selling Archbishop Usher's sermons against the Papists, and the History of the French Persecutions, and the copies of the books were taken from him. Such was the zeal for conversion, that a Popish college in the abbey of Holyrood, published their rules, *inviting all children to be educated there gratis*. Lord Fountainhall says, "on 23rd November, 1686, the King's yacht arrived from London at Leith, with the altar, vestments, images, priests, and their appurtenances, for the Popish chapel in the abbey of Holyrood," which was shortly afterwards consecrated.

The crown which James VII. had been so anxious to adorn with Roman gems, was now about to fall from his head. Throughout the months of August and November, the Court of Session almost suspended its sittings, considering its functions to have ceased from the apparent dissolution of the Government, No sooner was it known that William, Prince of Orange, had landed in England, and that the regular troops were withdrawn to reinforce the English army, than the Presbyterians and other friends to the Revolution crowded to the capital from all quarters, which for some time became a scene of tumultuous confusion. On 3rd December, the students of the university acting as the tools of more influential parties, burned the Pope in effigy and clamoured for a free Parliament. At length the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, in whose person was vested the whole government of Scotland, indicated by his flight from the city that the capital and the country were freed from the caprices and the tyrannies of the dynasty of the Stewarts, and that the government had fallen entirely into the hands of the Revolutionists. A mob rose, drums beat to arms through the city, and the rioters proceeded to demolish every thing identified with Popery. The rioters and the students ran to demolish the chapel royal of Holyrood, but were opposed by a military party of about 100 men stationed in the abbey[2] who still adhered to the interests of James. The mob, pressing forward, were fired upon; twelve of them were killed and a considerable number wounded. This warm and unexpected reception caused an immediate retreat, but they soon returned with a warrant from some lords of the privy council, headed by the magistrates, town guard, trained band, and heralds. Wallace, the captain of the party, was now required to surrender, and upon his refusal another skirmish ensued, in which James' party were

[1] Fountainhall, v. i, p. 73. [2] Balcarras, Memoirs, p. 38, et seq.

defeated, some being killed and the rest made prisoners. All resistance to the fury of the mob being thus removed, they pillaged the abbey church and private chapel of their ornaments, demolished the college of the Jesuits, plundered and sacked the religious houses, as also the private dwellings of the Roman Catholics, and burned at the cross the various articles used in the celebration of the mass; in short, every symbol of the abhorred and scorned religion within the city was destroyed with a fierceness approaching to frenzy. The cellars of the Earl of Perth was a valuable and acceptable prize to them, and the wine found therein most assuredly did not tend to cool their zeal against Popery. The students paraded the streets, preceded by the college mace and a band of music, and at the cross burnt the Pope in effigy; while the town council and that portion of the privy council who had not fled, looked on with approbation; but guards were now placed throughout the city to prevent future tumults. Notwithstanding that the magistrates had so lately in most submissive terms and with apparent loyalty, declared to King James that they "would stand by his sacred person on all occasions," and as above noticed, prayed him to bestow upon them "the countenance of his princely *goodness and care*," yet none were more forward in offering their services to the Prince of Orange. These obsequious functionaries immediately met, and on 28th December sent the following address to Prince William:

Sir,—We now see our fears of Popery and slavery have been as just as they were great; and we are persuaded that the Almighty God hath raised your highness to counteract the restless and malicious designs of Rome against this island. We cannot on this occasion hide the satisfaction and joy wherewith our hearts are filled, when we hear daily that your highness's expedition into Britain (equally hazardous as it is generous,) hath been hitherto prosperous, and without effusion of blood. May the heavens crown all your glorious undertakings with constant success, as they are now attended with the prayers and acclamations of all good men.

"We, who have on all occasions since the Reformation, particularly in our last Parliament, testified a steadfast and unshaken zeal for the Protestant religion, maugre the insinuations and machinations of evil men, thought it our duty in the humblest manner to offer your highness our service, and to entreat that we, our persons, city, and privileges, may be under your protection; and it shall be our endeavour in our stations, cheerfully and unanimously, to concur with your highness for the preservation of religion, laws, and liberties, for security of our ancient monarchy and the royal succession; that we may for ever be secured against all the hellish attempts of Romish incendiaries, and our Church settled upon a lasting foundation; that peace and piety may be transmitted to our posterity, and the just grievances of all men, (relating either to conscience, liberty, or property,) may be fully heard and redressed by the ancient and legal method of a free Parliament.

"So we hope and pray all animosities and factions among us

be for ever buried under your highness's auspicious conduct. All our acknowledgments must fall short of your highness's seasonable and religious care for our safety, yet we are desirous all men should know how much we are in all gratitude and sincerity. Sir, your highness's most humble and most dutifull servants."

The above letter was signed by the lord provost and all the members of the common council.

The bishops and clergy of the established church were almost the only men who maintained their allegiance to the fallen dynasty, and were the principal sufferers by the new order of things, being obnoxious to the people, who were chiefly inclined to a Presbyterian form of church government. After the Chancellor and the adherents of James had left the city, the Duke of Athol, next in authority, being favourable to the Prince of Orange, assumed the reins of government; and on the Duke's going to London, the College of Justice accoutred and armed themselves[1] to keep the peace of the city.

A convention of estates met at Edinburgh on 14th March, 1689, the most momentous assembly of the kind that ever met in the city, which declared, that James VII. having assumed the royal power without taking the oath required by him, and altered the constitution of the kingdom by an exertion of arbitrary power, had forfeited his right to the crown, which it offered to William and Mary, and preferred the memorable Claim of Rights or list of grievances to be redressed. During the sitting of the Convention, six thousand Covenanters from the west of Scotland, chiefly Cameronians, who refused any remuneration for their trouble, saying they came only to serve and save the country, protected its members; and the Duke of Hamilton and other friends to the Revolution brought into the city several companies of soldiers to preserve the peace, as these important changes were not expected to be effected without opposition and disturbance.

The town council and magistrates having been the previous year elected by undue influence,[2] the Convention ordered a new election to take place in St. Giles' church, by poll of the burgesses, who were liable for public burdens, and watching and warding[3] honorary burgesses being excluded, this honour having been during the two last reigns conferred by the sycophantic magistrates upon great numbers of the officials of government. On 26th March, the new magistrates took the oath of fidelity to the estates, and on 11th of April, William and Mary were proclaimed at the cross King and Queen. Several ministers were deprived of their livings or stipends, because they refused to pray for the new sovereigns. The Convention having been converted into a regular Parliament, Prelacy was abolished and the Presbyterian form of church government established in its place. The Duke of Gordon, who still held the castle on behalf of James, refused to surrender it to the Convention. The chief open supporters of the ex-monarch in the city were Lord Balcarras and Colonel John

[1] Balcarras' Mem. p. 58. [2] Journals of Parl. 5, April, 1689.
[3] A species of burgh service peculiar to Scotland.

Graham of Claverhouse, who had recently been created Viscount Dundee; these paraded through the streets of the city, the latter attended by an armed body of fifty horse, ready for any adventure that might be of service to the ex-monarch. But Graham, perceiving that an opposing force was accumulating within the walls, left the capital in order to raise the standard of King James in the highlands of Perthshire. In passing the castle of Edinburgh, he climbed up the rock on its western and least precipitous side, and at a small postern (now built up) held a conference with his friend the Duke of Gordon. The novelty of the sight attracted a multitude of spectators, and the report having been spread in the city (where the Convention was still sitting) that there was an insurrection of the adherents of Dundee, and that the castle was about to bombard the Parliament house and scatter the Convention, caused a general panic in the assembly; on which the Duke of Hamilton, president, ordered the doors to be locked, and declared that members should not depart till the royalist party should have discovered their intentions, so that recourse might be had upon the persons of their friends in the Convention. The adherents of the Revolution throughout the city, were suddenly summoned to the streets by beat of drum, causing no little uproar and confusion, to the terror of many of the members of the Convention, who were confined within the Parliament house. When the true state of matters were ascertained, the members were suffered to leave the hall; but such was the fright that James' friends had received, that they either deserted his cause, or left a city where they were exposed to such alarms and dangers. The Duke still held out the castle, although he heard of the fatal battle of Killicranky, and the death of Viscount Dundee, on 17th July, 1689. His ammunition, however, being at length exhausted, and having notice of strong reinforcements advancing to join the besiegers, the Duke surrendered the castle on 13th June, 1690, to Sir John Lawrie, upon condition that himself and the garrison should march out with *bag and baggage.*

During the reign of King William there was but one Parliament in Scotland, with eight sessions, all of which sat in the capital. Having confirmed the settlement of the crown and order of succession in the Protestant branches of the royal family, nothing farther remarkable was done to forward the cause of civil and religious liberty. Although a law had passed in the Convention abolishing the use of judicial torture, this Parliament, to its disgrace, countenanced and actually gave orders regarding such practices.

In 1689, John Chiesly of Dalry, a gentleman who conceived that injustice had been done him by the right honourable Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, president of the Court of Session, in a decreet-arbitral pronounced by him and Lord Kennedy, in favour of his wife and children for an aliment, confessed upon being threatened with the torture (which the magistrates were empowered by Parliament to inflict on him) that he charged his pistol on Sunday morning, and went to the new church, and upon

seeing the president leaving it, he followed him to the close[1] where he lodged, and when just behind his back, shot him: and he was so satisfied on hearing of the president being dead, that he said, "*he was not used to do things by halves.*"

The jury consisted of ten landed gentlemen and five merchants of Edinburgh, who all subscribed the verdict, finding the prisoner guilty of "*murder out of forethought felony.*"

The provost and bailies of Edinburgh, before whom he was tried, sentenced him to be carried upon a hurdle from the tolbooth of Edinburgh to the market cross, on Wednesday the 3rd day of April, and there to have his right hand cut off, and then to be hung upon a gibbet, having the pistol about his neck with which he committed the murder. His body was ordered to be hung in chains between Edinburgh and Leith; his right hand fixed to the West-Port, and his moveable goods confiscated.

The new-modelled government entertained such a jealousy of the College of Justice, that they disarmed its members, and commanded them, under the highest penalties, to deliver their whole arms (wearing-swords excepted) to the lord provost of Edinburgh. But the magistrates, not thinking the city safe on account of the daily commotions which occurred in it, applied, in July, 1690, to and were authorised by Parliament to raise the city guard to 120 men, including officers, of which the provost for the time being was to be commander, with power to assess the citizens for their maintenance.

During the whole reign of William, the city was disgraced with the greatest severities towards James' friends. The Lords Balcarras, Kilsyth, and several gentlemen, were confined in separate dungeons in the common jail of the city, which was crowded with suspected persons. The Earl of Perth was also seized when attempting to make his way out of the kingdom. These and others were confined without trial for several years in the city and provincial jails, notwithstanding the bribes taken by Lord Melville, the secretary, to procure their release; and there is the most complete proof that torture[2] was repeatedly used to extort evidence, (although expressly declared by the estates to be contrary to law,) and that to an extent little short of what had been perpetrated by the privy council in the reign of Charles II. Several plots of the Scottish Jacobites, as the adherents of James VII. were then called, were at various periods discovered in the city, but were easily crushed.

In 1690, an act was passed, though not without opposition, to enable the corporation to pay the debts of the city; and on 26th November the same year, the town council appointed a committee to make out a statement of the rental of the *common good* belonging to the city, as a guide to the city-treasurer to draw the revenue, when the following abstract was submitted:

[1] It was the close on the south side of the Lawn Market, where the Bank of Scotland was then situated.

[2] Records of Privy Council, 13th June, 18th July, 1689, 14th March, 1690. Balcarras' Mem. p. 85. Journals of Parl. 18th April, 1690.

	Scottish.			Sterling.			12ths.
Duty on ale and beer,	£48,000	0	0	£4000	0	0	
The Society,	2333	6	8	194	8	10	8
Seat-rents of the churches,	13,733	6	8	1144	8	10	8
The Fore-moor,	60	0	0	5	0	0	
The Back-moor,	33	6	8	2	15	6	8
The mills on the water of Leith,	8333	6	8	694	8	10	8
Duty on wine,	23,333	6	8	1944	8	10	8
Dues of the shore of Leith,	466	13	4	38	17	9	4
Weigh-houses of Edinburgh and Leith,	3000	0	0	250	0	0	
Meal Market,	933	6	8	77	15	6	8
Tolls at Netherbow, Cowgate, and New-Ports,	733	6	8	61	2	2	8
Toll of the West-Port,	1266	13	4	105	11	1	4
Tolls of the Society and Potter-row Ports,	800	0	0	66	13	4	
House of the moor,	2160	0	0	180	0	0	
Sheep flakes or pins,	266	13	4	22	4	5	4
Bread and Poultry markets,	893	6	8	74	8	10	8
Duties on tallow and iron,	106	13	4	8	17	9	4
Boards, and Flesh-boards, or Stalls,	166	13	4	13	17	9	4
Fish market,	533	6	8	44	8	10	8
Fruit measures,	206	13	4	17	4	5	4
Corn and Leather market,	373	6	8	31	2	2	8
Veal-boards or stalls,	323	6	8	26	18	10	8
Shod carts,	746	13	4	62	4	5	6
The merk on the Pack,	273	6	8	22	15	6	8
The Timber-bush or Woodyard in Leith,	506	13	4	42	4	5	4
Merk on the Tun and Pack at Leith,	2633	6	8	219	8	10	8
Duty on foreign woollen cloth,	2466	13	4	205	11	1	4
The back Greyfriar yard,	166	13	4	13	17	9	4
Bonnington mills,	933	6	8	77	15	6	8
Borough Loch, and Broad Meadows,	800	0	0	66	13	4	
Middle Flesh market,	200	0	0	16	13	4	
The links of South Leith and a house,	203	6	8	16	18	10	8
Inclosures about the church of South Leith,	30	0	0	2	10	0	
The Gallows-Green,	72	0	0	6	0	0	
The church, college rents and tithes,	5264	1	11	438	13	5	11
Houses and shops about the new church tol-booth, etc.	803	6	8	66	18	10	8
Rents in the Tron Church Parish,	126	0	0	10	10	0	
Rents in the Candlemaker-row,	138	13	4	11	11	1	4
Rents in different places,	256	8	8	21	7	4	8
Rents in Leith,	369	3	4	30	15	3	4
Apartments over the Netherbow gate,	112	0	0	9	6	8	
Rents in Newhaven,	34	6	8	2	17	2	8
Rents in North Leith and its Citadel,	52	6	8	4	7	2	8
Corn rents in the Borough-moor,	1476	0	0	123	0	0	
Money-rents in the Borough-moor,	47	14	2	3	19	6	2
Feu rents for the Common mire,	6	13	4	0	11	1	4
Feu rents from Land of Grange,	27	0	0	2	5	0	
	£125,803	8	1	£10,483	12	4	1

Any commerce connected with the port of Leith cannot be traced to an earlier period than the year 1329, when the city of Edinburgh purchased from Logan of Restalrig the port and mills of Leith; but in making this purchase they unfortunately neglected to include in it a road to and from the harbour, hence, little use could be made of that purchase till 1398, when they obtained from Logan of Restalrig, or his successors, as before stated, a right to the waste ground between their houses and the river,

as also the privilege of making paths and passages, within the lands of Restalrig to the river. The trade at the port of Leith, at that period, must have been very limited, only extending to England, Norway, and the Baltic.

The archives belonging to the convention of royal burghs in the town clerk's office of Edinburgh, contain the following table in Scots money, returned by the magistrates of that city, at the request of the convention, which shows the amount of tonnage, as also its value at the port of Leith in 1692:

TABLE,

Showing the Masters' Names, Tonnage, and value in Scots and Sterling Money of the several Ships and Vessels belonging to the Port of Leith, in the year 1692.

Masters' Names.	Tons.	Scots Money.	Sterling Money.
James Kendal,.....	90	£8000	£666 13 4
James Simpson,.....	120	5000	416 13 4
Alexander Tait,.....	150	8000	666 13 4
Robert Gray,.....	100	6000	500 0 0
Thomas Weir,.....	90	3000	250 0 0
Thomas White,.....	90	6000	500 0 0
Thomas Riddel,.....	100	3500	291 13 4
Andrew Simpson,.....	70	3000	250 0 0
Alexander Stevenson,.....	130	5000	416 13 4
James Sutherland,.....	90	6000	500 0 0
John Tait,.....	60	4000	333 6 8
James Law,.....	90	6000	500 0 0
John Brown,.....	140	8000	666 13 4
John Barr,.....	40	1000	83 6 8
John Milne, ...	15	300	25 0 0
John Haigs,..	40	2000	166 13 4
John Auchinmoutie,...	36	1500	125 0 0
David Richy,.....	25	900	75 0 0
Thomas Henderson,.....	25	900	75 0 0
John Gair,.....	16	500	41 13 4
John Hay,.....	12	300	25 0 0
John Syme,.....	30	1000	83 6 8
Gilbert Deck,..	20	600	50 0 0
Walter Greg,.....	15	500	41 13 4
Matthew Bartain,.....	24	900	75 0 0
William Brown,.....	24	900	75 0 0
Malcolm Maccauly,.....	30	1200	100 0 0
Alexander Gevie,.....	16	700	58 6 8
Walter Leslie,.....	14	500	41 13 4
Total,.....	1702	£85,200	£7100 0 0

The shore dues of Leith at this period amounted only to £466, 13s. 4d. Scots, or £38, 17s. 9½d. sterling.

The magistrates resumed their interference in domestic arrangements, as a matter of conscience, and passed a law on 12th March, 1695, by which it was enacted, "That no vintner, innkeeper, or ale-seller, shall hereafter presume to employ any female

servant in drawing or selling any ale or other liquors in any of their houses, under the penalty of three pounds Scots, nor any woman keep any of the said places for the sale of liquors, or hire herself to any person to be employed in that service, under the like penalty; and whoever shall not give due obedience to the said act to incur a double penalty."

The town guard had at this period so greatly relaxed in duty, that, in 1697, they had become merely nominal; in the morning the roll was no sooner called at the guard-house, than they left it, and repaired to their respective occupations, the fatigues of which rendered them unfit for watching by night. They appear to have been of so little use in quelling tumults or riots, which were then so very frequent in the city, that the privy council ordered the magistrates to provide a sufficient guard for securing its peace and tranquillity, otherwise the king would send some of his troops to quarter on the inhabitants, and prevent disturbances, for the city was "*obnoxious in its unguarded state.*" The town council having taken this requisition into consideration, and found the same true, ordered forty men to be raised as a standing guard, to preserve peace and quietness in the city. These were clothed, armed, drilled, and rendered in all respects as fit for service as the king's troops, and performed duty both day and night; each man receiving sixpence per day.

A more useful statute was passed by the Scotch Parliament, in 1698, regulating the height of houses; for at this time the citizens, instead of extending the bounds of the city, piled story upon story, particularly in the High street. Parliament taking into consideration the great danger to which the citizens were exposed by the excessive height of their houses, both in respect to fire and falling, enacted, "That no building to be erected hereafter in the city shall exceed five stories in height; the front wall on the ground story to be three feet in thickness; the second, two feet nine inches; the third, two feet six inches; the fourth, two feet three inches; and the fifth, two feet."

The Darien scheme was, in 1699, projected by one Paterson, a native of Scotland, who proposed forming a great and powerful colony on the isthmus of Darien, and few situations could have been more judiciously chosen. He procured a statute from Parliament, and afterwards a charter from the crown, for establishing a trading company to Africa and the New World. These empowered him to plant colonies and build forts, with consent of the inhabitants, in places not possessed by other European nations. Paterson, with a view of forwarding his scheme, opened a subscription for a joint-stock company, which was no sooner announced, than the frenzy of Scotchmen to subscribe for the stock of the company was so great, that the nobility, gentry, merchants, and the people in general, as also the royal burghs, without exception, and most of the other public bodies, became shareholders. Young women threw their little fortunes into the stock; widows sold their jointures to get the command of money to purchase shares; and in a very short time, £400,000 sterling,[1] was subscribed

[1] It has been since ascertained that there was not at that time above £800,000 of cash in Scotland.

in Scotland. The company at a great expence proceeded to erect a large office, with a range of buildings behind for warehouses, near Bristo-port in Edinburgh.

On 26th July, 1698, almost the whole inhabitants of Edinburgh poured down to Leith to see the colonists depart, who took leave of their relations, friends, and countrymen, with tears and prayers for their success. Twelve hundred men (three hundred of whom were gentlemen) sailed from Leith, in six strong ships of considerable burden, laden with various commodities, and arrived at Darien in about two months, with the loss of only fifteen of their number. They fixed their station at Act a, which they named New St. Andrews, after the tutelar saint of Scotland, and they nominated the country Caledonia.

On 25th March, 1699, when intelligence reached Edinburgh of their safe arrival and favourable prospects, a mob obliged most of the inhabitants to illuminate, committed outrages on the houses which were not lit up in obedience to their dictation, secured the avenues to the city, burnt the doors of the Tolbooth, and set at liberty the victims of prosecution for libels upon government. The colony alarmed the court of Madrid, roused the national jealousy of the English, and the Dutch East India company viewed it with suspicion. These took every means in their power to annoy the new settlers, and orders were sent from England to the governors of the West India and American colonies, neither to give their assistance nor even correspond with them. The Scots, trusting to far different treatment, and expecting to have derived supplies from these colonies, had not brought sufficient provisions with them, fell into disease from short allowance and bad food. They lingered eight months, awaiting, but in vain, for assistance from Scotland; and most of them died, or quitted the settlement. Paterson, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien.

The Scots, ignorant of the misfortune of their first colony, sent out another soon after, of 1300 men, to support an establishment which was now no more. One of the ships was lost at sea, many men died on the passage, and the rest arrived in a sickly state. The Spaniards, in the meantime, laid claim to the country, attacked the poor colonists, and they, after a gallant resistance of a few months, being overpowed, surrendered. They stipulated for permission to return to Europe with all their effects, but very few regained their native shore in safety. Thus ended the famous Darien scheme, an enterprise which raised the expectations of the Scottish people to the highest degree, but which ultimately ruined many families, and nearly led to a national bankruptcy. When intelligence of its failure through the influence of King William reached Edinburgh, mobs assembled in the streets, broke windows, burst open the prison, liberated those prisoners who had been confined by the government, and the royal commissioners and officers of state were obliged to leave the city, to save themselves from popular fury.

The indignation of the Scots was raised to so great a pitch against King William, by whose deceitful promises the enterprise

was undertaken, and by whose ungenerous opposition it had terminated so disastrously, that resolutions of a violent nature were carried in the Scottish parliament against government; and a plan was generally agitated for disuniting the kingdom from England, and inviting James Stuart to accept of the Scottish crown.

On Saturday, the 3rd of February, 1700, a dreadful conflagration, long remembered in Edinburgh, broke out on the south side of the Parliament square, which destroyed an extensive pile of buildings on the south and east side, including part of the Advocates' Library, Bank of Scotland, and other buildings, by which it was computed that nearly two hundred families were dislodged.[1] The national records which were at this time kept in a room under the Parliament house were, on the breaking out of the above fire, removed in such great haste and confusion, that a great many of them were lost or destroyed. In the same year, John Cross, for vitiating a bond, by altering the word *myself* to *himself*, was sentenced by the Court of Session to be taken by the common hangman to the Tron, before eleven o'clock, on 26th July, and when there, to have his ear nailed to it, and stand so nailed till twelve o'clock strike, and have these words fixed to his breast, "*For his knowledge of, and using a vitiated bond.*"

Intelligence having arrived in the city in March, 1702, of the death of King William, Queen Anne was proclaimed at the cross, with the usual solemnities. On Queen Anne's accession, it was not found expedient to call a new Parliament; and though the assembling of the old one was clearly illegal, and was protested against by the Duke of Hamilton and seventy members, it met this year, under the Duke of Queensberry as the queen's commissioners. The Duke of Hamilton and those that adhered to his protest withdrew from the assembly, and the faculty of advocates were prosecuted before that Parliament, and sharply reprimanded for having passed a vote in favour of the Duke's protest.

On the first meeting of every parliament, a ridiculous pageant had for centuries been so highly appreciated in the capital, that its loss, after the Union, was much felt and greatly deplored. The last pageant of that kind which took place in the city, was on the 6th May, 1703, of which the following is a short description:

The streets, from Holyrood palace to the Parliament house, were cleared of carriages, and railed in on both sides; within which none were admitted but those in the procession, with the exception of the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of the trained bands. The inside of the railing, up to the Netherbow, was lined with the horse guards, the horse grenadiers, and foot guards; from thence to the Parliament square, by the trained bands of the city; and from thence to the Parliament house, by the lord high constable's guards; and from the Parliament house to the bar, by the Earl Marshall's guards; the lord high constable being seated in state, in an armed chair, at the door of the Parliament house. The officers of state in their robes, and the members of Parliament with their attendants, having assembled in the court in front of the palace, the rolls of Parliament were called by the lord Register,

[1] Edinburgh Gazette, No. 99.

lord lyon, and heralds, from the windows and gates of the palace, after which the procession moved to the Parliament house in the following order:

Two trumpeters on horseback, in coats and banners, uncovered.
Two pursuivants, on horseback, in coats and foot mantles.
Sixty-three Commissioners for boroughs, on horseback, covered, two and two,
each with a lacquey attending him on foot.
The odd number walking alone.
Seventy-seven Commissioners for shires, on horseback,
covered, two and two,
each having two lacqueys attending on foot.
Fifty-one Lords and Barons on horseback, in their robes, two and two,
each having a gentleman to support his train, and three
lacqueys on foot, wearing, above their liveries, velvet
surtouts, with the arms of their respective lords
on the breast and back, embossed
on plate, or embroidered with
gold and silver.
Nineteen Viscounts in their robes, riding two and two.
Sixty Earls on horseback, attended as the Barons.
Four lacqueys attending on each.
Four trumpeters, two and two.
Four pursuivants, two and two.
Six heralds, two and two, bareheaded.
Lord Lyon, King-at-Arms, in his coat, robes, chain, batoon,
and foot mantle.

Three Maces. Sword of State, Three Maces.
borne by the Earl of Marr.
The Sceptre,
borne by the Earl of Crawford.
THE CROWN,
borne by the Earl of Forfar, in room of the Marquis of Douglas.
The Purse and Commission, borne by the Earl of Morton.
The Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Commissioner,
with his servants, page, and footmen.
Four Dukes, two and two,
with Gentlemen bearing their trains,
and each having eight lacqueys.
Six Marquises,
each having six lacqueys.
The Duke of Argyle,
Captain of the horse guards.
The horse guards.

The lord high Commissioner was received by the lord high Constable, and conducted by him to the Earl Marischal, between whom, his Grace, ushered by the lord high Chancellor, was conveyed to the throne. When the Parliament rose, the procession returned in nearly the same order to Holyrood palace, where the members were magnificently entertained at supper by the Commissioner.

On 12th March, 1704, in obedience to an act of the privy council, a great number of Popish trinkets were burned at the cross of Edinburgh, consisting of sacredotal habiliments, communion-table linen, chalices, crucifixes, whipping cords, consecrated stones, relics, remissions, and indulgences, among the latter of which was the following: "The Archbishop of Mechlin has granted indulgence of forty days, to those who shall bow the knee before this

Image once a-day; considering devoutly the infinite charity of Jesus Christ, who has suffered for us the bitter death of the Cross; and if any one will perform this devotion oftener, he shall so oft have a new indulgence for five days more."

Severe acts were, about this period, passed against the Scots in the English Parliament. They were declared to be aliens, if their Parliament should not accede to a treaty of Union, or assent to the nomination of the Princess Sophia of Hanover,[1] or her lineal heir, as the next successor to the throne. The English markets were shut against Scotch cattle and linen, and cruizers were fitted out to intercept their trade with France.

Whilst the two nations were in this state of irritation, an incident occured which greatly inflamed their mutual animosities. An English East India ship, commanded by a Captain Green, in March, 1705, was driven by stress of weather into the Forth. From some unguarded expressions of the crew, in their cups, or their quarrels, Green was suspected of having captured a vessel belonging to the Darien company, and murdered her whole crew. After a full and legal trial, he and two of his crew were convicted of piracy, aggravated by murder; still, however, the evidence upon which they were condemned, was by many thought slight, and intercession[2] for royal mercy was made for them. The populace, enraged that the blood of Scotchmen should be spilt unrevenged, assembled in great numbers on the day of execution, and surrounded the prison and Parliament house, where the privy council, assisted by the magistrates, were then deliberating whether the sentence should be put into execution. The magistrates, aware of the furious intentions of the populace, assured them that three of the criminals were ordered for execution. The lord Chancellor happening, about the same time, to leave the privy council, some one called out, "That the magistrates had but cheated them, and that the criminals were reprieved." The mob stopped the Chancellor's coach at the Tron church, broke the glass of the carriage, and dragged him out of it. Fortunately his lordship was rescued by some of his friends, but it became absolutely necessary to appease the enraged multitude by the blood of the criminals. This affair excited the keenest indignation in England, and such was the animosity of the two nations to each other, that the utmost vigilance on the part of the government was required, to prevent its becoming a source of much bloodshed.

It had long been evident that a period was rapidly approaching when England and Scotland must cease to act under seperate administrations, since they were united under one sovereign. And it was now apparent to both nations that the time had at length arrived when either a closer union, or an entire separation was necessary, and of this Queen Anne was well aware; but the national antipathies which had for years existed between Scotland and England, had been, by recent mutual injuries, exasperated

[1] The Princess Sophia, Dowager of Hanover, was the nearest Protestant descendant of Elizabeth, daughter of James VI., and consort of the Elector of Palatine.

[2] Rec. of Admiralty, 16th March, 1705.

into keen animosities ; and the reciprocal jealousies of both nations concerning their respective religions, and the opposite views of different parties in each kingdom, respecting the succession to the crown, upon the demise of Queen Anne, held out little hopes of a Union. This circumstance, however, operated equivocally; for as the Jacobites dreaded the extinction of their hopes by a Union with a nation which had already nominated the house of Hanover to the succession, so the same reason induced the Whigs, with the utmost of their power, to support the Union. After much discussion, a bill was brought into the English Parliament, on the 11th of January, 1705, authorising the Queen to appoint commissioners to treat of a Union with Scotland, and the Scottish Parliament, on the 28th of June, followed their example. But the junction of the two nations was soon found to be a matter of no easy accomplishment. To the Whigs in England, the arrangements made by the Scottish Parliament was extremely gratifying; and, in return, they gratified the Scots by procuring the repeal of the act declaring them aliens.

When the measure came before Parliament, in 1706, the citizens of Edinburgh, who were more deeply concerned in the passing of the act of Union than the other inhabitants of Scotland, broke out into a species of rebellion against the coustituted authorities. The articles of Union had been industrously concealed from the knowledge of the people, but on their being printed and made public, an outrageous mob congregated around the Parliament square, the Parliament being at the time sitting in the outer house, and, with hootings and execrations, insulted the Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, and every member of Parliament who was known to favour the Union, while those who opposed it were followed with the loudest exclamations. On 23rd October, the mob attacked the house of Sir Patrick Johnston, late provost, and one of the representatives of the city, who was a strenuous supporter of the Union, and doubtless he would have been torn to pieces, had not the interposition of the town-guard enabled him to make his escape. The mob, increasing in number and in fury, paraded the streets, became absolute masters of the city, and threatened destruction to the promoters of the measure ; and it being reported that they intended closing the city ports, the Commissioner, to prevent this, ordered a party of soldiers to take possession of the Netherbow-port; and, with the consent of the magistrates, ordered a battalion of foot guards into the city. These were posted in the Parliament square, and in the different lanes and avenues of the city, by which means the mob was quelled and order restored. But so deep and general was the popular rage, and so great the panic that had existed, that nothing less than the whole army, encamped in the vicinity, was deemed sufficient for the protection of the Parliament and the city. Three regiments of foot were constantly on duty within the walls of the city. A battalion of guards protected the palace, and the horse guards attended the Commissioner. None but members were allowed to enter the Parliament square while the house was sitting, and the Commissioner walked from the Parliament house

between a double file of musqueteers to his coach, which waited at the cross, whence he proceeded, at full gallop, to his lodgings, hooted, cursed, and pelted by the rabble. Scenes of even greater violence were exhibited in other parts of the kingdom; and the country people protested that the votes against the Union in Parliament were influenced by terror of military compulsion. The Parliament, thus strongly protected, continued its deliberations on the proposed Union, yet not without popular hooting and insult, till the 16th January, 1707, when the articles were ratified by a majority of its members. But these had some difficulty, previous to getting the popular detested contract authenticated by their signatures. They first retired in small numbers to an arbour or summer-house, in the garden behind the Earl of Moray's house in the Canongate; next, when discovered, and scared away by the mob, they took refuge, under the darkness of night, in an obscure cellar in the High street, and put their names to the detested contract, and then, before they could be discovered by persons early a-foot in the morning, started for London. The treaty was, after some warm discussson, approved of by a large majority of the Parliament of England; and the queen having sanctioned it with her royal assent, the Scottish Parliament was, by the Duke of Queensberry, the queen's commissioner, for ever dissolved.

Thus were the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, which were one by nature, finally united under the same government, and incorporated into one empire, from and after the first day of May, seventeen hundred and seven.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM A.D. 1707, TO A.D. 1745.

1707, Principal Articles of the Union—Proposed uniformity of coinage in England and Scotland—National feelings consequent on the Union—The effects of the Union on Edinburgh—Absurd and ludicrous laws enacted by the Town Council—1708, The Pretender, with a French fleet, enters the Frith of Forth—Loyalty of the Magistrates and Deacons of Edinburgh—French fleet chased by the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Byng—The Jacobites disappointed—The Freedom of the City conferred on Admiral Byng—He and his principal officers entertained by the Citizens—1714, Death of Queen Anne—Proclamation of George I.—(Note.—Description of the ancient cross of Edinburgh)—1715, Standard of Rebellion erected—Preparations at Edinburgh—Failure of an attempt to surprise the Castle—Attempt to seize the Town Guard defeated—A party of Rebels cross the Forth—Make a vain attempt on Edinburgh—Take possession of Leith—Fortify

the citadel—Summoned to surrender by Argyle—Refuse—Retire to Seaton House—March to England—Craftsmen and nonfreemen find security for the good behaviour of their servants—Six thousand troops arrive from Holland—Rebellion extinguished—Expenses disbursed by the Citizens repaid by Government—1718, Provost receives £300 of salary in lieu of gratuities—Allowance to the magistrates to buy velvet coats—1724, Guagers' first appearance in Scotland—Malt tax extended to Scotland—Absurd expedient to avoid it—Lords of Session fix the price of ale sold within the city—1725, Riots in Glasgow, on the malt tax being there enforced—The magistrates of Glasgow conducted to and imprisoned in Edinburgh jail—City brewers strike work—Threatened with an illegal combination—Required to continue brewing—Refuse—Petition the Court—Their petition publicly burned by the hangman at the cross—Summoned to pay the malt duty—Refuse—Imprisoned—Submit and grant bills for the duties—Great fire in the Lawn Market—1728, A woman resuscitated after being hanged—1736, Origin of Porteous mob—Porteous fires on the populace at the execution of Wilson—Committed to jail—Tried and condemned—Respited—Forcibly taken from prison and hanged by the mob—Reward for the discovery of the rioters offered without effect—The provost imprisoned—The magistrates and Lords of Justiciary ordered to attend the House of Peers—Fine imposed on the city—Measures adopted to prevent such riots in future—City expense connected with this riot—1740, Tremendous hurricane—Intense frost—Great dearth—Riots—1742, Riots, on dead bodies being exhumed for anatomical purposes.

The principal articles of the Union were, that the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and her Protestant heirs, should succeed to the crown on the death of Queen Anne, that all Papists and persons marrying Papists should be for ever incapable of inheriting the crown of Britain, or any part of its dominions; that there should be but one Parliament for both kingdoms; that Scotland should be represented in Parliament by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners; that the peers should be elected by the whole body of the Scottish peerage, the commoners by their respective counties and burghs; that all peers of Scotland should be recognised as peers of Great Britain, and should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in the upper house of Parliament, or upon trials of peers; that all subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a community of advantages; that in trade, navigation, or commerce, they should have the same allowances and privileges; that the laws concerning public rights, civil government, and policy, should be the same throughout the united kingdoms, but that no alterations should be made in the laws concerning private rights, unless for the benefit of the subjects of Scotland; in compensation for that part of the excise and customs of Scotland, which should be applied to the payment of the public debts of England, and for refunding the capital of the Darien company, Scotland should receive a sum of £398,085, 10s. sterling; that the rights and privileges of royal burghs in Scotland should not be affected by the Union; that the courts of session, justiciary, and admiralty, should be established to suit the altered circumstances of the kingdom; and that from these courts there should be no appeal, but to the British house of peers; that all heritable offices and jurisdiction should remain as formerly; that there should be but one great seal for Great Britain; that the Scottish regalia should remain in Scotland; and that all the laws and

statutes in either kingdom, inconsistent with these articles, should cease and become void.

In order to have the coin of an uniform standard over the united kingdom, the privy council called in the Scottish currency in circulation at the Union, when the following sums were, in 1707, paid into the Bank of Scotland, for the purpose of being recoined:

Of Foreign silver money, (sterling), . . .	£132,080 17
Milled Scottish coins, ...	96,856 13
Coins struck by hammer, ...	142,180 0
English milled coins, ...	40,000 0
	£411,117 10

It is supposed that the total sum of money in circulation at the Union, amounted to upwards of £900,000 sterling.

That the Union should have been unpopular in Scotland, was natural; for national pride could scarcely fail to take alarm at a measure which was almost to obliterate the nation's distinct existence, and to destroy the independence of an ancient, warlike, and high spirited kingdom, whose native monarchs had ascended by hereditary right, and still retained the throne of England; but whatever real advantages Scotland as a nation might derive from an union with England, it was clear that, Edinburgh, as its capital, must suffer. Her pride must be mortified, and her wealth and importance diminished, in the withdrawal of the officers of state, nobility and gentry connected with the Parliament, the national councils, and every semblance of royalty; all having fled to England, anticipating honour and preferment, except the small minority who voted on the popular side. Thus the capital was suddenly deprived of all the upper classes, with the exception of those engaged in legal pursuits. It is therefore no wonder that her citizens received the Union with abhorrence, and considered it fraught with the ruin of their city. But although it was the occasion of temporary and great disasters, it has ultimately proved of the utmost benefit to Scotland, and has been the means of raising her high in the scale of nations. And the elevation to which she has attained since the Union with England, contrasts strikingly with the progress Ireland has made since her Union. With infinitely greater natural advantages than Scotland possesses, Ireland has remained stationary, if, indeed, she has not retrograded; while Scotland has steadily progressed until she has attained an eminence which commands the admiration of the civilized world; and for this difference which the page of history has to record, the people alone, it is to be feared, are responsible.

The magistrates, under authority of a grant by James VI., empowering them to make "acts, statutes, and ordinances," for the good government of the town, and to enforce them under such pains and penalties as they should think expedient, exercised at this period their jurisdiction by enacting the most absurd and ludicrous laws. Not satisfied with the exclusive privileges of the various corporations in their respective trades, they created monopolies of almost every occupation that can be imagined. One person

possessed the exclusive privilege of printing newspapers[1] three days in the week, another printing burial-letters, a third of *distributing* burial-letters; a fourth of japanning; a fifth of keeping chaises to ply between Edinburgh and Leith; a sixth of keeping stage-coaches going between these two towns; a seventh of hawking ballads, and 'last speeches,' etc. Printers were prohibited from printing unlicensed pamphlets,[2] under the penalty of losing the freedom of the burgh, and being otherwise fined and punished at the will of the magistrates; and they kept so watchful an eye over the education of youth, that none durst teach dancing, in public or private, within the city and suburbs, without license obtained from the council.[3] They also exercised their authority in matters of religion, by enforcing a rigorous attendance on public worship. Certain functionaries, called *Seizers*, patrolled the streets, and apprehended those found walking about during Divine service. The town council enacted[4] that, "whereas, the not obliging all persons to repair timeously to their lodgings at night, is one of the greatest causes of the abounding of drunkenness, uncleanness, night revellings, and other immoralities and disorders, both in houses and upon the streets, and is a great hinderance to sober persons in their worshipping God, in secret and in their families." All persons were therefore prohibited from being in taverns after ten o'clock at night, under severe penalties, at the discretion of the magistrates, and a fine of tenpence for each person found in any ale-house after that hour was imposed on the keeper of the house; and they declared their resolution to hold "two courts in the week allenarly, for cognoscing and punishing of immoralities, such as cursing, swearing, drunkenness, breach of the Lord's day, etc." The informer had the third part of the fines awarded. Some of the absurd and extravagant punishments before mentioned, for incontinence, continued to be inflicted, the consequence of which was, that child-murder was exceedingly frequent. Four women were condemned for that crime in one day,[5] and died accordingly, declaring that their dread of the pillory was the cause of their murders. "Women in the lower ranks of life were in the most deplorable condition imaginable. The young, if they lost their chastity, were harrassed and terrified into crimes which brought them to the gallows; and the old, under the vile imputation of witchcraft, were tormented by the rabble, till, by the confession of an imaginary crime, an end was put to their sufferings." The very amusements indulged in by the more lively were of a debased kind, consisting chiefly of cock-fighting, and such pastimes. To such an extent was the passion for this unmanly and degrading pursuit carried, that the magistrates found it necessary to prohibit its being practised in the public thoroughfares, on account of the disturbance it created. The city, at this time, had few attractions as a place of residence for the wealthy. It contained no places of public amusement. On the contrary, an air of gloom and depression pervaded it; its mean appearance attracted no visitors, and no exertions were

[1] Arnot, b. v, c. 5, p. 147. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 37, p. 475. [3] Ibid. v. 49, p. 30.
[4] Fountainhall, Dec. vi, pp. 126, 137. [5] Ibid. v. 36, p. 862.

made to improve its condition. Even the manners of the people became stiff and reserved, and that which was intended for decorum bordered on moroseness. Not till the middle of the century was it roused from its lethargy.

The Union, so far from being regarded as a blessing, was looked upon as a curse by the greater portion of the Scottish nation, and its dissolution considered by them so desirable, as almost to warrant the use of any means for its attainment. These discontents of the people, and the flattering hopes held out by the Jacobites to the Pretender,[1] induced him, with the assistance of a French fleet, to attempt an invasion of Scotland. On 23rd March, 1708, the enemy's fleet, having gained the Frith of Forth, despatched a frigate up that estuary, bearing English colours, to fire twenty cannons, as the signal which had been agreed upon by Colonel Hooke, and thereafter cast anchor behind the Isle of May.[2] Upon the first notice of the arrival of the French fleet, the Earl of Leven, commander of the forces in Scotland, which were neither numerous nor well effected, communicated the intelligence to the lord provost of Edinburgh. The magistrates and deacons of the incorporated trades having assembled, in this critical situation, manifested their loyalty by ordering the town's company of fusileers to be increased, and agreed to raise 1200 men to serve under the Earl of Leven; but their services were rendered unnecessary; for at the appearance of the British fleet, commanded by Sir George Byng, the enemy took the advantage of a smart land breeze which sprung up during the night, cut their cables, and put to sea with all the sail they could carry. The British gave chase, but they were, by day-light, out of sight of the English squadron, not however without the loss of one of their line of battle-ships.

The Jacobites, who had for several days previous to the expected landing carried themselves with great insolence towards their opponents, were much downcast at such a miserable failure; and their confusion was completed by the immediate imprisonment of their principal leaders, who were so numerous that the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, with the prisons of the former, were scarcely able to contain them.

Sir George Byng returned immediately to the Forth, where he was received with every mark of respect. The magistrates of Edinburgh testified their gratitude to Sir George, by presenting him in a gold box with the freedom of the city, and at the same time gave him and the principal officers in his fleet a public entertainment.

Queen Anne having expired on first of August, 1714, in the fifth of that month George I. was proclaimed at the cross[3] of

[1] James VII. died at St. Germains on September, 1701, leaving one son, James, born in 1688, who died at Rome, 1st January, 1766, leaving two sons, Charles the Pretender, as he was commonly styled in this country, and Henry, who entered into holy orders, and at the age of 22 obtained a cardinal's hat.

[2] Hooke's Secret Negociations, p. 134.

[3] The cross of Edinburgh must have been a very ancient structure, as historians do not appear to be acquainted with the date of its erection. Upon the 26th Feb., 1617, the original cross was taken down, and the principal pillar,

Edinburgh. The procession on this occasion was composed of a considerable number of noblemen and gentry, officers of the army, and chief inhabitants of the city, who proceeded through the streets, which were lined by the train bands from the Duke of Montrose's lodgings to the town council house, where they were received by the lord provost, magistrates and council, the senators of the college of justice, the barons of exchequer, commissioners of revenue, and a numerous assemblage of gentlemen. About 11 o'clock the procession marched from the council chamber to the cross, below which a theatre had been erected for their accommodation. The deputy, lord lyon, king-at-arms, ushered by six trumpets, the heralds and pursuivants in their coats, by two and two, mounted the cross; then followed the lord provost, magistrates and town council, in their robes, ushered by sixteen of the ordinary officers of the city in their livery coats, with the sword and mace borne by the proper officers, also bareheaded. The

about forty feet in length, was removed by some seamen from Leith from the site where it had stood for ages, and set up in the High Street, a little to the east of St. Giles' church, where it stood till 1756, when it was removed on account of its incommoding the street. The place is still marked by the causeway being paved in the figure of an octagon, with radii diverging from a stone in the centre.

The cross is thus described: "The building was an octagon of sixteen feet diameter, and about fifteen feet high, besides the pillar in the centre. At each angle there was an Ionic pillar, from the top of which a species of Gothic bastion projected, and between the columns there were modern arches. Upon the top of the arch fronting the Netherbow, the town's arms were cut, in the shape of a medallion, in rude workmanship; over the other arches, heads also cut in shape of a medallion were placed. These appeared to have been of much older workmanship than the town's arms or any other part of the cross. The heads were in *alto relievo* of good engraving, but the Gothic barbarity of the figures themselves bore the appearance of the Lower Empire. One of the heads was armed with a casque; another with a wreath, resembling a turban; a third had the hair turned upwards from the roots towards the occiput, whence the ends of the hair stood like points. This figure had over its left shoulder a twisted staff, probably intended for a sceptre. The fourth was the head of a woman, with some folds of linen carelessly wrapped round it. The entry to the building was by a door fronting the Netherbow, which gave access to a stair in the inside, leading to a platform on the top of the building. From the platform rose a column, consisting of one stone upwards of twenty feet high and of eighteen inches diameter, spangled with thistles and adorned with a Corinthian capital, upon the top of which was a unicorn."

At this cross all titled criminals were executed, public meetings held, and royal proclamations issued. Previous to the art of printing, acts of Parliament were published by heralds reading them aloud from this cross. During the turbulent minority of James VI. a gibbet stood constantly ready on the spot for nearly twenty years, but was removed when James led his nobility hand in hand from the palace of Holyrood to that structure, in token of a general reconciliation, as before narrated. The cross was also the chief scene of all public rejoicings, and was honoured with the principal pageants at the entries of monarchs; and it was here that the magistrates used to drink the King's health on his birth-day.

The middle pillar of this ancient structure is still preserved in the pleasure grounds of Drum, four miles east of Edinburgh on the road leading to Dalkeith, and the four heads, as well as several other of its ornamental parts, are to be seen at Abbotsford, the seat of the late Sir Walter Scott. There is also displayed the cistern out of which wine used to flow at the cross, to regale the people on the days of public rejoicings.

lord provost with the sword and mace went up to the cross, but the town council proceeded to the theatre, where they received Montrose and the rest of the nobility and gentry. The proclamation was then read by the lord provost; a discharge of the great guns of the castle followed, then three vollies from the city guard, which was answered by the regular troops; the ringing of bells, with all the usual demonstrations of joy, succeeded. The Duke of Montrose, with his retinue, then accompanied the lord provost and council to the town house, where they drunk his Majesty's health, the Prince, the heir apparent, and other royal toasts; thence proceeding to the camp they were regaled by the general in his tent, and repeated the same toasts under a discharge of artillery and small arms; in the evening the town was illuminated, and another round of the castle guns concluded the festivities of the day.[1]

When the standard of rebellion was erected by the Earl of Mar, in 1715, with the view of regaining to the Chevalier the throne of his ancestors, Edinburgh remained faithful to the cause of the house of Hanover. The town council, to provide for its security, appointed a committee of safety, reinforced the town guard, and raised and maintained 400 men at the expense of the city; these were commanded by officers appointed by the lord provost and magistrates, under whose direction they were to act for the defence of the city. The sluice of the North Loch was shut to raise the water, trenches were dug, the fortifications on the city walls were ordered to be repaired, some of the gates walled up, others fortified, provisions laid in, and the trained bands armed and called out, one hundred of whom mounted guard on the city walls every night. One hundred stand of arms from the armoury were lent to the inhabitants of Leith; several vessels were fitted up by the commissioners of customs at the request of the lord provost, to cruise in the Frith of Forth and prevent the rebels crossing from Fifeshire. While the clans were gathering in the north, ninety gentlemen, about one half Highlanders, under the direction of Lord Drummond, had engaged to surprise and take the castle of Edinburgh. A sergeant had been seduced with the promise of a lieutenant's commission, and three private sentinels by small pecuniary bribes and liberal promises, to admit the conspirators by pulling up their scaling ladders made of ropes, with lines let down for the purpose, and fastening them to a large log of wood, to anchors within the walls. All being arranged, the 9th of September, at 12 o'clock at night, was the time appointed for commencing scaling the castle rock, at a place on the south side near the Sally Port, where it is less precipitous and more lofty than elsewhere. The scheme however was frustrated by a Mr. Arthur, (the same person who had seduced the sergeant and the three privates,) who had at one time resided in the castle when a lieutenant, informing his brother, a physician in Edinburgh, also engaged in the Jacobite cause of the plot. The physician's lady, who was attached to the opposite side, observing from the thoughtful deportment of her husband that

[1] Aikman's Cont. of Buchanan's Hist. of Scotland, vol. vi, pp. 169, 170.

something extraordinary was transacting, gave him no rest till she possessed herself of the secret, which she immediately communicated to the Lord Justice Clerk, who instantly informed the governor of the castle. The garrison being thus put on their guard, was upon the alert; and Lieutenant Lindsay, when going his rounds near the Sally Port, discovered that the rebels had already affixed one ladder, upon which several of the assailants had mounted, it being so constructed as to admit of four men at once. He immediately unloosed the rope, and all who were upon it were precipitated to the bottom. The Lord Justice Clerk had also desired the provost to send out the town guard to patrol around the castle at the appointed hour. These arriving on the spot shortly after the ladder fell, found a Captain M'Lean, formerly an officer of King James's, lying on the ground, whose thigh bone had been broken in the fall; only three other prisoners were taken. The sergeant was hanged over the place where he had attempted to introduce the enemy. To have got possession of the castle at this time would have been of the utmost importance to the Chevalier, for in it lay nearly all the stores on which Government depended for arming their friends, besides upwards of one hundred thousand pounds of the equivalent money which had been sent down to Scotland at the Union. At this time the Earl of Ilay was vigilant and active in suppressing the treasonable attempts of the rebels. In his judicial capacity in Edinburgh, he baffled an attempt made by about 200 armed Jacobites to seize the town guard and put the city in confusion, by arresting Burnet of Carlops and some others of the ringleaders at the place of rendezvous, only a few hours before the plot was to be put in execution. While the Earl of Mar was, in the month of October, collecting his forces at Perth, Edinburgh was thrown into a state of great alarm and confusion by the intelligence of the landing, from Fifeshire, of about 1600 rebels, under the command of M'Intosh of Borlam, between Tantallon, North Berwick, and Aberlady, who quartered the first night at Haddington.[1] In expectation of reinforcements that did not arrive, they, next morning, October 30th, commenced their march for Edinburgh, which was thrown into the greatest consternation. They expected to be joined by the Jacobites as they went along, but the vigilant measures adopted by the magistrates, and the unanimity of the better class of citizens, prevented the Jacobites making any appearance in favour of the rebels. An express was sent off to Stirling to request regular troops for the defence of the city, and 200 foot, mounted upon country horses, and 300 cavalry, arrived at the West Port by 10 o'clock the same evening. The force in the city was now so considerable, that any attempt upon it by the rebels would have been hopeless. When Borlam and his troops arrived at Jock's Lodge, finding that none of the citizens joined them as they expected, and learning how matters stood, they marched to and entered Leith without resistance. Their first business was to liberate their friends who were prisoners, and their next to plunder the custom-house, which contained a considerable

[2] Patten's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 11.

quantity of provisions and brandy. They then fortified the old citadel, resolving to maintain themselves in it till they should see the result. They seized upon several pieces of cannon and a quantity of amunition in the vessels in the harbour, which they planted on the ramparts and at the ports, and barricaded the accessible places with beams of wood, carts filled with stones and earth, and such other materials as were at hand.[1] The Duke of Argyle, next day, accompanied by Generals Evans and Wightman, marched against them with 300 foot, and 300 cavalry, besides 600 militia, and the city guard and volunteers. On the morning of the 15th October, after reconnoitering the place, he sent a summons to the rebels to surrender, accompanied with a threat that he would give no quarter if one of his men were killed in the assault. He was answered by the Laird of Kinachir, "that as to surrendering they did not understand the word, quarter they would neither take nor give, and if he thought he was able to force them, he might try his hand." The Duke, having no cannon and being deserted by a number of the volunteers, perceiving that he could not dislodge the rebels from their fortification, without an unnecessary waste of life, retired in the evening to Edinburgh to prepare the means of more efficient warfare; but the rebels, having been joined by only six or seven of the inhabitants, who acquainted them with the real state of the city, dreading the Duke's return better provided, took the advantage of the ebb-tide, and about nine o'clock at night commenced their retreat by the Sands round the head of the pier to Seaton house, a strong old castle about nine miles to the east of Edinburgh; from thence they proceeded to the north of England, to effect a junction with the Jacobites of that country. That nothing might be wanting to secure the peace of the city, the town council ordered the several incorporations to give in lists of their apprentices and other servants, and give security for their good behaviour, and also ordered the Dean of Guild to summon all nonfreemen before him, and oblige them to find security for their respective servants' good behaviour. Six thousand troops demanded from the States of Holland, arrived at Edinburgh on 20th December; these were so kindly treated by the citizens, that Argyle sent the provost a letter of thanks for "the extraordinary and kind usage" these troops received from the citizens. Rebellion languished and expired some months after in the dispersion of the insurgent army, and on the retirement of the Earl of Mar and the Chevalier from Britain, tranquillity was restored to the country. The preparations for defending the city cost £1736, 16s. 8d., which sum was, in 1721, repaid the citizens by Government.

Previous to 1718, the dignity of the chief magistrate of Edinburgh was supported by acknowledgments from those who held lucrative appointments connected with the city, gratuities from those who obtained leases of the city lands, and from other branches of revenue. These infamous and mercenary practices were, in that year, put an end to. by the town council allowing the provost, in lieu thereof, a salary of £300 per annum; at same time the

[1] Rae's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 261.

cil ordered £10 to be paid to each of the bailies, dean of guild, and town treasurer, to purchase black velvet coats, to wear while in office. But soon after these velvet coats were laid aside, the honest bailies being ashamed of the expense the city was put to in furnishing them, while it was getting every year deeper and deeper in debt.

Previous to the Union, the excise had been generally settled amicably between the farmer of the tax and the payer, and that by a kind of *rough guess*, which the payer himself was in most cases allowed to make. A gauger, previous to that event, had never been heard of in Scotland; but immediately thereafter, swarms of English tax-gatherers were sent to invade Scotland, who rigorously put in force the new laws for collecting the revenue; and their manner of levying the taxes was as unintelligible as the thing was abhorrent, especially to the brewers, not one of whom had ever before seen a gauging rod, neither could they conceive how it was used, and were therefore utterly amazed at sticks being brought to be put in their barrels, to ascertain their quantities; however, with their ignorance, they possessed a stubborn unwillingness to be taught the method of applying these rods.

Considerable disturbances throughout the country took place when the malt tax was extended to Scotland, though all was quietness in the capital. A resolution began to be formed by the citizens not to drink ale at any advanced price, and the brewers resolved to give up brewing, as being no longer profitable; hence, the malt tax remained a dead letter till about the latter end of the year 1724, when a resolution passed the House of Commons for laying an additional duty of sixpence per barrel on ale brewed in Scotland, instead of the malt tax. This was thought a grievous burden, and raised a general outcry, in which the Jacobites every where took the lead, and drove the opposition as near as they possibly could to rebellion. Numerous public and private addresses were sent to the Scottish members of Parliament, by their constituents, complaining very strongly against their supineness, and earnestly exhorting them to oppose strenuously a plan so pregnant with mischief. They accordingly waited on the ministers, and, by their representations, got the additional ale duty withdrawn, and the tax upon malt, as had been suggested, substituted in its place. The brewers in Scotland, who were generally also maltsters, were greatly disappointed by an arrangement which promised to render unavoidable a tax they had no idea of paying; it was therefore artfully represented not only as ruinous to every individual connected with the malt trade, but as sealing for ever the ruin of the country. Delegates from the principal towns in Scotland were sent to Edinburgh to confer with the brewers, with a view of forming a general plan to avoid the duty. These resolved on guarding against the payment of the duty on the stock of malt on hand; and although, to avoid heavy penalties, they resolved to enter the stock on hand, they determined also to make no payment of the duty thereon; and in the event of being sued at law, they resolved to cease brewing, by which means they thought to annihilate the excise. This absurdity was met on the part of government by a measure equally

absurd. To gratify and soothe the brewers, the Court of Session, who had frequently exercised the power of regulating the price of provisions, passed an act of sederunt, authorising all brewers in Edinburgh and suburbs to raise the price of ale to retailers, from eighteen pennies Scots (three halfpence sterling), per Scots pint, to twenty pennies; and they again to raise the price to the public from twenty pennies to twenty-four pennies (twopence sterling), which was computed would yield the brewers eighteen pennies more than the amount of the malt tax per boll. However, after a conference with the delegates from the country, the Edinburgh brewers resolved to elude payment of the duty, and force government to withdraw the tax, by entering their malt to avoid the duty, but to desist from brewing to avoid the tax. On 23rd June, 1725, the day on which the act took effect, while the excise officers were putting it in force in Glasgow, by taking a survey of the stock of malt on hand, they were necessitated to have the support of a military guard, and after all were obliged to desist; and for several days Glasgow was the scene of much rioting and mischief. So outrageous was the mob, that the military were, in self-defence, obliged to fire on them, when several were killed, and others wounded. The magistrates being suspected of favouring and encouraging the mob, were sent off to Edinburgh, under a guard. They entered the capital in a kind of triumph, accompanied by about 40 of the chief merchants of Glasgow, and numbers who had joined the procession previous to its entering the city. Upon a petition to the Lords of Justiciary, the magistrates were, after being detained some time in the tolbooth, admitted to bail, and set at liberty. The Edinburgh brewers, as had previously been resolved on, adopted the ludicrous idea of compelling government to take off the tax, by stopping brewing. When required by the Lord Advocate to carry on their business, they answered, that while the malt on hand lasted they would continue to brew, but if they were sued for the duty, they would shut up their breweries and go to prison, rather than comply with the new regulations. As they remained obstinate, the Lord Advocate, in conjunction with the magistrates, brought a complaint before the Court of Session against them for illegal combination, and required them to continue and carry on their trade in the same manner, and to the same extent, they had done for the month preceding the 29th of July, and that until the 1st of November following, and thereafter to give fifteen days intimation, previous to leaving off brewing, to the magistrates, by a notary-public; on which complaint the whole city brewers were, next day, cited to appear, and respectively grant bond to comply with its terms, under the penalty of £100 sterling. Although they, next day, appeared in court, agreeable to their citation, they refused to grant the bond prescribed. In the interim, however, they had presented a petition to their lordships, setting forth, that to require and compel private persons to enter into bonds, under penalties, was a public grievance, declared by the Claim of Rights; and to compel a man to follow any employment, to the ruin of his family, was authorised by no law, and justified by no precedent; that the brewers, during the vacation, brewed

less, and the retailers sold less, than during the session; and argued that, "if their lordships obliged them to brew an equal quantity any month after, to what they had done the month previous, they ought, in equal fairness, to pass an act, obliging the retailers to buy, and the lieges to drink as much each succeeding month, as they had done for the month previous, and make them severally find caution for the same."[1] The court renewed the order on the brewers, extending the time for their compliance till the 10th of August, and ordained all those who, at the time specified, should still be found refractory, to be incarcerated till the 1st of November, or till they subscribed the required obligation. As to the brewers' petition, their lordships, on advising it, considering it an insult, declared it to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and filled with positions that endeavoured to pervert, and were flatly contradictory to law, tending to promote opposition and disobedience to his majesty's government, and highly reflecting on the justice and authority of the court, and exciting distrust thereof among the people; and therefore reject the same, and order a copy thereof forthwith to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at the cross of Edinburgh, and appoint and require the magistrates of the said city to see the same put into execution.

When the brewers were cited before the justices for payment of the duties upon the stock of malt on hand at the instance of the commissioners of excise, they all, according to agreement, left off brewing; on which four of them, namely, Messrs. Cove, Lindsay, Scot, and Cleghorn, considered the ringleaders, were thrown into prison. In the meantime, the justices decerned against them for double duties; and they, finding they were not in a condition to stand out against the ministry, the greater number of them submitted; and those in prison, finding themselves thus deserted, complied also, and gave bills for the duty of the stock on hand, Lord Islay engaging that payment should not be demanded before the meeting of Parliament.[2]

In 1725, a great fire happened in the Lawnmarket, which burned so rapidly, that neither the inhabitants' furniture, goods, nor even the merchants' books could be saved. A subscription of £938, 15s. 8d., sterling, was raised for relief of the sufferers. This sum was distributed by the clergy and magistrates of the city, in a very unequal manner. To one gentleman, afterwards member of parliament for the city, they gave £124 4s., to another, afterwards lord provost, £225, and to a poor Episcopal clergyman, only £2.[3]

Margaret Dickson, who belonged to Musselburgh, was, in 1728,

[1] Edinburgh Evening Courant, from 29th July, to 2nd August, 1725.

[2] The brewers of Edinburgh have, for a long period, been greatly famed for brewing excellent ales, of which immense quantities were, some years ago, shipped for London; but the London trade, within these few years, has much fallen off, on account of a number of Edinburgh-bred brewers having gone there, and either commenced business, joined a brewery as a partner, or been engaged as brewer to a brewing establishment. However, considerable quantities of Edinburgh brewed ales are still sent to London, and to all the principal towns in England and Scotland.

[3] See end of Coun. Reg., v. 51.

executed for child murder, at Edinburgh. Having been suspended the usual time, she was cut down, and her body given to her friends, who sent it in a cart to be interred in her native place. While the party along with the cart were taking some refreshment in a public-house about two miles from the city, she forced the lid off her coffin, and sat up, which so astonished the spectators, that most of them ran off. Having been put to bed and carefully attended, she next day walked to Musselburgh. She lived till the year 1753, and was well known in the city and neighbourhood by the name of *"Half-hangit Maggy Dickson."*

Smuggling was, at this period, viewed by the Scots in general rather with approbation than dislike, and involved neither dishonour nor disgrace, while contraband goods were openly retailed with large profits. In 1736, the following singular occurrence happened in Edinburgh connected with smuggling. One Andrew Wilson, residing at Pathead, Kirkaldy, who had suffered considerably by seizures in the way of his trade, engaged George Robertson, an inn-keeper, at Bristo-port in the city, in an attempt to repossess himself of what he considered his own. Having hired some associates, they, on the 9th January, waylaid the collector of the district (who had been upon his circuit) at Pittenweem, and robbed him of a sum of money of about the same amount Wilson conceived he had lost; but having transacted their business, as they termed it, in an open manner, they were apprehended the same evening, and the whole of the property recovered. Although the crime was, at this time, regarded by the public in a moral point of view as very trivial, Wilson and Robertson were apprehended, tried, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged. Such a sentence not being in accordance with the popular ideas of justice, a general murmur prevailed among the people, which was much heightened by the following incident. As was usual at this period, the two criminals were each Sabbath-day conducted to the tolbooth church to hear sermon, guarded by four soldiers. On the Sabbath previous to their execution, they were scarcely seated, when Wilson suddenly seized a soldier in each arm, and after calling out, " Geordie, do for your life!" snatched hold of a third by the coat neck with his teeth ; on which Robertson tripped up the fourth, sprung over the seats, and the audience opening a way for him, he got clear off. Wilson having thus gallantly and generously accomplished the delivery of his friend, sat down quietly between his guards apparently resigned to his fate. This magnanimous action rendered Wilson an object of universal admiration, and he was so much commiserated by the people, and the expression of public sympathy towards him was so strong, that the magistrates, dreading a rescue, doubled the sentinels on the prison, summoned the officers of the train bands and constables to attend his execution, and furnished the town guard, under the command of Captain Porteous, with three charges of shot each man, and by a special order from the magistrates, every man loaded his piece before going to the execution. In addition, a battalion of regular troops, then quartered in the Canongate, were drawn up on each side of the Lawnmarket, while another body remained

under arms at the guard house. On 14th April, at two o'clock, the then hour for executing criminals, Wilson was carried to the usual place of execution in the Grassmarket, where he died, apparently penitent and resigned, but expressed no sorrow for the act for which he suffered. Although an immense crowd had collected to witness the execution, there was no appearance of riot till the executioner was ascending the ladder to cut the body down, when he was pelted by a few stones from some idle boys, a common occurrence on these occasions; and one or two of the guard being struck, Captain Porteous, in a rage, without the Riot act having been read, or even waiting the order of a magistrate, although they were in a room at hand, snatched a fusee from one of his men and shot a young man on the spot, and with an oath ordered his men to fire also. The order being instantly obeyed, several of the spectators, who had no connection whatever with what was going on among the mob, were killed and wounded. On the town guard marching up the Westbow, they were followed by the execrations of the mob, and assailed by volleys of stones, which they returned by again firing among the populace with similar effect. In all, four men were killed and eleven severely wounded, of whom two afterwards died. Porteous marched to the guard-house, and there caused those under his command to deposit their arms, with the usual military ceremony; he immediately thereafter went to the Spread Eagle tavern, where the magistrates were assembled, when he was charged with the murder of those that had been killed, both by giving orders to fire and firing himself. That he had given orders to fire he flatly denied, and in his own vindication stated, that he had received but three charges from the magistrates, two of which were still in his cartouch box and the third in his piece. The magistrates were followed to the council chambers by an immense and riotous multitude, clamouring for justice against the captain, who, after a precognition, was committed to prison for this fatal exercise of authority, which seemed uncalled for under the circumstances of the case. On 19th July, he was brought to trial, unanimously found guilty of murder by a respectable jury, and sentenced to be hanged upon the 8th of September. The captain never had been a favourite with the populace, he having had the command of the town guard in previous scuffles, when several of the lieges were wounded. Through the interest of the Duke of Argyle, Porteous obtained a reprieve for six weeks from Queen Caroline, then regent, but such was the animosity of the people towards him, that they determined not to allow him to profit by the royal clemency. On the day previous to that upon which the unhappy captain was condemned to suffer, there was so great a concourse of strangers, particularly in the afternoon, into the city, as ought to have roused the suspicions of the magistrates, and led them to take immediate measures for preventing what had been so openly threatened; but they, either misbelieving that any such thing was in agitation, or willing to hazard the life of the criminal for the sake of earning a little vulgar applause, took no steps whatever to guard against the actings of the mob. The magistrates,

however, were soon aware that something was in agitation by the populace, as they, between eight and nine o'clock at night, seized the drum belonging to the suburb of Portsburgh, and pressing the drummer's son into the service, shut the West port and placed a guard on it; they then, collecting a mob by the beat of drum, marched to and closed the Netherbow port to prevent the troops from the Canongate entering; they next surprised the guard house, and arming themselves with guns, halberts, and Lochaber axes, sent parties to secure the other gates; then they planted a guard across the High street, and proceeded to the prison, where they attempted to force an entrance with sledges and fore-hammers, but in vain. The magistrates upon learning what was going forward, attempted to reach the prison, but found the streets so well guarded, and were met by such a shower of stones, that they judged it prudent to retire without any further effort for the prisoner's safety. The mob having procured a tar barrel and whins, set fire to the jail door, and some of the most forward rushing through the flames, extorted the keys from the jailor and liberated the prisoners. Porteous, having attempted to hide himself by climbing up the chimney, was dragged by the heels down the tolbooth stairs, and hurried along the streets to the common place of execution in the Grassmarket. The mob finding they had not a rope, broke open a shop where they knew ropes were sold, and having taken what they wanted, left the money for it on the counter. About a quarter before 12 o'clock, the rope was put about his neck, and he was pulled up to a dyer's sign-post; but one of his hands having got free, he grasped the noose in fearful agony, when some one struck him with a paddle; he was then let down, his hands tied, and hauled up a second time. His face being uncovered, he was again let down, and one of his shirts, for he had two, thrown over his head, and for the third time hauled up. The rope was then nailed to the post, and the principal actors, after saluting each other, grounded their arms, and separated without committing any other disorder. So paralysed were the authorities on this occasion, that his body was allowed to hang till seven o'clock the next morning, and during that time no attempt was made to discover the perpetrators.

The magistrates, sensible of the responsibility attached to them, were, in order to exculpate themselves from blame, anxious in their inquiries, and upwards of 200 persons were examined; but no information respecting the perpetrators could be obtained. Such an insult on government could not fail to be highly resented. A proclamation was accordingly issued, offering a pardon to any accomplice, and a reward of £200 to any person who would discover one of those concerned in the riot. The proclamation was likewise ordered to be read from every pulpit in Scotland the first Sunday of every month for one year. All the efforts of government, however, were insufficient to produce any detection of the authors of the outrage, and no discovery was ever made.

Disappointed in their endeavours to discover the perpetrators, the government determined to punish the magiststrates and the

city. A bill was brought into the House of Lords, to disable Alexander Wilson, Esq., lord provost of the city of Edinburgh, from taking, holding, or enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or any where in Great Britain; and also for imprisoning him, for abolishing the town guard, and taking away the gates of the Netherbow port.

Mr. Wilson was accordingly committed to prison, and confined three weeks, before he was admitted to bail; after which, he and the four bailies, with the lords of justiciary, were ordered to attend the House of Lords. On their arrival there, a debate arose whether the justiciary lords should attend in their robes or not, and whether at the table or at the bar. As this was a point which had not been settled by the articles of Union, it was claimed as their right to be seated next to the English judges. After a long discussion, it was agreed that they should attend in their robes, at the bar. This, however, was refused by their lordships, who insisted that they should be examined within the bar, upon which their examination was altogether dropped. The bill, after great opposition and many modifications, passed both Houses. For the imprisonment of the provost, the demolition of the Netherbow port, and disbanding the town guard, a fine of £2000 to Porteous' widow was imposed on the city, (she was afterwards prevailed upon to grant a discharge for £1,500), and the provost was declared incapable for ever of serving government in any capacity whatever; but none of the murderers were ever found out.

To prevent such riots in future, the town council enacted, that on the first appearance of an insurrection, the chief officers in the different societies and corporations should repair to the council house, to receive the orders of the magistrates for the quelling of the tumult, under the penalty of £100, Scots, for each omission.

The magistrates' expenses to London, when there, and returning, cost the city £1,446 2s. 7d½., sterling, besides lawyers' fees and other necessary expenses; so that this unfortunate affair cost the city a very considerable sum of money.

On 13th January, 1740, there was one of the most tremendous hurricanes, accompanied by lightning, that had been known for a long while in Scotland. At Edinburgh the damage was extensive. The roofs of the chapel, arsenal, and magazine in the castle were destroyed, and the lead rolled up and blown over the walls. That on the parliament house, about twelve hundred weight, was carried into the middle of the square. The spire of Magdalene chapel, and the fine portico of the Canongate church, were levelled. Several houses were blown down, and, in the middle of this terrible night, an alarm of fire was added to the horrors of the tempest; and the wind, which increased the flames, rendered the engines useless. Throughout the country the damage was immense. The corn was scattered about the fields, and great numbers of cattle perished in the stables; thousands of trees were torn up by the root. The loss among the shipping on the west coast was severe, and many people perished. An intense frost,

which had set in on Christmas day, continued till the 20th of February. Out door labour was suspended. The Forth was frozen over above Alloa, and there was even a crust of ice at Queensferry. The mills were every where stopped, and a great dearth was the consequence. By the vast quantity of snow upon the ground, coals were brought into Edinburgh with difficulty, and many of the poor perished with cold. Wages scarcely averaged fourpence per day, while meal rose to two shillings per peck, bad in quality, and difficult to be obtained, the harvest having been late, and the winter early as well as severe. The magistrates of Edinburgh,[1] and a number of societies and individuals distinguished themselves on behalf of the poor. Public contributions were levied, private donations given, and money was lent to the magistrates, without interest, for buying victuals, which they sold to the poor at easy rates; but a bad harvest succeeding, and the prices rising, the people became riotous, broke in upon and plundered Bell's mills, and Leith mills, and some granaries in the vicinity of the city, and could not be restrained till the military, upon orders given by the civil magistrates, fired upon them, and wounded three, of whom one died. It was also found necessary to order some dragoons into the city to preserve tranquillity.

In 1742, another violent tumult took place, on a discovery being made that several dead bodies had been raised from their graves, for anatomical purposes. The citizens, collected by beat of drum, burned the houses of suspected persons, demolished the house of the beadle of St. Cuthberts, and committed other extravagances, notwithstanding the efforts of the magistrates to pacify them, by rigorously punishing those who were concerned in violating the sepulchres of the dead.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM A.D. 1744, TO A.D. 1747.

1744, The town council informed of a premeditated invasion—1745, Prince Charles lands at Eriska—Extent of the city and state of its walls—Its standing force—The news of Charles's landing reach the city—Measures adopted for its defence—Interrupted by Burgh politics—The citizens enrol themselves as volunteers—Charles, with his army, march southward—All hurry and confusion in the city—The trained bands, volunteers, and fusileers, mount guard—Burgh politics again interfere—Measures adopted by Captain Drummond—Their consequences—The town guard and city regiment join the dragoons at Corstorphine—Leave a rear guard there and retire—These, on the appearance of a few Highlanders, become panic-struck—Retire to the main army—They retreat to Leith—The citizens meet to

[1] Coun. Reg., v. 60, p. 241: Caledonian Mercury, No. 3090, to 3094, inclusive.

deliberate—Letter from Charles read to the meeting—Deputation sent to Charles—Sir John Cope, with his troops, land at Dunbar—Proceedings of the town council in consequence—Letter from Charles—A second deputation sent him—The result of their conference—A party of Highlanders enter the city by the Netherbow port—Proclaim the Pretender as James VIII.—Charles and his army enter the King's Park—His reception and behaviour—Charles's proclamation relative to arms and ammunition—Citizens taxed to defray the expense of supplying Charles's army with tents, etc.—The Highlanders prohibited from pillaging by proclamation—The number of Charles's forces, and how armed—Charles marches his followers against General Cope's army—Battle of Gladesmuir gained by Charles—Charles returns to Holyrood—The clergy leave the city—Charles exercises the functions of royalty—How he passed his time—Hostilities between the rebels and those in the castle—Charles and his army leave the city—The clergy return to their respective charges—The Officers of State return to the city—The news reach the city of Charles's retreat from England—The citizens thrown into great consternation—Orders issued for the protection of the city—The citizens relieved from their fears—Fourteen of the rebel's standards burned at the cross—The civic rulers chosen by a poll election—The Duke of Cumberland presented with the freedom of the city—Trial of the Lord Provost Stewart—Punishment of a Jacobite printer for a satirical poem.

King James II. died in France, leaving a son, James, known in history by the epithet of the Pretender, or by his incognito title, the Chevalier St. George. In 1743 one of the secretaries of state wrote a letter to the town council, informing them of a premeditated invasion of Great Britain, by Charles Edward Stewart, the eldest son of the Pretender, in answer to which they addressed a letter to his Majesty, in which they assured him "of our detestation of an undertaking no less insolent than wicked; and of our firm determination to defend your Majesty's sacred person, and the settlement of the crown upon your royal family, against the open attempts of foreign enemies, and against all treasonable practices at home."[1]

On 22nd July, 1745, Prince Charles landed at Eriska, accompanied only by a few gentlemen; but being soon joined by some of the clans, he commenced his march southward. The news of the Prince's landing and his advance, with a numerous body of the Highland clans, reached Edinburgh on the 17th August. At this period, and for many years thereafter, the city was confined within narrow limits: on the south, and on the east, the ancient city was bounded by a wall varying from ten to twenty feet high, but not much more substantial than those of a common garden-wall: on the north side, the North Loch, which was easily fordable, was its only defence. Lines of lofty houses forming the suburbs overlooked part of the wall, which added to its natural weakness. The standing force of the city consisted of two bodies, called the town guard and trained bands; the former of these generally amounted to 96 men, but had been lately increased to 126; it was mostly composed of old men, who acted in lieu of police; and the latter, consisting of citizens, did not exceed a thousand men, whose arms had become as useless as they were unfit to use them, being only used once a-year in honour of the King's birth day, when every one able to appear, mustered, to enjoy the civic dinner

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 64, p. 22, February, 1744.

which was given to them on that joyous day. It was therefore obvious, that no effectual resistance could be opposed to the entrance of an army into the city. On 27th August, the provost and magistrates held a meeting, at which some of the principal citizens attended to devise measures of defence. At this meeting it was resolved to repair the city walls. The trained bands were ordered[1] to be in readiness at the shortest warning; a trench was made from the northern side of the Castle rock to the North Loch, at which workmen were employed on Sabbath, as well as other days. A standing committee was at same time appointed, who, on application to his Majesty, obtained, on the 9th of September, leave to raise and maintain, by voluntary subscription, one thousand men, who were to be under the direction of the lord provost and council; on which day subscriptions were opened, and a drum was sent through the town and country to enlist men. The subscription papers were not long of being filled; but, after a week, only about two hundred men had been induced to enlist. On the evening of the 31st of August, the citizens were thrown into a state of great alarm, by receiving intelligence of the march of Prince Charles and his Highlanders into Athole, and the departure of Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief of Scotland, and his army for Inverness. Instantly the drum beat to arms, and the town council having met, ordered the keys of the city to be lodged with the captain of the city guard, sentries to be placed at each of the gates, and the city guard augmented. As an additional security, Hamilton's dragoons, quartered in the vicinity of the city, were kept under arms all night. The constables were ordered to make out lists of the inhabitants within their several districts, and to take an account of all strangers who should from time to time come to lodge within their respective bounds. A proclamation was issued, strictly enjoining all innkeepers, stablers, and others who entertained strangers, to send to the captain of the town guard, in writing, the names and titles of strangers, their lodgers, under the penalty of £5 sterling for each omission. Officers were appointed for the four companies of trained bands belonging to Leith, and one hundred muskets, and thirty bayonets were sent them from the city armoury. Sixty stand of arms were also given to the inhabitants of Potter-row and Portsburgh. The repairs of the city walls were commenced; orders were issued to place cannon on them, and the city put in as defensible a state, without the least possible delay, as their means would admit of.

Unfortunately, in the midst of this bustle and confusion, the election of deacons of incorporations began to take place on the 10th September, preparatory to the nomination of magistrates; and there existed a party, consisting of ex-magistrates and councillors, who, by the course they adopted, brought disgrace upon the city. This cabal, at the head of which was ex-provost Drummond, had been ousted from the town council by Stewart, the present provost and his friends, who, for five years, had kept possession of the municipal government, to the entire exclusion of Drummond and his party. But the latter availed themselves

[1] Coun. Reg. 23rd, 28th August, 2nd, 4th, 9th, September, 1745.

of the present opportunity to regain their power, by instilling distrust of the existing magistrates into the minds of the electors, in representing the members of the town council as Jacobitically inclined, and as indifferent to the preservation of the city from the rebels. Although no cessation of the building of the walls took place, even on Sabbath, to the great scandal of the more religious part of the citizens, yet so great was the anxiety of all classes to ascertain the names of the craftsmen sent up by the different incorporations to the council to represent them, that a total suspension of every business took place, so that Professor Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, who had undertaken to prop the fortifications, was thus left with very few hands to mount the cannon which had been brought up from Leith, repair the bastions, and barricade the gates, the provost himself not being able to procure him assistance.

To ascertain the names of the citizens who were willing to serve as volunteers, a paper was lodged, in the month of September, in the Old church aisle, and all loyal persons were invited by handbills to subscribe. Full of zeal, four hundred and eighty volunteers soon joined the association, and were supplied with arms from the castle; they mustered in the college-yard, and immediately began to take lessons from the drill-sergeants.

Prince Charles, informed by a deserter from Cope's army of that general's determination to march against him and attack him in the north, with all the regular troops in the kingdom, immediately marched southward, to obtain possession of the capital. He entered Perth, without opposition, where he was joined by the duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, brother to the Duke of Athole, with a number of their vassals. On Wednesday, the 11th of September, Charles set out from Perth, and crossing the Forth on the 13th, at the Fords of Frew, about eight miles above Stirling, he immediately advanced towards Edinburgh.

No certain information of the movements of the Highland army reached Edinburgh, till the morning of Sunday, the 15th, when a messenger brought intelligence that the insurgents were in full march upon the capital, and that their van had already reached Kirkliston. The last part of this information was, however, incorrect. All was now hurry and confusion within the city; the money in the banks and public offices was removed to the castle, together with the most valuable effects of the citizens. The trained bands were called out, and ordered to mount guard in the Parliament house; the volunteers, consisting of six companies, in the Exchequer chambers; and the Edinburgh regiment in the Justiciary hall. Besides these, there were three volunteer companies of Dissenters from the Church of Scotland: the City Company of Fusileers, consisting of one hundred and twenty citizens, and two hundred men from the country, who had volunteered in defence of the city.

Amidst all this confusion, burgh politics still interposed. Ex-provost Drummond, wishing to regain his seat, warmly supported every measure disapproved of by provost Stewart. Having been named captain of one of the volunteer companies, he affected a

courageousness to recommend him to the Whigs, whilst provost Stewart's prudence, he foresaw, would incur the imputation of favouring the Jacobites.

When a report of the rebels having advanced within a few miles of the capital reached the citizens, all the armed volunteers, in terms of an order given the preceding evening, assembled in the college yard. About ten o'clock, ex-provost Drummond, who was captain of a company, made his appearance. He entered the guard room, and after some consultation with his brother officers, came out, and placing himself opposite the right of his company, informed them that it had been proposed to General Guest to make a stand with the two dragoon regiments, and fight the insurgents on their way to the city, to which he had agreed, provided that a detachment of the volunteers should, with a part of the town guard, support the dragoons in an attack upon the enemy, or wait for them at Corstorphine. "Now, gentlemen," said the ex-provost, "you have heard the general's opinion, judge for yourselves. If you are willing to risk your lives for the defence of the capital and the honour of your country, I am ready to lead you to the field." His own company, to whom he particularly addressed himself, went under the denomination of the College company, being composed chiefly of young men belonging to the university, threw up their hats in the air at the conclusion of the address, and began to huzza,[1] in which the rest of the companies joined. It was evident that the heroism of his own company was not agreeable to him, as he went to the other companies in succession, and told them, that though all his own men were going either to conquer or die with him, yet that such a resolution was only proper for young unmarried men, who were at liberty to dispose of their own lives. Accordingly, very few of the volunteers of the other companies would give their consent; but Drummond's company becoming clamorous, the others seemed to yield, and a messenger was dispatched by him to the castle, to inform General Guest that the volunteers were ready to march out with the dragoons and engage the rebels. At the request of the general, provost Stewart, who had not been consulted as to the ex-provost's movements, ordered a detachment of the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment to accompany the volunteers; when Hamilton's dragoons, who were encamped on Leith Links, were ordered by General Guest to march through the city, and join Gardiner's regiment at Corstorphine.

The fire bell,[2] the appointed signal of approaching danger, having been rung during divine service, the churches were instantly emptied; and the ministers, who had gone to preach equipped *a la militaire*, with their swords at their sides, joined their hearers, and hastened to the Lawnmarket, the appointed place of rendezvous, where the armed citizens were waiting for Hamilton's dragoons. As soon as they appeared, mutual cheerings took place,

[1] Home's works, v. iii, p. 48.

[2] A bell, erected on the walls of the castle, that rung to alarm the citizens when a fire took place in the city, and which was only disused for that purpose about the beginning of the present century.

and the horsemen passed on with a gasconading air, clashing their swords against each other as they went along, displaying apparently the highest symptoms of courage. The Lawnmarket, where the volunteers had drawn up, was soon crowded with the wives, sisters, mothers, and friends of the devoted volunteers, who clustered around them, and implored them with tears, cries, and tender embraces, to desist from the dangerous enterprise they were about to engage in. Although the greater quantity of these doughty champions never had any serious intention of exposing their persons to the blows of the Highland broadsword, yet neither the tears, the entreaties, nor embraces of their female friends seemed to have any effect upon captain ex-provost Drummond's company, who, with him at their head, marched up the Lawnmarket, and down the West-bow to the Grassmarket, followed by an immense crowd of people lamenting their unhappy fate; but when he arrived at the West-port, his astonishment was great to find that, instead of the whole companies following his example, only forty-two privates of his own company had accompanied him, all the rest having either expressed their resolution to remain where they were, or had slipped down the various lanes which they passed in their march. When the ex-provost found himself so poorly attended, he sent a lieutenant named Lindsay back to the Lawnmarket, to ascertain the reason why the volunteers who were expected to follow, had not joined their associates; on his arrival there, he found the volunteers, who still remained in the street, in great confusion, surrounded by their wives, sisters, and relatives. Some of the officers complained that the men would not follow them, while, on the other hand, many of the privates complained that they could not get an officer to lead them. After some altercation, Lindsay, with the assistance of captain Sir George Preston, and some other officers, prevailed with one hundred and forty to proceed as far as the West-port, where a fresh muster having been made, it was found that the whole body, including ninety of the town guard and the subscription-regiment, amounted only to three hundred and sixty-three men. While the ex-provost was deliberating on the course he should pursue, he was joined by Dr. Wishart, principal of the university, and others of the city clergy, who conjured them by every thing they held most sacred and dear, to stay within the walls and reserve themselves for the defence of the city. Although the words of the reverend gentlemen were in unison with the sentiments of those he addressed, yet fortunately their manhood was saved the shame of a direct and pointed retreat by the following circumstance. Ex-provost Drummond, who had not previously consulted provost Stewart, now applied to him for instructions, stating that unless he gave his final permission for their march, they should not proceed; and was so well pleased to be informed that he never approved of his marching out of the city, that he, the ex-provost, who had made all this show of zeal for the meanest of purposes, immediately marched his men to the college-yard, and there dismissed them, his sole object in acting the hero being to acquire popularity, and thereby promote his return to power. However,

the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment, in number one hundred and eighty men, marched out of the city, by order of the provost, and joined Hamilton and Gardiner's regiments at Corstorphine, about four miles from Edinburgh.

General Gardiner having remained with the army the whole Sabbath till sunset at Corstorphine, posted a rear-guard to watch the motions of the Highlanders, and retired with the two regiments of dragoons to a field betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, and the infantry took up their quarters in the city. On the same night Brigadier-general Fawkes arrived from London, and next morning took the command of this little army of protection. During the night, the walls and the different gates were guarded with about seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the volunteers, and some auxiliaries from Musselburgh and Dalkeith, but the night passed quietly off. Next morning, General Fawkes, by an order from General Guest, governor of the castle, marched his little army to Colt Bridge, a place two miles west of the city, where he was joined in course of the forenoon by the civic troops.[1]

On the morning of the next day, the 16th of September, the rebels, observing the enemy on their approach to Corstorphine, sent forward a few young armed Highlanders on horseback to reconnoitre; on coming in view of the guard of dragoons left at Corstorphine, they, by way of frolic or defiance, for they could have no intention of attacking them, fired their pistols rather towards than at them, and the poor dragoons, to their utter astonishmeut, without waiting to see the number of their assailants or return a shot, became panic-struck, and instantly wheeled about, and carried their panic to the main body at Colt Bridge, to whom they communicated all their fears; and General Fawkes immediately issued the welcome orders for a retreat, which order was performed with the greatest good will by the various troops; and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the Jacobite inhabitants of Edinburgh were gratified with the amusing spectacle of the two regiments of cowards galloping as hard as they could along the north side of the city, now the site of Princes street, pursued by no one. These faint-hearted horsemen, after stopping a short time at Leith, proceeded to Musselburgh, and the infantry returned to the city. The citizens, immediately after the flight of the dragoons, became exceedingly clamerous; ran in crowds about the streets, crying that since the dragoons had fled, it was madness to think of resistance. Some of these terrified or designing people, meeting the lord provost returning from the West-port, followed him to the Parliament square, beseeching him not to persist in defending the town, for, if he did, they would all be murdered. Provost Stewart reproved their impatience, and proceeded to the Goldsmiths' hall, where he was met by the magistrates and town council, and a considerable number of the citizens. Previous to coming to any resolution, it was thought advisable to consult the law-officers of the crown; but, on requiring their attendance, it was found these functionaries

[1] Home's works, p. 59.

had deserted the city. On the motion being made, whether the town should be defended or not, the meeting became noisy and divided; in the course of debate much acrimony was displayed by the speakers on both sides. The hall being too small to contain the crowd which had collected, the meeting adjourned to the New church aisle, which in an instant was filled with the clamorous citizens; the question, "Defend, or not defend the town?" being put, by far the greater number exclaimed in favour of the latter alternative. In the midst of all this uproar, an unknown person upon a gray horse galloped along the lines of the volunteers, while standing in the Lawnmarket, crying out that the Highlanders were coming! he had seen them! and that they were 16,000 strong! This lying messenger did not stop to be questioned, and disappeared in a moment; but the impression he made upon the faint-hearted volunteers, who stood in stupid amazement, was decisive. Captain Drummond, on consulting his brother-officers, proposed that they should carry back their arms to the castle, which was agreed to; and he, leading the way, was instantly obeyed with more alacrity and less dissension than when he proposed leading them to face the rebels. In a short time the other companies also marched to the castle and delivered their arms, and were followed by other bodies of militia that had been supplied with arms from the castle magazine. The crowd in the church aisle, after much debate, resolved that, as it was impossible to defend the city, commissioners should be appointed to treat with the young Prince, and to obtain the best terms they could. In the midst of their deliberations a letter was handed to the meeting, which had been brought by an emissary of Prince Charles, addressed to the lord provost, magistrates, and town council. This letter was put into the hands of Orrock, the deacon of the shoemakers, who, on opening it, announced to the meeting that it was subscribed, "Charles, P. R." On this, the Provost stopped deacon Orrock, who was about to read the letter, saying that he would not be a witness to the reading of such a document. The assembly, however, becoming impatient to know its contents, his lordship tacitly consented to its being read, when it was found to run as follows:

"From our Camp, 16th September, 1745.

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his Majesty's ancient Kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, on receipt of this, to summon the Town Council, and to take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect; but if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition, now in it (whether belonging to the public or private persons) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of duty, and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his Majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly

resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

(Signed) "Charles, P. R."

All thoughts of defending the city was now laid aside; and the lord provost, with the members of council who had returned to the council chambers, again read the letter which had occasioned so much debate, and having taken it into consideration, it was moved and agreed that an answer should be sent to the Prince. Accordingly, four members of council, namely, bailies Hamilton, Yets, Ingles, and convener Norie, were dispatched at eight o'clock at night, to treat with the Prince, and to request that he would, previous to commencing hostilities, grant the citizens time to deliberate on the contents of his letter.

The messengers had scarcely gone, when the council was informed of the approach of General Cope and the troops under his command to Dundee, about forty-four miles from the city. On receiving this information, a messenger was dispatched after the four deputies to bring them back, and preparations were in the meantime taken for defending the city. Those deputies, whom the messenger had not overtaken, returned about ten o'clock with the following answer:

"His royal highness the Prince Regent thinks his manifesto, and the king his father's declaration, already published, a sufficient capitulation for all his majesty's subjects to accept of with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the king his father, and to be obeyed as such while there. His royal highness supposes that since the receipt of his letter to the provost, no arms nor ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform. At Gray's Mill, 16th September, 1745, by his Highness's command.

(Signed) "J. Murray."

After long deliberation, another deputation was dispatched at two o'clock in the morning in a hackney coach, for Gray's Mills, to require a further suspension of hostilities till nine o'clock the next morning, and to request an explanation of what was meant by receiving Charles as Prince Regent. When they arrived, they prevailed upon Lord George Murray to second their application for a further delay. This Charles positively refused, and they, without having been admitted to his presence, were commanded in his name to begone. The deputies returned early in the morning, in the same coach in which they were carried out, and entering the city by the West-port, were set down at Mrs. Clark's tavern, where the lord provost and others of the council were waiting to receive their report, after which the coach proceeded towards the Canongate, where such vehicles used by the citizens

were at this time kept. In the meantime, a select detachment of about nine hundred men, under Lochiel and other chiefs, had reached under cloud of night the south-eastern extremity of the city; a party of twenty-four of these men was posted on each side of the Netherbow-port, the others being stationed at a greater distance. While the party at the gate were despairing of success, their attention was attracted by the rattling of a coach coming down the High street towards the Netherbow-port, which turned out to be the hackney coach that had been hired by the deputies, returning to the Canongate. When the coach arrived at the above port, it was stopped by the city guard, and an order from the provost demanded before the gate should be opened; but James Gillespie, an under-keeper of the port, said he had an order to let out that coach: this being agreed to, the gate was no sooner opened to let it out, than the party at the gate, headed by Captain Evan Macgregor, rushing in, made themselves masters of the gate, and disarmed the guards; the whole of the detachment immediately followed with drawn swords and targets, setting up one of those hideous and terrific yells with which they salute an enemy while rushing to an attack; but as they met with no opposition, they seized upon other gates of the city; took possession of the guard house, an ancient building in the centre of the High street; seized on the artillery, arms, and ammunition belonging to the city; and then the main body drew peaceably up in the Parliament square; and the inhabitants, in the morning, as if awakening from a dream, found the Highlanders in possession of their city. General Guest, governor of the castle, was no sooner apprised of the proceedings of the rebels, than he displayed the royal standard, and fired several cannons, as a warning to the citizens not to approach the Castle hill. Charles having quickly learned the issue of the stratagem, moved about eight o'clock from Slateford with the rest of his army, making a circuit to avoid the range of the castle guns; and entering the King's Park by Duddingston, was sheltered in the valley behind Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags. On Prince Charles reaching the eminence below St. Anthony's Well, he alighted from his horse for the purpose of descending on foot to the park below. On dismounting, he was surrounded by many persons, who knelt down and kissed his hand, to whom he returned suitable acknowledgments for these marks of attachment. The park was crowded with people, and the young Chevalier, who was tall and handsome, of a fair compexion, and in the prime of youth, with great condescension, not only indulged the crowd by stopping to be gazed at, but, being a graceful rider, he mounted his charger, a fine grey gelding, and exhibited himself on horseback, when a simultaneous huzza arose from the vast crowd which followed the Prince in triumph to the Palace of Holyrood. But at this moment the indignation of the crowd was excited by a large bullet descending upon the palace, that had been fired from the castle; it struck a part of the front wall of James the Fifth's tower, and fell into the court-yard, accompanied by a quantity of rubbish which it had knocked out of the wall.[1]

[1] Lockhart's paper, v. ii. p. 446.

The Highlanders who had entered the city in the morning, having secured the heralds, pursuivants, etc., repaired about mid day to the cross, when the Pretender was proclaimed James VIII., with all the usual formalities, amid the general acclamations of the people. The ladies at the windows of the adjoining houses testified the intensity of their feelings by the straining of their voices to the utmost pitch, and waving of white handkerchiefs. A commission of regency to his son was read, as also a proclamation in name of the Chevalier as Prince Regent, containing a general pardon for all treason committed before its publication, and ample promises to secure the people in the free exercises of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges.

At night a splendid ball was given in the palace, which was attended by all the gentlemen attached to the Stuart family. On the 18th, Charles received a great accession of strength, by the junction of Lord Nairne with one thousand men from the north; and on the same day a proclamation was published, requiring all the citizens and the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts immediately to deposit all arms and ammunition in their possession at the Palace of Holyrood, declaring that such as should not comply with this order would be treated as rebels.

On the 19th, an order was sent to the magistrates, demanding, on pain of military execution, 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pairs of shoes, and a proportionate number of water cantines, to the value of upwards of £1500 sterling, should be furnished for the use of the army before the 23rd, and promising payment as soon as the present troubles were over. There being no room for hesitation or delay, the citizens ordered these articles to be immediately provided, and, to defray the expenses, laid on a tax of two shillings and sixpence sterling on the pound on the real rent of all lands and houses within the city, Canongate, and Leith. Many of the Highlanders and others, taking the advantage of a cockade in their bonnet, extorted both money and goods from the citizens and people in the country. To put a stop to such extortions, a proclamation was published in the Pretender's name, prohibiting the soldiers from pillaging, or disturbing any of the citizens, by forcibly taking away any of their goods, under the pain of being tried by a court martial and punished for the offence.

General Cope having arrived at Dunbar the same day the Chevalier entered the capital, landed his troops the following day, and immediately marched to its relief, with an army of three thousand infantry and dragoons, well supported with artillery. The disembarkation of the royal army, and the advance of Cope towards the city, was known to the Prince in course of Thursday, the 19th, who, judging it of importance that no time should be lost in meeting Cope and bringing him to action, left the palace on the evening of that day, and proceeded to his camp at Duddingston. With regard to the arms of Charles's followers, Mr. Home, an eye-witness, says that they had no cannon or artillery of any sort, but one small iron gun lying upon a cart, drawn by a Highland pony; that about fourteen to fifteen hundred of them

were armed with firelocks and broad swords; that their firelocks were of all sorts and sizes, consisting of muskets, fusees, and fowling-pieces; that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, while others had swords without firelocks; that many of their swords were not Highland broad-swords, but French; that one or two companies, amounting to about a hundred men, had each of them in his hand the shaft of a pitch-fork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, resembling in some degree the Lochaber axe which the town guard soldiers carried.[1] Charles, on the 20th, marched out of his camp at Duddingston to meet General Cope, and the same day reached the high grounds above Preston. Cope, being apprised of his approach, took up a position between Seton and Preston. Both armies, after many evolutions, remained under arms all night, and by day-break the two contending parties met on the open ground betwixt Gladsmuir and Preston, when the Highlanders rushed with resistless impetuosity to the attack. The king's troops, who had scarcely time to form, were panic-struck, and in less than ten minutes the route was general. So feeble was their resistance, that comparatively few fell in the conflict, but the carnage in the pursuit was dreadful. Nearly four hundred is said to have been slain, seven hundred made prisoners, while only about one hundred and seventy saved themselves by a timely flight. The dragoons were much more fortunate, they got clear through the village with very little slaughter, after which, as the Highlanders had no horses to pursue them, they were quite safe. The field of battle presented an appalling spectacle, as almost all the slain were cut down by the broad-swords and scythes, the ground was strewed with legs, arms, hands, and mutilated bodies, while, from the deep gashes inflicted by their dreadful weapons, the field was literally soaked with gore. Their military chest, containing £4000 sterling, colours, camp-equipage, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, and their supply of arms was more than for a considerable time they could raise men to employ. The loss on the part of the Highlanders was trifling, four officers and between thirty to forty privates were killed, and six officers;[2] and between seventy and eighty privates wounded.

The unfortunate General Cope, although personally unscathed, had no alternative but to gallop off with his men. He reached Coldstream, a town about forty miles from the field of battle, that night, and entered Berwick next day. Charles, after doing every thing in his power for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and giving directions for the disposal of the prisoners, partook of a slight repast on the field of battle, and thereafter proceeded to Pinkie House, a seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, where he passed the night. The main body of Charles's army did not return to the city till the day after the battle, (Sunday,) when they marched in a long extended line through the Netherbow-port, an hundred bagpipes playing at once the exulting air, "The king shall enjoy his own again." Besides their own standards, they bore those

[1] Home's Hist. of the Rebellion, pp. 74, 75.

[2] One of these was Macgregor of Glengyle, son of the famous Rob Roy.

that had been taken from the royal army, and they displayed with great ostentation the accession of dress and personal ornaments they had taken from the vanquished. The prisoners followed in the rear, and then came the baggage and cannon under a strong guard. On the evening of the day after the battle, the Prince himself returned triumphantly to the Palace of Holyrood, when he was hailed with long and loud acclamations by the very same people who a few days before affected to dread his approach as a great calamity. Charles bore his good fortune with moderation, and his followers observed a decorum which could hardly have been expected from a victorious army, composed chiefly of mountaineers.

The Prince forbade all rejoicings on account of the victory, and invited the ministers of the city to continue their public services as usual; however, they all fled but Mr. Hay, morning lecturer in the Tron church. Messrs. Macvicar and Pitcairn, the two ministers of the neighbouring parish of St. Cuthbert, continued to preach as usual, and many of the inhabitants of the city went to hear them. Notwithstanding the presence of the Highland army, they continued as usual to pray for King George.[1] Mr. Macvicar, being solicited by some of the Highlanders to pray for the Prince, promised to comply with their request, and performed his promise in these words: "As for this young man that has come amongst us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee, O Lord! to take him to thyself, and give him a crown of glory."[2] Charles is said to have laughed heartily on being informed of Mr. Macvicar's concern for his spiritual welfare.

Seated in the place of his ancestors, Charles, as Prince Regent, continued to discharge the functions of royalty, by exercising every act of sovereignty; he took great delight in visiting his army, who, having been supplied with tents, lay encamped at Duddingston; he often dined and slept in his tent, and returned to his palace in the morning to transact business. The usual routine of his few fleeting hours of royalty commenced in the morning by a levee; then followed his council; to it succeeded a public dinner with his officers; he then rode out, accompanied by his guards, and when he did not remain in the camp, returned to Holyrood Palace, and held a drawing-room. He afterwards supped in public, and concluded the evening with music and a ball.

From the time of the Highlanders taking possession of Edinburgh, they had received no annoyance from the troops garrisoned in the castle. Although they kept a guard at the Weigh-house,[3] and other avenues to the fortress, yet provisions of every description were allowed to pass; but on 28th September, the garrison becoming alarmed from some noise heard on the rock, a number of cannon and small arms were discharged at the guard, which the rebels had placed at the West-port, but with little effect.

[1] Scots Magazine for 1745. [2] Hist. of the Rebellion by James Ray, p. 45.

[3] A very ancient building that stood in the middle of the principal street at the top of the West Bow, which was removed in 1822, to make way for George the Fourth's procession to the castle.

On the 29th, the rebels took possession of all the avenues leading to the castle; and in two days thereafter they began to dig a trench across the street, a little below the Reservoir, but the garrison firing at them with small arms, killed three of their number, and wounded their commanding officer, upon which their operations were discontinued; they, however, the same day blocked up all avenues leading to the castle, and allowed neither provisions nor persons to pass. This was so highly resented by General Guest, the governor, that in the evening he wrote to the provost, intimating that if the communication with the castle was not quickly opened, he would, by artillery, be obliged to dislodge the rebels from their possession of the Weigh-house, and bombard the city. A deputation of the citizens waited upon the Prince, who informed him of the danger with which the city was threatened, and showed him General Guest's letter. He immediately gave them an answer in writing, that they might show it to the governor, expressing his concern at the barbarity of an order for bringing distress on the citizens on account of what it was not in their power to prevent, and promised to give the city complete indemnification. In this emergency, they applied to General Guest, to grant them a respite from hostilities till they should endeavour by some means to renew their intercourse with the castle. After some altercation he agreed, in the meantime, to suspend hostilities, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known upon the subject, on condition that the Highland army should offer no annoyance to the garrison. This condition was, however, infringed by the Highlanders, who, on the following day, discharged some musket-shots, with the intention, it is supposed, of frightening some persons who were carrying provisions up to the castle. General Guest, considering that he was no longer restrained from executing his threat, immediately opened a fire upon the guard stationed at the Weigh-house, by which some houses were damaged, and two persons wounded. Charles, being greatly enraged at these reprisals, next day issued a proclamation, prohibiting all communication with the castle, upon pain of death. The garrison retaliated, by firing at all the Highlanders they could see; and on the 4th of October, at noon, General Guest gave warning to the citizens to remove from the north side of James' square, to avoid the danger of chance shot. Accordingly, on the same day, at two o'clock, a cannonade was opened from the half-moon battery near the castle, which was kept up till the evening; and on the following night, a party sallied from the fortress, and burnt a foundry and some houses on the east side of the Castle-hill, which had afforded shelter to the rebels. They then dug a trench fifteen feet broad, and sixteen feet deep across the Castle-hill, about half way between the gate and the houses built thereon, and along the parapet made by the earth taken from the trench, on the side next to the castle, they posted two hundred men, who discharged some cartridge-shot down the street, which killed some and wounded others of the inhabitants. The bombardment was resumed next day with more disastrous effect. No person could appear with safety on the

High street, as the shots from the Castle-hill penetrated as far down as the head of the old Fish-market close, and shattered several houses. This scene of fire and destruction, which lasted two days, namely, the fourth and fifth of October, so dreadfully alarmed the citizens, that the most exposed to danger, instead of removing their goods, employed themselves in carrying off their infirm sick and aged friends, while others at a distance and less exposed retired into the country with their most valuable effects. The inhabitants of Leith were also thrown into a state of great consternation, by a British ship-of-war lying off in the roads, whose intercourse with the shore had been cut off by the Highlanders firing into the streets with the same fatal effect as the guns of the castle had upon the streets of the city. The blockade of the castle, which had occasioned all this distress upon the city, was found to be unfavourable to Charles's cause, and he was obliged, for the sake of his reputation, to take it off, upon which the cannonade immediately ceased, and provisions were thereafter conveyed to the castle without molestation. Although the Prince had been joined during his residence in the city with a considerable number of troops from the north, he found few adherents in Edinburgh, or in any part of the country south of the Forth. It is said that only 300 citizens, and those not the most respectable, did him the honour of assuming the white cockade.

After a residence of six weeks in the city, Prince Charles finally left the palace and the capital of his paternal kingdom on his march to England. The first day he rode to Pinkie House, accompanied by the life guards, where he slept that night; next day he was followed by the last division of his army, now amounting to 6000 in gross numbers, 500 of whom were cavalry, and 3000 Highlanders; this army was composed of a considerable number of small regiments or clans, each commanded by their chief, and generally officered by his kinsmen, according to their propinquity; these were accompanied by six field-pieces, taken at the battle of Gladsmuir (the common designation of the late battle), and a few pieces of larger caliber brought from France, making in all thirteen pieces of cannon.[1]

The clergy, who had left the city as before stated while the Highlanders had possession of it, now when they had left it, returned; and on the 3rd of November, public worship was resumed in a number of the churches, and in the whole of them on the following Sunday. The officers of state, who had also left the city and retired to Berwick, as soon as the rebels had left the country, and there seemed no chance of their immediate return, entered the city on the 12th of November, walking in procession, with an air of triumph, accompanied by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, high sheriffs of the counties of Berwick and East Lothian, Alexander Lind, sheriff-depute of Edinburgh, and a great number of gentlemen of these and the neighbouring counties. They were met at the cross by a great many persons of distinction, who conducted them to the Parliament square, where

[1] Home's Hist. of the Rebellion, pp. 99, 100.

they alighted, and were addressed by the lord justice clerk, and saluted by a round from the great guns of the castle, the ringing of bells, and the acclamations of the citizens.

On account of the presence of the rebels in the city, no election of magistrates had taken place at Michaelmas, 1745, on which day only, according to the sett or constitution of the burgh, the election could legally take place. The city, therefore, remained without any civil government, till upon application from a committee of burgesses to the king, an order in council was issued for a poll election, at which all the burgesses were permitted to give in lists of those they desired should fill the different offices to the town clerk, who was appointed to conduct the business under the superintendence of three judges of the court of session. Polling commenced on the 24th, and was concluded on the 26th November, 1746, when a true Whig magistracy was returned, with Captain George Drummond, as lord provost; who, being approved of by the Duke of Argyle and his Majesty, entered upon the discharge of his civic functions on 3rd January, 1747. During the interval of fifteen months, the affairs of the burgh were administered by the moderator of the high contables. The new council, on their entrance into office, in gratitude for the signal services done to the country by the duke of Cumberland, presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box, with a suitable inscription.

When the news of the Highlanders having crossed the Esk, on their retreat from England, reached the capital, the citizens, apprehensive of another visit from them, were thrown into a state of great consternation, and the civil and military authorities were extremely perplexed how to act. After due consideration, they resolved to defend the city, and issued orders for all the inhabitants to lay in a stock of provisions; that there should be instantly provided cannon on travelling carriages, harness for horses, cartridges for cannon, etc.; that proper works should be thrown up before all the ports and the several closes; and that all the ports that could be spared should be immediately built up. These fears seemed to be confirmed by the return to the city of the regular troops from the west on the 23rd of December, and by the arrival of the Glasgow Regiment the next day. The money in the banks, and the most valuable effects of the inhabitants, were removed to the castle, and many orders were given and strenuous measures taken for defending the city in the event of a second visit from the Highlanders. However, the fatal battle of Culloden, which was fought on the 16th of April, 1746, sunk for ever the hopes of the Stuart family, and relieved the city from all dread of a second visit of the rebels. The young Chevalier, after a series of surprising escapes, reached the continent in safety; but many of his friends and supporters paid the forfeit of their attachment to his fortunes on the scaffold. Fourteen standards belonging to the rebels, taken at the battle of Culloden, were brought to the capital, and burned at the cross by the Duke of Cumberland's orders. The Pretender's standard was carried by the common hangman; the others by chimney-sweepers, from the castle to the cross; and the heralds in burlesque pomp proclaimed the names and titles of

the commanders to whom they had belonged, as they were thrown into the fire.

Among the many singular trials consequent upon the rebellion, was that of Archibald Stewart, Esq., lord provost of Edinburgh, for "neglect of duty, misbehaviour in public office, and violation of the trust and duty of his office." Mr. Stewart went to London in November, 1745, to attend his duty in Parliament, when he was taken into custody, and after being examined before the privy council, was committed to the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the 23rd January, 1746, when he was admitted to bail upon a recognizance to the extent of £15,000, sterling, to appear before the court of justiciary at Edinburgh in March. After various adjournments, he was brought to trial on 6th of August, when the court "found it relevant to infer the pains of law, and that the panel at the time and place libelled, being then lord provost of Edinburgh, neglected to pursue, or wilfully opposed or obstructed, when proposed by others, such measures as were proper or necessary for the defence of the city against the rebels in the instances libelled, or so much of them as do amount to wilful neglect." But owing to some informality, the diet was deserted *pro loco et tempore*, and he was brought to the bar upon a new indictment on 26th October, and next day the trial proceeded; fifty witnesses were examined for the prosecution, and fourteen in exculpation. After sitting two days, the court was, at the earnest request of the jury, adjourned till the day following, the jury being taken bound under the penalty of £500 each. When the court had continued sitting two days longer, and the jury one day enclosed, they, on 2nd November, returned their verdict, unanimously finding the provost *not guilty*.[1]

This trial excited considerable interest in the city, and Mr. Stewart's friends had resolved to celebrate the vindication of his character by a festive meeting; but provost Drummond, after a consultation with the Lord Justice Clerk, through the medium of the newspapers, forbade such a meeting, and in consequence it never was held.

A poem was about the same time published by Robert Drummond, a Jacobite printer, in which the cruelties of the royal party, from the day of Culloden to the day of Mr. Stewart's trial, were satirically exaggerated, in which a number of conspicuous characters connected with the city and trial were treated rather unceremoniously. For this he was apprehended and brought before the bailies, who sentenced him to be imprisoned from the 16th to the 25th of November, and then, between the hours of twelve and one, to be carried to the cross, there to stand bare-headed, with the following libel on his breast: "For printing and publishing a false, scandalous, and defamatory libel," till all the copies of the poem should be burnt by the hand of the hangman; then to be kept in prison till he should find security for banishing himself the

[1] This trial occupied nearly five days and four nights; and the jury, in consequence of their long sederunt, were exempted from being summoned upon any assize for the space of five years.

city for twelve months, and be deprived of his privileges as a freeman for the same period. Against this sentence Drummond appealed to the justiciary; but that court refused to interfere, and the sentence was inflicted in its utmost rigour.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A.D. 1760, TO A.D. 1822.

1760, Heritable Jurisdictions abolished—Press-gang—Riots in the city—George III. proclaimed—Riots in the Theatre—1763, Peculiarities relative to the prevailing manners and fashions of the citizens—1763-5, Tumults in city—1778, Paul Jones threatens to destroy the shipping of Leith, etc.—Measures adopted for defending Leith—The city improvements attract general attention—Mutiny at Leith of a Highland regiment—They take possession of Arthur's Seat—Matters compromised—The citizens support the American war—1779, Recruits revolt at Leith—Desperate affray in consequence—Riots in the city—1783, Change in the peculiarities of the prevailing manners and fashions of the citizens since 1763—1784, A woman placed on the pillory for selling butter deficient in weight—Riots in the city—Last execution in the Grass Market—1792, 'The British Constitution'—1806, Begbie's murder—1812, Riots on New Year's day morning—1815, City regiments disbanded—1818, The regalia discovered—1819, Johnston's execution—1822, His Majesty's visit to Edinburgh.

PREVIOUS to the rebellion in 1745, not only the nobility, but the chieftains and proprietors of ancient estates, possessed a jurisdiction over their vassals, and all within their territories, in causes both civil and criminal. These estates were called *baronies;* and in those of considerable note, the royal charter erecting and vesting them, generally extended the criminal jurisdiction to power over life. By the feudal law, the vassals were obliged to follow their lords into the field. These, for the most part, were of the same name and blood. Thus a fabric was reared of the most solid and dangerous aristocracy. Cromwell, perceiving the incompatibility of this system with a regular government, abolished it. These *heritable jurisdictions* were, however, replaced at the Restoration, but abolished[1] on the suppression of the late rebellion, and the vassals, instead of resorting to the courts of their chiefs, are now obliged to sue for justice before the inferior judges appointed by the king; and the lords of justiciary hold circuit courts through the different quarters of the kingdom, for taking cognizance of the higher trespasses. Other statutes were passed against the vanquished Highlanders, relative to

[1] Stat. Geo. I., an. 1, cap. 54. Geo. II., an. 19, cap. 39.

arms, dress, and religion, which were most rigorously put into execution.

Before the Union, no such thing as forcibly haling a man from his family and friends, without a crime alleged, and sending him to serve abroad, or in the standing army, was ever heard of; but about this period, men were torn from their homes, and dragged to the most painful exile or slavery. In 1756, a church was surrounded in the vicinity of Edinburgh during divine service, and several men carried off; a riot in consequence took place in the city, but it was speedily checked by the appearance of the military. Throughout the country a number of equally gross outrages were committed; and the only favour allowed to pressed men, in many instances, being that of choosing betwixt land or sea service.

George II. having died on Saturday, the 25th October, 1760, his grandson, George III., was next day proclaimed in London, and on the Wednesday following at Edinburgh, where, as if indicating the changes destined to mark the era now commencing, proclamation was read, not as heretofore from the venerable cross which had been as before stated removed, but from the balcony in front of the royal exchange, which was erected in 1753. A royal proclamation against vice and immorality was read from all the pulpits next Sabbath, and a deputation from the commission composed of five of the Edinburgh ministers, hastened to congratulate the young monarch.

Previous to 1760, the servants of ladies and gentlemen attending the theatre had a gallery allotted for their accommodation, to which they were admitted gratis, that they might neither be kept in the cold, nor induced to tipple in adjacent ale houses. On Garrick's *'High Life below Stairs'* being performed, the footmen took it in high dudgeon that a farce reflecting on their fraternity should be exhibited, and they resolved that it should not be again performed without interruption. On the second night of the performance, the piece was no sooner begun than a prodigious noise was heard from the footmen's gallery. They were ordered to be silent, but ineffectually. Many of the gentlemen, on discovering among the noisy tumult their own servants, went up to the gallery, and, with the assistance of others, after a battle, overpowered the servants, and thrust them out of the house with disgrace. The consequence was, that their privilege from that time was withdrawn.

In 1763, neither the occupation of haberdasher nor perfumer was known in the city. Hairdressers were few, but barbers and wigmakers numerous. Umbrellas were neither used nor known in the city till about the year 1780, when an eminent surgeon, who had occasion to walk about much in the course of his practice got one from London, and sported it on the streets, to the no small surprise and astonishment of the citizens; they became in a few years thereafter in general use among the higher classes. A stranger coming to the city in 1763, was obliged to put up at a dirty uncomfortable inn, or to reside in private lodgings; there was no such a place as a *Hotel*, even the word *Hotel* was only intelligible to French scholars. The wages to maid-servants

were generally from £3, 3s. to £4, 4s. a year; they dressed decently in blue or red cloaks or plaids suitable to their situation. The revenue arising from distilleries in Scotland, then amounted to only £4739, 18s. 10d. People of fashion dined about two o'clock, and attended business in the afternoon. It was common to lock the shops at one o'clock, and to open them after dinner at two. The fashion then was for gentlemen to attend the ladies' drawing-rooms in the afternoons, drink tea, and mix in their society and conversation. It was also then fashionable to go to church, and observe Sunday strictly as a day of devotion; and it was looked upon as disgraceful to be seen on the streets during the time of public worship. A breach of the seventh commandment was punished by fine and Church censure; and conjugal infidelity in a woman banished her from society, and her company was rejected even by the men. The fines collected by the Church treasures for bastard children in the above year amounted only to £154; and upon an average of ten succeeding years, they were £199. If at that period a young man had been led astray by bad company, he was ashamed of it, and most carefully concealed it. A young man could not have been seen in the theatre with bad women without being reckoned a *blackguard*, and exposed to contempt and ridicule. There were six or seven houses of bad fame in the city, and a very few only of the lowest and most ignorant order of females skulked about at night. A person might have walked from the Castle-hill to the Abbey, without being accosted by a single prostitute.

In 1763 and 1765, the tumults on account of the price of provisions were renewed, many of the mealmongers had their houses broken open, and their shops destroyed. The magistrates were obliged to have recourse to the military to quell these disturbances; but at the same time, to put an effectual stop as far as was in their power to these proceedings for the future, they gave security that people who brought grain or provisions into the market, should be secured in their property.

The daring pirate, Paul Jones, was a man of middle stature, stern countenance, and swarthy complexion; he was a native of Scotland, but entered the service of the Congress during the American war. He so distinguished himself that he obtained the command of a privateer of eighteen guns, manned with one hundred and forty men. In the month of April, 1778, he landed at Whitehaven, and, actuated by a strong spirit of revenge for some previous injuries he alleged to have received, he set fire to one of the ships in the harbour, and intended to consume them all, to lay the town in ashes, to seize Lord Selkirk, in whose family he had once been a servant, and carry him off. Missing his lordship, he took his plate, and, after committing other depredations, sailed for France. Returning the following year to Scotland with three ships of war, he was descried from Edinburgh sailing up the Forth, with the intention, as he afterwards acknowledged to a gentleman in Amsterdam, of carrying off what vessels he could from the harbour, burning the remainder, and committing the city to flames.

His appearance excited the utmost consternation in the capital and in Leith, both being entirely defenceless. Some hasty measures for resistance were, however, adopted. All the sacks of wool that could be mustered were put in requisition to serve as barricades. Three batteries were erected in one day, one where the fort now stands, and two at the citadel; on these were mounted thirty guns, besides howitzers and carronades. All the military and seamen that could be mustered were called to arms, and guards placed at different stations, and every possible measure of defence was speedily adopted; but all these preparations were rendered unnecessary by a sudden storm blowing from the south-west, which increased into a hurricane, and drove the pirate and his squadron into the German Ocean.

There is a memorable fact related, that when Jones and his ships were lying off Kirkaldy, the terrified inhabitants assembled on the Links; and while they remained there, trembling and waiting the issue, the Rev. Mr. Sherriff, a dissenting minister of that place, proposed that as there seemed no prospect of assistance from man, they should join in prayer to God. The proposal was agreed to, and the reverend gentleman offered up a solemn and ardent prayer that the Lord might raise a tempest to drive that wicked man from their coast. Whatever effect some men may be disposed to ascribe or refuse to the supplications of that venerable man, the fact is certain, that during the time he was so engaged, the gale arose that freed them from their anxiety.

About the year 1778, the spirit of the citizens of Edinburgh displayed itself in the extension of the city, and in carrying on works of public utility and domestic convenience. The improvement of the city became the object of general attention, and of Parliamentary encouragement; plans were delineated, national subscriptions opened, and the authority of Parliament was interposed to promote and excite the laudable spirit of improvement, which displayed itself to the honour of citizens, and the inhabitants of Scotland generally.

During the American war, when recourse was had to the Highlands for soldiers, the conduct of the privates evinced that clanship, if not entirely broken, was greatly weakened, for they had learned like their Lowland neighbours to bargain for their services. But these bargains were, in many cases, either by the government or the agents employed, so shamefully infringed, as to excite mutiny on several occasions. The Earl of Seaforth's Highland regiment quartered in the castle, being required to embark in September, 1778, at Leith for India, refused to move unless their arrears and the bounty they had been promised were paid, and an arrangement made as to the period of their service. One morning, when drilling at Leith Links, a clamour arose among them as to their arrears, when, in an instant, the whole battalion, upwards of five hundred, shouldered their arms, set off at a quick march, with pipes playing, and plaids fixed on poles for colours, and took possession of and fixed their camp on the summit of Arthur's Seat. There they remained from Tuesday till Friday, plentifully supplied with provisions by the inhabitants of Edinburgh,

and visited by persons of all ranks. The first regiment of dragoons, two hundred of the Duke of Buccleugh's fencibles, four hundred Glasgow volunteers, and some troops of the line, were brought to Edinburgh; notwithstanding there was every appearance they would rather risk an engagement than embark. Both threats and promises were used, but without effect: the former they disregarded, because in their situation they could not be attacked by cavalry, and foot soldiers dared not approach them; and the latter they paid no regard to, knowing how former promises had been broken. At length, through the good offices of Lords Dunmore and Macdonald, and upon receiving a written assurance signed by the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughton, K. B., commander-in-chief, and General Skene, that all past offences should be pardoned, their demands satisfied, and that they should not be sold to the East India Co., they left the hill, and on the Tuesday following marched with the Earl of Seaforth at their head to Leith, where they quietly went on board the transports. While the government of Lord North in his mad endeavour to subdue the Americans to obedience was opposed by the great majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain, the magistrates of Edinburgh and their supporters voluntarily came forward in January, 1778, in support of his administration, and in the short period of four months raised a regiment of a thousand men, to be employed in the American war; but it does not appear that the conduct of the constituted authorities met the unanimous approbation of the citizens.

Another revolt took place at Leith in April, 1779, which was attended with more serious consequences. A party of about fifty Highland recruits, who did not understand a word of English, and who had enlisted into the 42nd and 71st corps, of which their native garb was the uniform, and Gaelic the language, being ordered to be amalgamated with two Lowland regiments wearing breeches, and ignorant of Erse, the poor fellows refused to obey, and most determinedly resisted. A troop of fencibles from the castle was sent to enforce obedience, or make the mutineers prisoners when a desperate affray ensued; but being ultimately obliged to submit, they were marched as prisoners to the castle. About twelve of the mutineers, and a captain and two privates of the fensibles were killed. A number were wounded on both sides; three of the mutineers were afterwards tried and sentenced to be shot; but upon the facts being laid before his Majesty, they were pardoned, and afterwards served with credit in their own regiment.

On an attempt being made to repeal the laws against Papists, a mob collected in Edinburgh, in the beginning of February, 1779; and in spite of the magistrates, the town guard, and a party of fencibles, attacked a new building in Leith-wynd, where the Romish bishops resided, and which was supposed to be also used as a chapel by the Roman Catholics, set fire to the building, and reduced *the land* to ashes. Next day, several other houses where Popish clergymen resided, were destroyed, and the shops and dwelling houses of a few private individuals attached to that persua-

sion were plundered; they attacked and damaged a Catholic chapel in Blackfriars' wynd; the furniture, ornaments, books and utensils employed in the Roman Catholic service they brought out into the streets, and threw them one by one into a large fire prepared for the purpose, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the surrounding multitude. The fury of the mob was not only directed against Papists, but also against those Protestant gentlemen who were known to favour their cause; even the house of the Rev. Dr. Robertson, principal of the college, had for a short time to be protected by a military guard. These disorders continued for several days, but the mob was dispersed by a troop of dragoons and a party of fencibles, and no further damage done. Fortunately no lives were lost, and the damage suffered by the Roman Catholics was decided by arbitration, and the city was afterwards assessed in the sum of £1500 to pay them.

John Neale[1] was the first haberdasher in Edinburgh; he assumed the designation in 1774, which includes the mercer, the milliner, the linen-draper, the hatter, the hosier, the glover, and many others, and by 1783, that designation was very common in the city. In that year perfumers had splendid shops in every principal street; some of them advertised the keeping of bears, which they professed to kill for perfumery purposes, as superior to any other animal's fat. Hair-dressers had tripled their number since 1763, and their throngest day was Sunday. One of these, who styled himself a professor, advertised a hair-dressing academy, and lectures on that *noble and useful art*. In 1783, a stranger could have been accommodated in the city, not only comfortably but most elegantly, at many hotels. It may be mentioned, however, that the guinea did not go quite so far as it did in 1763. Maid-servants' wages were, in 1783, nearly the same as they were in 1763, but their dress and appearance were greatly altered, they being almost as fine as their mistresses were in that year. They then wore silk cloaks and caps, ribbons, frills, flounced petticoats, false hair, cork rumps, etc. The revenue arising, in 1783, from distilleries amounted to £93,701, 12s. 1½d.[2] People of fashion and of middle rank then dined at four and five o'clock; no business was done after dinner, that having of itself become a very serious business. The drawing-rooms were in that year totally deserted; and the only opportunity gentlemen had of being in the company of ladies was when they happened to dine or sup with them, and even then an impatience was often shown till the ladies retired. Attendance in church was then much neglected; Sunday was

[1] Mr. Neale was the first who fued a piece of ground in the New Town for building a house on. The house immediately west from the Register House is built on it. In 1774 he tried, without success, to establish a business in his new shop; but it was not till the year 1790 that the few shops then opened in Princes street did a profitable business. In consideration of Mr. Neale being the first feuer in the New Town, the magistrates decreed that the buildings on his feu should for ever be free of burgal taxes, and till this day the tenant or proprietor pays no cess or impost.

[2] The parish of Fairntosh paid no duty at this period, having a grant from the crown to distil free of excise duty, and there was more spirits distilled in this parish than in all Scotland.

made a day of relaxation; the streets were often crowded in time of public worship; and the evenings were frequently loosely and riotously spent. Separations, divorces, recriminations, and separate maintenances, became frequent; and the known adultresses were then, by some people of fashion, again received into company. The fines collected by the church treasurer for bastard children, in 1783, amounted to £600; and it may be remarked that the repenting-stool and church-censure had been for several previous years disused. Young men were not ashamed to be seen at the theatre with women of the town, and afterwards go to the boxes with young ladies of character and women of fashion without being checked either by the mother or the daughter. The number of houses of bad fame had then increased to several hundreds; and the women of the town had also greatly increased. Every quarter of the city and suburbs was infested with multitudes of females abandoned to vice. Some mothers lived by the prostitution of their daughters. Gentlemen's and citizens' daughters were upon the town, who, by their dress and bold deportment in the face of day, seemed not to think it any reproach. The punishments in use, at and previous to this period, short of death, were whipping, pillory, and banishment. Those who filled the office of the magistracy in decayed burghs, were often so ignorant of law, and void of common sense, that they sometimes passed over heinous crimes, and punished lesser offences with great rigour; but better discrimination would have been expected from a bailie of the city of Edinburgh. However, in the month of September, 1785, one of the bailies of the city, without either jury or consulting the city's assessors, sentenced a woman whom he had convicted of selling butter short of weight, to stand on the pillory, with a libel on her forehead denoting her offence, on a market day, at nine o'clock in the morning, an hour when the streets were crowded with workmen going to breakfast; the consequence was that the rabble, in their rage at being cheated out of an ounce of butter, attacked the unhappy women with such fury by throwing rotten eggs and other missiles, that had she not been immediately taken from the pillory, she would most unquestionably have been killed. The same year, the people conceiving that the distilleries enhanced the price of meal by using unmalted grain, attacked Canonmills distillery. The servants of the distillery repelled the attack, and fired upon and killed one of the mob; but they were not dispersed till the sheriff made his apperance at the head of a party of soldiers from the castle, and seized several of the rioters, who were afterwards punished.

The last execution which took place in the Grassmarket was on the 4th February, same year, when James Andrew was executed for robbery.

When the agitations consequent on the Revolution in France commenced in 1792, Edinburgh manifested a warm admiration of the principles of liberty, which at first characterised the proceedings of the French reformers. Associations were about 1794 formed in Edinburgh, and in most of the towns throughout Scotland, for supporting the cause of political freedom, whose members

received the appellation of *The Friends of the People.* These political societies sent delegates to Edinburgh, who formed a convention styled *The British Constitution*, the avowed object of which was merely a reform in Parliamentary representation. But the government from the first looked upon the movement with jealousy and suspicion, and ultimately used every means to check their proceedings and prevent such combinations. Several of the members were arrested and brought to trial at Edinburgh, on the accusation of being engaged in treasonable practices. Watt and Downie were condemned for treason; and Gerald, Margarot, Muir of Hunter's Hill, and others, for sedition. Watt, who had been a government spy, was condemned, hanged, and beheaded; some were transported to Port Jackson, and others set at liberty. The manner in which these trials were conducted would not be tolerated in the present day, and it is to be hoped will never again be witnessed in this country.

William Begbie, porter to the British Linen Co.'s bank, which was in 1806, situated in Tweedale's court, foot of the High street, was, on the 13th November, while going through the close or entry in open day, from the street to the office, within a few paces of a sentinel, and in the neighbourhood of a crowded street, murdered by the single blow of a knife, and robbed of a bag containing £5000 in bank notes, which he was bringing from an agency at Leith. This murder created a considerable sensation in Edinburgh; but it was many years before any trace of it was discovered, notwithstanding that every exertion was made to effect a discovery. Part of the money, being in large notes which the robber had been afraid to pass, was afterwards found in a hole of a wall at the foot of Broughton street.

Previous to the year 1812, street murder was a crime almost unknown in Edinburgh, one or two cases excepted. On the last night of 1811 and morning of 1812, a numerous band of desperadoes, united by previous conspiracy and armed with bludgeons, the most of them mere youths, made their appearance in the streets of the city about twelve o'clock, when they were crowded with unsuspicious passengers, on visits to their friends as was usual on a New Year's day morning, and proceeded immediately to knock down and rob every person whose appearance promised to yield them the least chance of booty; and so numerous were they, that the regular police were insufficient to check them. They kept possession of the streets, chiefly the High street and North Bridge street, till three o'clock in the morning. In the scuffle, one police officer was killed; a considerable number of the citizens received slight injuries and were robbed; and many of them were so dangerously hurt that they shortly afterwards died of their wounds. Several of the rioters were seized on the spot, and by the activity of the police, the principal ringleaders were soon traced out and taken into custody. Four were tried and convicted; three of these who had been concerned in the above murder, were, on the 22nd April, executed on a temporary gibbet, erected in the High street, on the spot where the watchman had been murdered. None of them were above eighteen years of age.

The horrible proceedings of that night excited general and permanent feelings of disapprobation against the bacchanalian custom of celebrating the transition from the old to the new year, which had for ages been a custom of the citizens.

During the interval between the breaking of the peace of Amiens, and the ratification of it in 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, a military mania prevailed among the citizens. A regiment of gentlemen volunteers was re-embodied, and three other regiments were raised, with a troop of cavalry and a regiment of artillery, making in all a force of nearly 4000 men. Their services after the peace of 1815 being no longer required, and the military mania having subsided, they were from time to time disembodied.

For a long period it was the general belief of the people of Scotland that the Scottish regalia had been secretly removed to London. In order to allay the rumours which were propagated to that effect, certain commissioners were appointed by royal warrant to make a search in the Castle of Edinburgh for these ancient relics of the Scottish monarchy, which had been lodged in that fortress on 26th March, 1707, immediately after the act of Union had passed. On a search being made in the crown room, on the 5th February, 1818, a large oaken chest was found, firmly secured with locks, which, being forced open, the regalia was discovered carefully wrapped up in some fine linen cloths, consisting of crown, sceptre, sword of state, and the lord treasurer's rod of office, all of elegant workmanship, and in perfect preservation. The crown is of pure gold, of small size, highly ornamented with twenty-two precious stones, mixed with large oriental pearls, ten crosses-fleury, with small points terminated by pearls surmount the upper circle, four imperial arches rise from it, and close at the top, on which is a globe and cross-pâtèe. The crown in diameter is nine inches; and, to the top of the cross, its height is not more than six inches. The cap, or part suited to the head, is of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine, and adorned with pearls. The cloth was changed by James VII. in 1685, from purple to crimson. The surmounting arches were added by James V., and the crown itself is understood not to be more ancient than the reign of King Robert Bruce. The sceptre is of silver, double gilt, with a stem two feet long, of an hexagonal form, divided by three buttons or knobs. It is embellished and terminated by figures of the Virgin Mary, St. Andrew, and St. John, from whose heads rise a crystal globe; under the figures are the letters J. R. V. Its whole length is thirty-four inches. This sceptre or rod of state was carried by the lord chancellor, and with it bills were touched that had passed in the Scottish Parliament, which was held as equivalent to the royal assent. The sword of state is five feet long, and of exquisite workmanship; the pommel and hilt are silver gilt, and fifteen inches in length; the traverse is seventeen and a half inches; the scabbard is formed of crimson velvet, and richly ornamented. The sword was a present from Pope Julius II. to James IV. On the blade are the letters Julius II. P. The rod of office of the lord treasurer is of silver, gilt, and of beautiful workmanship. These ancient relics are placed on a table, inclosed

within an iron rail from the roof to the floor. The cushion on which the crown lies is of crimson velvet, trimmed with gold, and the whole is seen by the assistance of four lamps fixed to the rail. The public are, under certain regulations, daily admitted to the crown room in the castle, *gratis*, to view these symbols of Scottish royalty.

In 1819, one Johnston was condemned to be executed for robbery, committed in the vicinity of the city. The platform for his execution was erected in the High street, near St. Giles' church; and when the drop fell, the rope being too long, his toes reached it. This painful sight so excited the feelings of the mob, that they stoned the magistrates and other officials off the platform, when one of the spectators sprung forward and cut him down. The mob broke his coffin to pieces, and were carrying him off, when he was retaken by the high constables and police, and carried to the police-office; and, while there, the doctor of that establishment restored him to animation by bleeding. The provost having brought from the castle a company of soldiers, Johnston was again hung up, a shocking spectacle, and executed. Although a large reward was offered for the apprehension of the person who cut him down, he never was discovered.

The city not being generally illuminated on the abandonment, in 1820, of the bill of pains and penalties against Queen Caroline, a mob collected and broke window-glass to the value of about £10,000. The mob was dispersed by the military from Peershill barracks and the castle; but the citizens were afterwards assessed to pay these damages.

The only royal personages who had been seen in Edinburgh for a long period, were the young Chevalier, Prince Charles, in 1745, and William, Duke of Cumberland, in 1746. When, therefore, his majesty's intention of visiting Scotland was officially communicated to the lord provost, on the 17th of July, 1822, the public looked forward to the announced visit with much pleasure and great anxiety; and the authorities took such measures, as the limited period would permit, to make the best possible preparations for his majesty's reception. The apartments in Holyrood palace were cleaned, repaired, and fitted up with due regard to comfort and elegance. A new approach was formed from the south side of the Calton Hill to the front of the palace; the road through the king's park was opened for the convenience of his majesty travelling to and from Dalkeith palace, the seat of the Duke of Buccleugh, where it was intended he should reside. The Weigh-house was removed to clear the passage to the castle. A road was formed from the chain pier at Trinity, as it was expected his majesty would land there; and never were so much bustle and activity witnessed in the city as during the period which intervened between the announcement of, and his majesty's coming. When it was ascertained that the landing was to take place at Leith, triumphal arches were erected at the quay, where it was presumed his majesty would land; at the same time, guns were placed and poles erected for the royal standard on Salisbury Crags and the Calton Hill, and every effort made to receive the

royal visitor with becoming pomp and splendour. In the meantime, crowds of people from all parts of the country, and equipages of every denomination, poured daily into the city, and all was bustle, anxiety, and confusion. When the order of the procession was published, the windows which commanded a view of the line of route were hired at enormous sums. On Saturday, the 10th of August, his majesty embarked on board the royal yacht at Greenwich, for Scotland; and on Wednesday following, the royal squadron anchored in Leith roads; but the day being unfavourable, it was announced that his majesty would not land till the day following. The greater part of the road to Leith was scaffolded on each side, and benches were erected along the whole length of the pier, to allow the more favoured *elite* an opportunity of witnessing the landing. On Thursday the 18th, which proved a remarkably fine day, at an early hour, the city was all bustle and preparation, and thousands of well-dressed people crowded the streets. At twelve o'clock, a gun from the royal yacht announced that his majesty had entered the royal barge. At this time the benches along the pier, the scaffolding on each side of Leith walk, and every corner, and the windows in every street through which the procession was to pass, exhibited clusters of heads densely packed together. In a short time the royal barge entered the harbour, amidst the thunder of artillery, and the still more gratifying cheers of the immense multitude. At the landing-place, which was a platform covered with scarlet cloth, his majesty was received by the Duke of Dorset, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Cathcart and Fyfe, Sir William Elliot, Sir Thomas Bradford, the judges of the supreme courts, the magistrates of Leith, and other officials, all of whom he shook cordially by the hand. His majesty, along with the Duke of Dorset and the Marquis of Winchester, proceeded at a slow pace, in an open carriage, drawn by eight beautiful bays, amidst the cheers of thousands, attended by the company of Royal Archers, under the command of the Earl of Elgin, and a detachment of the Scots Greys. The order of the procession, which moved by Bernard street and Constitution street, along Leith walk, was as follows:

Squadron of Mid-Lothian Yeomanry.
Two Highland pipers.
Captain Campbell and Tail,
or, armed attendants of Breadalbane.
Squadron of Scots Greys.
Two Highland pipers.
Colonel Stewart of Garth, and Celtic Club.
Sir Evan Macgregor Murray, mounted, and Tail of Macgregor.
Two Equerries on horseback.
Sir Alexander Kirk, Knight Marischal, on a black horse.
Pages and grooms.
Sheriff, mounted.
Sheriff officers.
Deputy Lieutenant in the county uniform, mounted.
Two pipers.
General Graham Stirling, and Tail.
Barons of Exchequer.

Lord Clerk Register.
Lords of Justiciary and Session, in carriages.
Marquis of Lothian, Lord Lieutenant, mounted.
Two Heralds, mounted.
Glengarry, mounted, and grooms.
Young Glengarry and two supporters: Tail.
White Rod, mounted, and equerries.
Lord Lyon, Depute, mounted, and grooms.
Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable, in a lancer's uniform, mounted.
Two Heralds, mounted.
Squadron of Scots Greys.
Royal Carriage and Six.
Ten Royal Footmen, two and two.
Sixteen Yeomen of the Guards, two and two.
Archers. THE KING. Archers.
Sir Thomas Bradford and Staff.
Squadron of Scots Greys.
Three Clans of Highlanders and banners.
Two Squadrons of Mid-Lothian Yeomanry.
Grenadiers of 77th regiment.
Two Squadrons of Third Dragoon Guards.
Band and Greys.

Nearly opposite Picardy place, a barrier, representing the gates of the city, was constructed, where the lord provost, accompanied by the magistrates, presented his majesty with the silver keys of the city.

The procession then passed along York place, through St. Andrews square, to Princes street, then turning eastward, proceeded to the Regent bridge, and Waterloo place. When his majesty viewed the dense multitude assembled on the Calton Hill to welcome him, the picturesque irregularity of the old town on the one hand, and the elegance and splendour of the new town on the other, charmed with the scene, he exclaimed, "How superb!" His majesty's arrival about two o'clock at the palace of Holyrood, was announced by salutes from the castle, and from the guns placed on the Calton Hill and Salisbury Crags. After receiving the congratulations of the magistrates and other officials, his majesty set out in his private carriage for Dalkeith palace. Fireworks were exhibited in Charlotte square in the evening, while a beacon blazed on the summit of Arthur's seat; and on the night following, there was a general and splendid illumination. On the 17th, his majesty held a levee in Holyrood palace, which was very numerous and splendidly attended. On the 19th, he received the addresses of the Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland, of the four universities, and other public bodies; and on the 20th, he held a drawing room, which was graced by about five hundred ladies, the most distinguished for rank, beauty, and fashion, which Scotland could boast of. On the 22nd, he went in procession from the palace to the castle, all the streets between these places being lined with trades' bodies and other societies. The pageant would have been splendid, had not its effect been impaired by almost incessant rain. On the 23rd, his majesty reviewed about 3000 cavalry and yeomanry, on Portobello sands, and attended a splendid ball in the evening, given in honour of the royal visit, by the peers of Scotland, in George street Assembly

rooms. On the 24th, a splendid banquet was given to him by the city, in the outer Parliament House, on which occasion his majesty honoured the city by creating the lord provost a baronet. On the 25th, being Sunday, he attended divine service in the High church. Dr. Lamont, moderator of the General Assembly, officiated on the occasion. On the 26th, he attended a ball in the Assembly rooms, George street, given by the Caledonian Hunt. On the 27th, he visited the theatre, where, with his accustomed good taste, he had commanded the national play of Rob Roy to be performed, and where, both at his entrance and departure, he was hailed with long continued and enthusiastic acclamations from all parts of the house. On the 29th, his majesty, after partaking of a splendid repast at Hopeton house, embarked on board the royal yacht at Port Edgar, near Queensferry, for London, amid the cheers and cordial adieus of a vast body of his subjects, assembled from all parts of the adjacent country, where he, on the 1st of September, arrived in safety.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM A.D. 1824, TO A.D. 1849.

1824, Stock-brokers first established in the city—Great fires in the High street and Parliament square—The steeple of the Tron Church destroyed by fire—1828, William Burke executed for *burking*—1831, The Asiatic cholera in the city—1832, Celebration of the passing of the Burgh Reform Bill—1833-38, The corporation of the city become bankrupt—1834, Earl Grey's banquet—1835, Annular eclipse of the sun—1838, Celebration of Queen Victoria's coronation—1842, Her visit to the city—1848, Riots in the city—1849, The Queen and suite pass through the city.

THE business of stock or share broker was almost unknown in Edinburgh previous to the year 1824: in that year the low rate of interest induced a spirit of speculation, and joint stock companies to the number of twenty and upwards were formed in the city, consisting of Joint Stock Brewery, Distillery, Iron foundry, Glass, Dairy, Water, Banking, Insurance Companies, etc., and for some weeks almost every newspaper announced a new speculation, and held out certain success and ample returns to subscribers. No sooner were any of these projects announced than their capital, amounting to millions, were with avidity subscribed, and the shares bought and sold at large premiums; but only five or six of these were put into operation, and none of them realised the promises by which they had been originally recommended, and only three of them are now in existence.

At this time several individuals in the city realised considerable profits by stock or share broking. But since then, speculations in railways and other joint stock companies have increased

to such an enormous extent, that in 1847 the number of those carrying on the business of stock or share broking in the city amounted to nearly one hundred, some of whom at first realised large incomes, but ultimately, many of them having speculated largely on their own account, were ruined by the great fall in the price of the stock of almost every joint stock company that was got up during the mania of 1844, '45, and '46.

The extensive fires that occurred in June and November, 1824, will be long remembered in Edinburgh. The former, which took place on the evening of 24th June, destroyed the eastern angle of the Parliament square, part of the High street, and several closes. The houses situated in the High street thus destroyed were popularly denominated "the Pillars," from having an open arcade below, and there are none of a similar kind now existing in the city. But the latter, which took place on the evening of Monday the 15th of November, at a little before ten o'clock, was much more calamitous, annihilating nearly half a dozen closes, reaching from the High street to the Cowgate, and totally destroying the Parliament square, with the exception of Sir William Forbes's bank, and the buildings connected with the Parliament House or Courts of Justice. The fire was first discovered issuing from the second floor of a house at the head of the Old Assembly close, and before eleven o'clock the whole house, consisting of six floors, was in a blaze, and soon after twelve o'clock the fire raged in the whole range of buildings up to Borthwick's close. About three o'clock next morning, fire was observed in the upper floor of the building in which the Courant office was situated, which having descended with uncontrolled fury, about five o'clock the upper part of the front wall fell inwards. In the close behind these buildings leading to the Cowgate, the fire raged with equal fury, as from the nature of the confined passages no engines could get near them. Corn's close was almost wholly destroyed, and three men were killed by the fall of some of its ruins. The Old Assembly hall, in the Assembly close, and several smaller houses were laid in ruins. In Borthwick's close and the Old Fish Market close, the fire extended half way down to the Cowgate. The extent of this alarming fire, and the fearful rapidity of its progress, caused a general alarm; business in a great measure was suspended, and most of the shops in the High street were shut.

About eleven o'clock on Tuesday, flames were discovered issuing from the upper part of the steeple of the Tron church, which originated with some sparks that had been carried by the wind and lodged about the wooden balustrade. The stone part of the steeple of that church rose in the form of a square, and above the stone work the spire was formed of wood, covered with lead. The fire must have made considerable progress before being discovered, for in less than an hour all was burned that was consumable. As the heat melted the leaden covering, the woodwork gave way, and for nearly a quarter of an hour the four angular ribs were seen through ascending flames. Pinnacle after pinnacle fell, and before one o'clock a dark coloured mass that fell from the centre was ascertained to be the bell, placed there in

1673, at an expence of 1,400 merks, eight shillings, Scots, and latterly nothing of the steeple remained but the square tower. By the great exertions of the firemen and others, the body of the church was saved without any serious accident, though not without much damage.

Soon after ten o'clock, P.M., on the same day, a house in Parliament square, part of which had been recently fitted up for the accommodation of the Jury Court, was discovered to be on fire in the top floor. This house was remarkable as being the highest building in Edinburgh, consequently the height was too great for engines to be serviceable, so that the fire increased to an uncontrollable height. This house being at a considerable distance to windward, and not connected with the former fire, created a general alarm to all residing in the neighbourhood, and caused them to remove their most valuable effects, lest they should be sharers in the calamity. About five o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the whole of the east and part of the south side of the Parliament square was one continued blaze. At this period the scene was one of terrific grandeur. It being now in vain to endeavour to stop the progress of the conflagration to the eastward, every effort was used to prevent its coming in contact with the Court of Exchequer and Parliament House. At day-break next day the fire had nearly expended itself, and about half-past eight o'clock the front walls of the houses to the square fell with a tremendous crash, and for some time all around was in total darkness.[1] To describe the terrors and dangers of that dreadful night and morning is impossible. The highest functionaries and the most respectable individuals mixed with the humblest of the people in working the engines, etc. Some minor fires took place from the falling of the burning embers on the tops of the houses to the eastward, but they were soon got under. Four individuals were killed on this melancholy occasion, and twelve were carried wounded to the infirmary, while nearly 400 families were deprived of a home, but by the active exertions of the magistrates they were accommodated in Queensberry house. Liberal subscriptions, at home and abroad, and general collections were made at the church doors on the following Sunday. The proceeds of the theatre for three nights were generously allotted for the same benevolent purpose. The sums thus raised alleviated the immediate wants of the distressed sufferers. The taking down of the ruins, a work of great danger, and fraught with injury to the neighbouring property, was now the chief object of interest. At a meeting in the Council Chamber of those interested, it was agreed to intrust the undertaking to Captain Hood of the engineers, assisted by Captain Hope, R.N., and others.

William Burke was executed at Edinburgh, in 1828, for the murder of several persons, whose bodies he sold for dissection.

[1] The author, with some others, having a few moments previously gone forward to ascertain the cause of a large flame issuing from a window, made a narrow escape by taking refuge beneath a fire engine, which was surrounded by the stones that fell. He however lost his hat and cloak in the rubbish, and was much bruised by the stones about the head and body.

This most atrocious crime created a great sensation, not only in the city, but generally throughout the kingdom; and being the first instance of such a crime having been committed in the united kingdom, was called, from its diabolical originator, 'burking.'

In 1831 Asiatic Cholera made its first appearance in Edinburgh, which very much excited the citizens. Although the magistrates generally, and the citizens individually, took every precaution to prevent its spreading throughout the city, yet some thousands died of that dreadful malady.

The passing of the Burgh Reform Bill, in 1832, was celebrated at Edinburgh by a grand and general procession of the several tradesmen, etc., amounting to about 1500. On the 30th of December, hustings were erected at the cross, when the two members for the city were for the first time nominated under the Reform act, by a show of hands. The crowd on this occasion was immense.

The affairs belonging to, and conducted by public bodies, are, for the most part, ill managed, and those of Edinburgh have not had the good fortune to form an exception to that general rule. Prior to the end of the fifteenth century, the territorial property of the burgh, constituting the most valuable and productive part of the *common good*, appears to have been occupied by tenants on leases of very short duration. But about the beginning of the sixteenth century, these leases were converted into perpetual heritable grants in feu-farm. These grants were legally invalid, until James IV., in the year 1508, granted a charter to the burgh, licensing and authorising such alienations. This charter was granted avowedly for the purpose of improving the condition of the burgh, and increasing its immediate revenues; but by the improvident exercise of the powers conferred by this charter, the far greater part of the territorial property, or common land, was speedily alienated, in return for annual payments, which have gradually dwindled down to what is now little more than a nominal and illusory quit-rent. It is remarked by Maitland,[1] that fortunately for the revenues of the town, the extreme sterility of that part of the property called the Burgh loch and marsh, was such as to have saved it from the operation of feuing, until at a later period it had, at a trifling expense, been drained and converted into productive soil, after which a rent was obtained of far greater amount than the total feu-duties reserved to the community over the more extensive and valuable portions of their ancient property.

The insufficiency of the remaining common property to meet the municipal expenses of the city was the frequent source of complaint with successive magistracies, and formed a cause or a pretext for obtaining grants or renewals of various impositions on the trade or rental of the inhabitants. In the year 1658, the debt of the city was stated to amount to £57,761, sterling. But from the report made by the magistrates to the committee of visi-

[1] Mait. Hist. of Edinburgh, b. i, p. 13.

tors, appointed by the general convention of royal burghs, in 1692, it appears, "that the common good of the said burgh extended, *communibus annis*, to the sum of £85,464, 11s. 9d. Scots, (£7,122, 0s. 11¾d. sterling,) and that their general debt amounted to £771,000, Scots, (£64,250, sterling) of principal sum." The revenue of Edinburgh derived from dues and customs have rapidly increased since the middle of last century; and what remained of its ancient property in land, as also its new acquisitions by purchase or feu, rose greatly in value on account of it being occupied by buildings; unfortunately, however, this unexpected improvement in the resources of the city was not taken advantage of by the corporation with that prudence and economy which would have relieved it from the pressure of its difficulties. In 1723, a list of debts due by the city was made out, and found to amount to £78,164, 3s. 7d. sterling, at which time the duty of two pence Scots on the pint of ale and beer, payable within the city, was extended over the parishes of St. Cuthbert's, the Canongate, and South and North Leith; and the magistrates were empowered by that statute to borrow a further sum of £25,000 beyond their then amount of debt, but prohibited from ever increasing it to a larger amount.

During the present century, the affairs of the city have been frequently brought before the legislature and the community, and many are the criticisms that have been made upon the conduct of the corporation; but it would be superfluous to enter into the detail of a system of mismanagement which has terminated.

Although there was not sufficient evidence that the disastrous state of the city affairs was caused by actual embezzlement or fraudulent malversation, yet the public had good grounds for their criticisms.

Between 1807 and 1818, lands, superiorities, and feu-duties, were alienated by the corporation to the amount of £28,000 in value. Great portions of these appear to have been sold in a private manner, and at a smaller price than might have been obtained for them at the time, and were disposed of with a view to strengthen the interest of one of the candidates in a contested election for the county.[1]

The amount of sums borrowed and raised by way of annuity, and received for property sold, from 1807 to 1816, exceeded the amount of debts paid off, and sums paid for property purchased, by £90,421;[2] and the expense of expenditure over income during the two following years amounted to £16,000 and £18,000.

From the returns and statements made to the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1819, by the city accountant and chamberlain, it was reported that the total value of the city property then amounted to £380,537, sterling. About £191,772, of that sum, stated as the value of the Meadows, Links, and other property, produced at that time no revenue; and it was stated to be very uncertain both as to its value, and as to the time when such could be converted into money.

In 1833 the property of the city was valued by the city super-

[1] Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1819. [2] Ibid.

intendent of works, and, according to his valuation, the property feued or let for rent, or otherwise productive, amounted to £314,333 9 8

The property not producing any annual return was valued at 97,042 4 1

Amounting together to . . . £411,375 13 9

These statements are held to have proceeded on exaggerated or imaginary estimate of the wealth of the city; and a report, prepared by the city accountant about two years after the latter report, in which he estimates the whole heritable and moveable property, productive and unproductive, belonging to the city, at £271,657, 19s. 4⅙d. is considered to approach nearer to a fair value of the city property.

The High school, City chambers, and other public buildings, formed a part of the previous valuations, but were not included in the last statement above-mentioned. These, and the great difference at which the Meadows, feu duties, etc., were estimated, form a great part of the diminution in the last report when compared with previous valuations.

The permanent revenue of the city for six years, from Martinmas, 1827, to Martinmas, 1833, as given in the last report above mentioned, amounted, on an average, to £26,112, 11s. 5d., exclusive of the ale and beer duty revenue, which is overburdened with debt, and exclusive of Leith docks and harbour dues, which are conveyed to government in security of the docks' debt.[1]

The actual income of the city for the year ending Martinmas, 1834, is stated by the same accountant to amount to £27,321, 5s. 8½d; but the city accountant states the income of the city for the same period as amounting to £27,524, 6s. 9d., making a discrepancy of only £203, 1s. 0½d.

The annual average of the common expenditure of the city for the last six years preceding Martinmas, 1833, is stated, omitting fractions, at £33,114. In this statement the payment of the ministers' stipends, the payments connected with Leith docks and harbour, and the debts preferably secured over the ale duty, are wholly omitted. The ordinary debts and obligations of the city were stated by the city accountant, with the authority of the magistrates, to have amounted at Sept., 1833, to £425,194, 14s. 1d. In addition to which, the city accountant classes under the general head of "cautionary obligations and other engagements," the sum of £304,492. The most important of those contingent claims is that connected with Leith docks and harbour, which is stated to amount to £245,992.[2]

Exaggerated expectations of the continued and indefinite increase of the city in prosperity and size, may have led the managers of the corporation into an increase of expense far disproportioned to the really considerable growth of the revenue; offices were multiplied and salaries raised; a spirit of litigation

[1] Report of the Accountant for Trustees of City Creditors.

[2] Report of Committee on Municipal Corporations of Scotland, part i, p. 289.

prevailed; great profusion took place in the expenses of civic parade and entertainments; and extravagant sums were expended on public buildings and other public works, which ended in the bankruptcy of the city.

The expense of law proceedings for the city, for the period from 1819, to 1832, inclusive, was £24,162; and for the same period, the expenses connected with passing local acts of Parliament, amounted to £12,156. For the year 1819, the cost of city entertainments was £782. In 1820, £1066; and the election dinner of the magistrates cost that year £533. In 1821, the amount of this branch of expenditure was £755. St. George's Church was built in 1814, on a plan estimated at £18,000, but it cost £38,000. The High School was, in 1829, erected at an expense of £34,199, of which part was raised by subscription, and a part by the sale of the Old School-house; but the remainder, £22,973, was defrayed by the city. When this expensive work was undertaken, it can hardly be imagined that the town council were ignorant of the affairs of the corporation, it being only within a few years of the insolvency of the city. A separate account, under the head of petty disbursements, was kept, which, for the last five years previous to the passing of the burgh reform act, amounted to about £1,200 per annum. The closeness and irresponsibility of the corporation, the studied concealment of the affairs of the community, and the partial and confused statements of them which was periodically made, could alone account for the continuance of such a system for so long a period.

The city having become insolvent, a statute was passed in August, 1833, conveying its whole properties and revenues, so far as legally liable for its debts, and attachable by the diligence of its creditors to trustees; and on the 27th of July, 1838, an act was passed to regulate and secure the debts due by the city of Edinburgh to the public, to confirm an agreement between the city and its creditors, and to effect a settlement of the affairs of the city and the town of Leith.

By the 39th clause, it is enacted, "That the bonds to be at any time issued and used in effecting the arrangement between the said city of Edinburgh and its creditors, and the transferences thereof, and the dispositions or conveyances of property by the lord provost, magistrates, and council of the city of Edinburgh, to the commissioners, to be hereby appointed and elected, shall be free from all stamp duties, any thing in any act or acts contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

The lord provost, magistrates, and council, are authorised by the above-mentioned act to compound for the debts contracted by them and their predecessors in office, prior to the first day of June, 1833, and are taken bound to grant, free of all charge, to all and every person in right of such debts, bonds of annuity, at the rate of three pounds sterling, payable half-yearly, for every hundred pounds sterling of such debts, and which bonds of annuity all and every person in right of such debts shall accept in full payment thereof, provided always that it shall not be in the power of the lord provost, magistrates, and council, to call and redeem

such bonds, by making payment to the persons holding the same of a less sum than one hundred pounds sterling for every three pounds of annuity."

The city bonds may be transferred by "simple delivery thereof, and such transfer shall be effectual to all interests and purposes, and shall entitle the bearer thereof to the sums contained in the said bonds." The annuities are payable by the Bank of Scotland, at Edinburgh, upon the first day of February, and first day of August; or at London, on the first day of March, and first day of September respectively, upon production and delivery of the order annexed to each bond, applicable to the particular payment then due, which order shall form the sole voucher of receipt and payment of the annuity to which the same may apply." The value at present (September, 1849,) of the bond is £75.

Many remarkable circumstances have been developed by the publication of the city accounts. One in particular, relative to the bequest of the late Dr. Bell of Madras, has drawn much attention and censure. In 1831, Dr. Bell appointed his trustees to transfer to the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh the sum of £10,000, 3 per cent, bank annuities. By the deed of discharge granted by these functionaries on 2nd November, 1831, when they received the above sum, they bound themselves and their successors in office to apply the dividend and interest in support of a school or schools, already founded or to be founded in Edinburgh, on the principles of the Madras system; however, after they got the control of the money, it only remained in the funds a few months, when on a demand being made by a clamorous creditor, they disposed of the stock to liquidate his claim, and thereby betrayed the trust reposed in them by Dr. Bell.

It appears from the statement connected with the city affairs, that in all instances in which the magistrates had an undivided control in charitable foundations, they misapplied the funds, and sacrificed the interest of the charities to the necessities or convenience of the corporation, "to prevent a blow-up in the city affairs," and to enable them to continue the existing system a little longer, although they well knew they were only postponing the evil day of the city's insolvency.

In 1834, a splendid banquet was given to Earl Grey, by the citizens of Edinburgh, in a pavilion erected on the Calton-hill, in which about 3300 persons dined.

On Sunday, the first of May, 1835, an annular eclipse of the sun took place at three o'clock p.m., which attracted extraordinary attention throughout the country; and in order that the citizens of Edinburgh might have an opportunity of witnessing so rare a phenomenon, the greater number of the churches had no afternoon's service.

The coronation of Queen Victoria, which took place on 28th June, 1838, was celebrated by the citizens of Edinburgh with great rejoicings: the College Museum, Botanic and Experimental gardens, and other places of public amusement, were thrown open to the public, and a splendid display of fireworks took place in the evening.

It is now twenty years since the capital of old Scotia was visited by King George IV., and two centuries have rolled away since it was graced with the presence of a Queen. The announcement, therefore, of our dearly beloved Queen Victoria's intention of visiting Scotland, could not fail to create the most enthusiastic feelings of delight throughout the length and breadth of her kingdom of Scotland. It became an engrossing topic of conversation, not only in the capital, but throughout the whole kingdom; and the warmest loyalty animated the breasts of all classes, and prepared them to give a hearty reception to their beloved sovereign on her first visit to her Scottish kingdom. Called by Providence to sway the destinies of a great nation, her virtues have shed a lustre over the British throne, and her graceful simplicity of character has won the lively sympathies of her people.

Monday, the 29th of August, 1842, having been fixed for the embarkation of her Majesty at Woolwich, she and her royal consort Prince Albert and suite left Windsor Castle on that morning, and proceeded to Woolwich, where they arrived about seven o'clock, in three of the royal carriages, escorted by a detachment of dragoons, and immediately after went on board the royal yacht, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the people and a deafening discharge of cannon. Precisely as the clock struck seven, the royal yacht was under weigh, and, towed by the Monkey steamer, proceeded down the river.

During her Majesty's voyage along the coast, wherever the squadron could be discerned, the most enthusiastic affection was displayed among all ranks.

To welcome her Majesty to Scotland, large bonfires were lighted, not only on the top of Arthur's Seat, but on other prominent hills within sight of Edinburgh, and also on some of the highest summits along the southern shores of Fifeshire. Such demonstrations marked the affection and cordiality with which her Majesty was universally welcomed to Scotland. These served to pilot the royal squadron while beating up the Frith of Forth to its moorings near Inchkeith, where they remained at anchor till break of day on Thursday, arriving at Granton Pier about eight o'clock.

The first intimation of the approach of the royal cortege was announced to the citizens of Edinburgh by the firing of two guns from the Castle about half-past seven o'clock, when immediately thereafter all the streets which led to the line along which the procession was expected to pass poured forth a continuous stream of people. The road to Granton Pier was the grand artery through which the whole population flowed, and it was accordingly almost choked up with the dense throng hurrying forward with anxious loyalty to catch a transient glimpse of the royal procession as it should pass, while carriages of every description crowded the busy scene.

A little after nine o'clock, her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, landed on the platform which had been erected for her accommodation, amid the enthusiastic greeting of the crowd, which was not so great as it would have been, had the landing

not taken place much earlier than was expected. Her Majesty on landing immediately stepped into a carriage in waiting, drawn by four beautiful horses, preceded by a detachment of dragoons. On each side of her Majesty's carriage rode an officer, while the rear was guarded by another detachment of dragoons. A long train of private carriages, and vehicles of every description, followed. In consequence of her Majesty's early arrival, not only the citizens, and strangers who had come to Edinburgh from all quarters, were taken by surprise, but even the civic rulers of the city, who did not assemble in the council chambers till about nine o'clock, when they sent a deputation to Granton to learn that which had already taken place, namely, when it would be her Majesty's pleasure to land. That her Majesty had already landed was made known to the citizens only by the cavalry being observed approaching from the top of Inverleith Row. The greatest excitement then prevailed; every one hastened to procure the most favourable situation. As her Majesty proceeded along the road, she was received with every demonstration of respect, and the warmest manifestations of loyalty, from the assembled crowds; the men taking off their hats, and the ladies at the windows and on the scaffolding waving their white handkerchiefs.

The procession proceeded along Inverleith Row, and Canonmills Bridge, where the barrier was erected at which the keys of the city were intended to have been presented to her Majesty; but as the civic rulers of *Modern Athens* were still ignorant of her Majesty's approach to the city, the places intended to have been occupied by them and other public bodies at the barrier were found empty on her Majesty's approach; and she, finding the barricade undefended, and no obstruction to her royal progress, took the liberty of advancing within her ancient capital of Scotland without waiting either for the permission of its civic rulers, or delivery of its keys.

A guard of honour of the 53rd regiment marched from the Castle at half-past eight, but on learning that her Majesty was coming along Inverleith Row, they stopped at Fettes Row, when they drew up in Pitt street, and received her Majesty as she passed; and the royal company of archers, her Majesty's body guard for Scotland, upon receiving notice of her having landed, assembled in great haste, and were on their march when the royal cortege came in sight of Howard Place.

About half-past nine o'clock, when the royal procession was passing the statue of George IV. at the junction of George street and Hanover street, the Castle guns commenced firing, and the bells of the city to ring, which rather astonished the civic rulers, who were sitting contentedly in the council chamber. But on inquiry, being informed that her Majesty had not only landed, but had passed the civic barrier, the stunning intelligence was misbelieved; however, conviction was soon carried to the minds of the most incredulous by the passing of the Royal cortege along Princes street.

Then commenced a scene which may be imagined, but which it would be difficult to describe, and which has seldom, if ever,

been paralleled in the *gude town* of Edinburgh. A great crowd had assembled in the High street to witness the magistrates and council take their departure in their state dresses and carriages, in which it was their intention to proceed to the barrier at Henderson Row, to deliver the keys of the city to her Majesty. On learning how matters stood, every one at once started off with their utmost speed down the High street and through the Canongate, their only chance to obtain a sight of her Majesty depending upon their gaining the Abbey Hill previous to the royal procession passing. By which time the crowd that was rushing from the south side of the town, and many that had missed the sight at Princes street, came pouring along the South and North Bridges; and the crush and confusion of the people is said to have resembled the flight of a beaten army. For sometime the pace was tremendous; all appeared to be aware that the point for which they were making was their only chance of gaining a sight of her Majesty, and even that presented a faint hope. Before they were half way down the Canongate, the pace of many began to flag, some, however, still continued the race through the King's park, behind the Abbey, and down the lane that opens upon Comely Green, on the Portobello road, where their loyalty was at last rewarded by finding that they were a few yards in advance of the Royal cortege, which was slowly approaching. Her Majesty and the Prince bowed gracefully to the cheers and waving of white handkerchiefs that greeted them as they passed.

The magistrates and council, on learning how matters stood, immediately hurried to their respective carriages, and dispersed in different directions, to obtain, if possible, a glimpse of her Majesty as she passed, and join the procession. They must, however, have been lost in the crowd, as they did not afterwards appear in the line of the cortege. One carriage and four, containing two of the magistrates and the Dean of Guild, having taken the route down the Canongate, on issuing out upon the Portobello road, had the mortification of seeing the procession pass as they came forward. They followed, however, and at Piershill toll, observing that her Majesty took the way down toward Portobello, (turning up near the Leith branch of the Dalkeith railway,) they then resolved to take the by-path leading from the toll bar to Easter Duddingston, and thus by gaining the junction of the roads before the procession reached that point, obtain the much desired view of her Majesty. This resolution was no sooner thought of than adopted. They put their horses to the gallop, and were followed by several equipages and horsemen, who having observed the movement imitated it, and fortunately arrived in time to see the cortege come at a quick round trot up the road. Her Majesty on recognizing the civic dignitaries by their official robes, turned with an expression of amazement and surprise in her countenance at their sudden and unexpected appearance, and she and Prince Albert having bowed markedly and gracefully to their salutations, the dragoons and the carriages then swept rapidly by on their way to Dalkeith.

With regard to the misunderstanding that took place as to the time of her Majesty's landing, neither the civic authorities nor

her Majesty's advisers were to blame; the simple fact being, as stated by Sir Robert Peel to the magistrates, that her Majesty had had a rough passage, was far from well, and in consequence, anxious to obtain the comforts of repose on *terra firma*.

The people of Dalkeith were not behind those of the metropolis in their preparations for their royal visitor. Tickets of admission to the Duke's grounds had been issued to about 7000 respectable individuals. The bells commenced ringing at nine o'clock, which was the signal for the people to proceed within the park-gates. Shortly after eleven o'clock the royal cortege arrived at Sheriffhall gate, from which point, on both sides of the road as far as the old bridge across the river Esk, the tenantry of the Duke, and the town's people were ranged. The royal company passed slowly up the avenue amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the crowd. Her Majesty was conducted into the palace by the principal entrance, and, apparently to gratify the curiosity of the people still further, took her seat at the window, commanding a full view of the lawn. The assembled multitude gave three long and loud cheers for her Majesty, and retired in the most orderly manner.

An illumination in honour of her Majesty took place on Friday night, which was splendid in the extreme. Ornamental devices of all descriptions were exhibited, coloured lamps and gas lights were seen every where in profusion, and were arranged in various devices, according to the fancy and taste of the individuals. At the Castle there was a brilliant display of fireworks during the evening.

Her Majesty having consented to visit the Castle on Saturday, the morning of that day was earnestly looked forward to by the thousands who had been disappointed in seeing her on her arrival. At all points where it was thought possible to obtain a sight of her Majesty, stands and hustings of every description were erected, and some of these were let for considerable sums. Early on Saturday morning, every stand, husting, window, and cranny that was likely to command a sight of the procession was crowded. The Celtic society took up their position at the barrier, and the different public bodies took up their several stations according to previous arrangement.

Her Majesty left Dalkeith palace at ten o'clock, and the royal cortege, about half-past eleven, entered the King's Park by a gate at Parson's Green, preceded and followed by a detachment of dragoons. Around the Queen's carriage was the Royal company of archers, carrying their bows in their right hands. On her Majesty entering the precincts of the royal grounds, a salute was fired from the Castle. She was seated in a handsome low barouche, drawn by four beautiful horses and out-riders, with Prince Albert on her left, and dressed in a fancy Stewart tartan, Paisley shawl with blue ground, and white crape bonnet. A long train of carriages followed, in which were the Duchess of Buccleuch and family, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Robert Peel, etc.

The magistrates of Canongate, with the constables of the burgh,

and those of Calton and of Leith, received her Majesty at the boundary of the burgh, near the palace, to whom her Majesty graciously bowed, and the procession proceeded up the Canongate and High street to the cross, where a wooden barrier had been erected, at which it had been arranged by the civic rulers to meet her Majesty, and present her with the keys of the city.

The scene at this place was grand and imposing. The Lord Provost, magistrates, and council, and the other city officials in court dresses and wearing their official scarlet robes, the city chamberlain bearing the keys of the city, and the city assessors, guarded by halberdiers, occupied a space before the council chamber. Opposite to them, upon a large platform, were the commissioners of police, and other city officials, entirely dressed in black, with frilled shirts, rosettes, etc. Near to these, on a round large platform, stood the boys of Heriots' Hospital, and the girls of the Merchant Maiden Hospital, all uniformly dressed. As her Majesty entered the barrier, the excitement was tremendous; the cheers of the congregated masses were high, loud, and heart-stirring, while handkerchiefs fluttered from every point where a lady was visible, and occasionally a whole stand occupied by the fair sex streamed in snowy whiteness. When the royal carriage reached the front of the Royal Exchange, the cortege stopped, and the Lord Provost advancing, addressed her Majesty as follows:

"May it please your Majesty,

On the part of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, I beg to congratulate your Majesty on your auspicious entrance into this ancient metropolis, now graced, for the first time for ages, with the presence of a Queen.

"These keys, committed to us by your predecessors, have been fondly retained by us among the vestiges of those warlike times, when walls and gates defended against hostile inroads. Under the protection, however, of salutary laws, firmly administered by a succession of illustrious monarchs, from whom your Majesty is sprung, we no longer require such shelter. We have the happiness to confide the security of this northern capital to a brave and orderly population, united in their allegiance to their beloved Queen, and dignified by the possession of that pure and peaceable wisdom which is at once the ornament and bulwark of our times.

"And now, with all humility, I deliver into your Majesty's hands the keys of our city."

Her Majesty replied with much grace and affability, "I return the keys of the city with perfect confidence into the safe keeping of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council."

On arriving at the barrier of the Castle, her Majesty and suite alighted, and, resting on Prince Albert's arm, walked slowly to the Mortar Battery, where the celebrated "Mons Meg"[1] is placed. The ground round the battery, and the approach to it, was covered with crimson cloth. Her Majesty having viewed the magnificent scene from the battery, and minutely inspected Mons Meg, proceeded to the Half Moon Battery, and thence to the old Barrack Square. The royal party then inspected the Regalia, which had been removed from the crown room to the officers' old

[1] Vide B. i, p. 157.

mess room; from thence they proceeded to Queen Mary's apartment. Her Majesty then returned to the Castle gate, entered her carriage, and proceeded down the hill amidst the cheers of the multitude.

The Lord Provost and Magistrates in their carriage, preceded that of her Majesty down the Lawnmarket, the Mound, and along Princes street to Queensferry street, the boundary of the city, when they took leave of her Majesty, who proceeded along the Dean Bridge and the Queensferry Road to Dalmeny Park.

The pleasures of the day were marred by the falling of a large scaffold erected at the bottom of the Mound, a few minutes after her Majesty had passed, which spread an immediate alarm among the people. One person was killed, a few seriously hurt, and many sustained broken bones, bruises, and other injuries.

This calamitous event was not communicated to her Majesty until her return to Dalkeith Palace, when she was much affected by the recital, and immediately despatched a special messenger to Edinburgh, to collect all the information possible upon the subject.

After leaving the city, her Majesty and suite, escorted by the dragoons, visited the Earl of Roseberry at Dalmeny Park; and on her return to Dalkeith visited Leith, where she was received with every demonstration of loyalty.

On Sunday, Divine service was performed within the palace, at which her Majesty and Prince Albert attended.

On Monday her Majesty held a drawing-room at Dalkeith palace, in the great gallery or drawing-room, which had been handsomely fitted up for the occasion. It is calculated that nearly 400 carriages drew up to the principal entrance from Sheriff-hall gate. The arrangements were such that no confusion whatever occurred at the entrance or elsewhere, and every thing proceeded with as much facility, ease, and comfort, as if the reception had taken place at St. James'. The various deputations were first admitted to the royal presence, and then followed the general reception. On Tuesday morning, the 6th September, about nine o'clock, her Majesty took her departure for the north, and she and her royal consort were received with every demonstration of joy and loyalty wherever they went.

On Monday, the 14th of September, her Majesty, on returning from the north, again passed through Edinburgh on her way to Dalkeith. On Thursday, at ten minutes past eight o'clock, her Majesty in her royal carriage, escorted by a party of the Enniskillen dragoons, left the ducal grounds by the Queen's gate, followed by other carriages, containing her suite, and many other ladies and gentlemen. The royal cavalcade entered the city at a smart pace by East Preston street, Clerk street, and Nicholson street, amidst the loud acclamations of the thousands who were congregated to obtain a sight of her and her royal consort. The cortege proceeded through the more crowded streets at a very slow pace; when entering on the North Bridge, the guns of the Castle fired a royal salute, which was answered by the Daphne and Jasseur in the river.

After passing Canonmills Bridge, the royal cortege proceeded at an accelerated pace to Granton Pier, followed by nearly 500 vehicles of every description. On the whole of this line the scene was quite animating, her Majesty receiving the loyal greetings of the thousands assembled on each side of the way, and courteously acknowledging the same.

Exactly at a quarter-past nine o'clock the acclamations of the crowds were heard on the heights above Granton, and shortly thereafter her Majesty and Prince Albert drove up the gangway, and were received by the Duke of Buccleuch. The Queen having taken the arm of the noble Duke, and the Duchess of Buccleuch that of Prince Albert, were conducted along the gangway, which was covered with crimson cloth, and guarded on each side by the Royal Archers. Her Majesty, after visiting the saloon, reappeared on deck, and expressed herself highly gratified with the accommodation provided. The vessel got under weigh, and the royal pair, coming close to the starboard quarter, with singular earnestness acknowledged the parting greeting of the thousands on the pier and in the steamers and other vessels round, who lingered in their places watching the progress of the noble vessel down the Frith. After a pleasant voyage, the Queen, her Royal Consort, and suite, arrived safe at Windsor Castle, in an open carriage and four, escorted by a detachment of the 2nd regiment of Life Guards.

It has long been a custom in Scotland to celebrate the sovereign's anniversary, and the manner in which it was held in Edinburgh in the reign of Charles II. has been already narrated.[1] During the long reign of George III., riots were of yearly occurrence in the capital on the day of his anniversary, but these outrageous proceedings had for many years greatly ceased, and had been substituted by a crowd of idle boys collecting on the streets on the evening of that day, and indulging in the juvenile folly of firing mimic artillery. The conduct of the mob, however, on the anniversary of her Majesty in the year 1845, was disgraceful to the capital of Scotland, famed for the morality of its citizens. Crowds had collected, ostensibly for the purpose of letting off fire-works; but by degrees these seemingly harmless acts ended in outrageous attacks upon individuals, and the destruction of public property. A clergyman, walking up the Canongate, had a pistol shot discharged through his hat, within half an inch of his head; an attempt was made to throw a police officer over the North Bridge, and many other outrageous acts were committed by the mob.

It having been officially announced that her Majesty and suite would pass through Edinburgh on their journey from Balmoral on Thursday the 27th September, 1849, all was bustle and excitement in the city, and every foot of vacant ground that could command a passing glance at royalty was crowded. The large platform within the station was nearly filled by three o'clock with ladies and gentlemen, except the centre, which was appropriated to the town council, who took their places about half-past three,

[1] B. i, p. 161.

accompanied by the resident bailies of Canongate and Portsburgh, all in their robes, and bearing the insignia of their office. At twenty minutes past five o'clock the signal was given by the electric telegraph that her Majesty had reached the Greenhill Junction. The military were immediately put under arms, and all were on the *qui vive*. The Castle guns then fired, and a few seconds after the engine emerged from below the Waverley Bridge, drawing the royal train into the station. Enquiry having been made by her Majesty for the Lord Provost, his lordship was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Anson, and her Majesty expressed to his lordship how glad she was to see him in the city of Edinburgh. After his lordship had made his obeisance, he said, "In the name of the citizens of Edinburgh, I have to offer your Majesty a very hearty welcome to this city. I am only sorry the stay of your Majesty is so short, but, in the name of the citizens of Edinburgh, I cordially wish your Majesty a prosperous journey." Prince Albert with great cordiality, leaning forward, said, "I am sorry our stay is so short in your beautiful city."

Mr. Learmonth, late provost of the city, was amongst others introduced, and presented her Majesty with a basket of fruit, and also with a handsome edition of 'Lizars' Guide to the North British Railway,' expressly prepared for the occasion. All these proceedings did not occupy above ten minutes, during which short space the thousands assembled had an excellent view of the interior of the royal carriage, which was brilliantly illuminated, and contained besides her Majesty and royal consort, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and Princess Alice. Her Majesty was elegantly but simply dressed, and wore a shawl of royal Stuart tartan.

All being now arranged, and the North British engine attached to the royal train, consisting of twelve carriages, and trucks conveying the royal carriages and baggage, swept slowly away amidst deafening cheers from the vast assemblage.

END OF BOOK FIRST

EDINBURGH

Names of Public Buildings referring to figures on Plan.

1 United Pres. Ch.
2 St Georges Ch.
3 St Thomas' Epis. Ch.
4 Free Ch.
5 Infirmary Sc.
6 United P. Ch.
7 St Cuthbert's & Workh.
8 Caledon.n R.y Station.
9 United P. Ch.
10 Do Do
11 Free Ch.
12 Universities Ch.
13 St Cuthbert's Ch.
14 St Johns Epis. Ch.
15 Baptist Ch.
16 Free Ch.
17 Trin. Mo.
18 Free Ch.
19 Do Do
20 Markets
21 St. Stephen's Ch.
22 Free Ch.
23 St Bernards Ch.
24 Deaf & Dumb I.te
25 Edin.r Acad.y
26 Physicians Hall
27 Un.d Pr St Jo.s & Phil.l Inst.n
28 Un. Ser. Club
29 Geo.l W.m & Edin.r & Gl.w Bk
30 St And.w Ch.
31 Assembly Rooms
32 New Club
33 Commercial Bank
34 Un.d Pr. Ch.
35 Western Bank
36 Royal Hotel
37 Royal Inst.n
38 R.S.A. Exhibition R.m
39 Scott Mont.
40 Bank of Scotland
41 Free Ch. College
42 Gl. Assembly Hall
43 Epist. Ch. & Normal Sc.
44 Free Ch.
45 St Johns Ch.
46 Highland Soc. Museum.
47 Cattle Market
48 Dye Ch.
49 Heriots Hos.
50 Watsons Hos.
51 Merchant Maiden Hos.
52 Archers Hall
53 Free Ch.
54 United Pr. Ch.
55 Do Do
56 Methodist Ch. & Pub. Baths
57 Bedlam
58 Ragged Sc.
59 Free Ch.
60 Dye Work Ho.
61 Greyfriars Ch.
62 Independent Ch.
63 United Pr. Ch.
64 Roman Cath.c Ch.
65 United Pr. Ch.
66 College
67 Surgeons Hall
68 Infirmary
69 L.Yesters Ch.
70 Congregat.l Ch.
71 Minto Ho. Hos.
72 County Hall
73 St Giles Ch.
Parliament Ho
Courts of Law
74 Advocate's Libr.y
W. S. Do
Union Bank
75 Police Office
Royal Exchange
76 City Chambers
Clydesdale Bank
77 Markets
78 Bal.k of Sc.d & Br. Linen Co.y Bk
79 Edin.r & North.n Do
80 Theatre
81 Stamp Office
82 Post Do
83 Jail
84 Register Off.
85 National Bank
86 Br. Linen Co.y Bank
87 Royal Do
88 Exchange Do
89 Veterinary College
90 St Georges A.l Ch.
91 Rom. Cath. Ch. St Mary's
92 United Pr. Ch.
93 Waterloo Rooms
94 Free Ch.
95 Baptist Ch.
96 St Paul's Epc.l Ch.
97 Congregat.l Ch.
98 St James' Ep. Ch.
99 United Pr. Ch.
100 Free Ch.
101 Markets
102 St Mary's Ch.
103 Zoological Gardens
104 National Mon.
105 Sherifs Obs.l & Statuary
106 Royal Obs.l
107 Nelson's Mon.
108 Playfairs Do
109 D. Stewarts Do
110 High Sc.
111 Burns Mon.
112 Jail
113 Bridewell
114 Gas Works
115 United Pr. Ch.
116 Canongate Ch.
117 Clerk's Mo.l Ho
118 St Paul's Ch.
119 Holyrood Palace
120 Chapel Royal

THE CHRONICLES OF EDINBURGH.

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

General description of the ancient city—How surrounded—Constituted a royal burgh—Privileges conferred on the burgh by Robert I. (Bruce,) James II., James III., and James VI.—Extension of the royalty in 1767, 1785, 1809—Provost lord-lieutenant of the county of the city—1761, Royal Exchange built—1772, North Bridge erected—1788, South Bridge erected—New Town commenced.

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, is situated in the north of Mid-Lothian. The latitude of its observatory is 55° 57′ 20″, its longtitude west 3° 10′ 3″. Its distance from the metropolis of England, 392 miles. It is picturesquely situated on, and partly overshadowed by, hills and swelling ground, except on the north, where the ground slopes for about two miles gently away, over a gradient of about 50 to 100 feet to the Firth of Forth. On the east it is bounded by Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, and the Calton Hill; on the south, by the Hills of Braid, and the extensive range of the Pentland Hills; and on the west, by the beautiful and lofty hills of Corstorphine. These congeries of hills form a circumference of about six miles, and appear to have been cast up by some sudden and tremendous operation of nature, which it is impossible to explain, and hardly possible to conceive. The highest of these is Arthur's Seat, which is 700 feet from its base, and rises about 796 above the level of the sea; and its outline, as seen from certain quarters to the south-west, has a close resemblance to the figure of a lion couchant. Some authors[1] affirm that it derived its name from Arthur, the British Prince, who, in the end of the sixth century, defeated the Saxons in that neighbourhood. Salisbury Crags, the next highest, are supposed to

[1] Wilaker's Hist., v. ii, p. 51.

take their name from the Earl of Salisbury, who, in the reign of Edward III., accompanied that Prince in an expedition against the Scots. The Calton Hill rises about 200 yards north-west of the northern side of Salisbury Crags. Its elevation above the sea-level at Leith is 344 feet.

The city may be said to be composed of several towns separated from each other by intervening valleys. Properly, however, it consists only of two divisions, called the Old and the New Town. The ancient city, which stands on its central ridge, may be said to have contained only one principal street, 5570 feet in length, and varying from fifty to ninety in breadth, which stretched from the esplanade in front of the castle, including the Canongate, to the Palace of Holyrood, with numerous lanes or closes which abruptly decline on both sides; these were bounded on the north by the North Loch, and on the south by a similar hollow. This street, with its numerous lanes and alleys, has been said to resemble a reptile or scorpion monster, "having the castle for its head, the lanes for its lateral members, and Holyrood House, and Abbey St. Cuthbert's for its tail;" it has also been compared to a wedge lying flat upon the ground. There were originally only two entrances to the ancient city, one by the lower end of the street, and the other ascended from the south, near the castle, by a narrow crooked path-way, afterwards formed into a street called the West Bow. This ancient city continued for ages thus perched like one vast fortress on the central hill, and consisted simply of the street above described, formerly called Market Street, now High Street. It, nevertheless, shortly after the assassination of James I.,[1] began to assume a metropolitan character; and, about the same period, Parliaments began to be regularly held in it. About the middle of the fifteenth century, it had grown to such importance that James II. bestowed on the community the privilege of fortifying it with a wall.[2] After the fatal battle of Flodden,[3] the consternation with which the citizens were overwhelmed made them extend the wall, so as to embrace the suburbs of the city to the south, consisting of the Cowgate, (which was then considered a spacious street, and inhabited by the elite,) the Grassmarket, and other buildings in that direction, to protect them from the incursions of the English. The town then measured nearly half a mile in each direction.

Towards the end of the fifteenth, and about the beginning of the sixteenth century, it would be difficult to describe the buildings that then predominated. Here and there would be seen the low roof tenements of the thirteenth century, while not far distant stood tall edifices of wood or stone, that had more recently sprung up. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the houses were crowded together, and floor above floor was piled,[4] particularly in the High Street, until some of them rivalled the steeples in height, these were denominated *lands*,[5] and some of them con-

[1] Vide b. i, pp. 32, 33. [2] Ibid. pp. 38, 39. [3] Ibid. pp. 52, 53.
[4] Ibid. p. 68. [5] The denomination *land* has been long exclusively

sisted of twelve floors. The access to the separate lodgings in these huge buildings was, and still is, although somewhat improved by a common stair, exposed to every inconvenience arising from filth, steepness, and damage from fire. About the same period, Edinburgh appears to have attracted the favourable notice of historians. One writer[1] says, "In the city there are two spacious streets, of which the principal one, leading from the palace to the castle, is paved with square stones. The city itself is not built of brick, but of square freestones; and so stately is their appearance, that single houses may be compared to palaces. From the abbey to the castle there is a continued street, on both sides containing a range of excellent houses, and the better sort are built of hewn stone."

In 1635, there were 5071 houses in the city, the rents of which amounted to £19,211, 10s. sterling. In 1688, they had increased to 6012, and the rents to £26,000 sterling; and in 1751, their number was 6845, and their rents amounted to £31,497 sterling. About the middle of the last century, there were within the city only 1 square, namely, Milne square, 12 streets, 22 wynds, 9 backs, such as back of Canongate, 4 entries, 8 courts, 5 hills, 3 rows, 4 yards, and no fewer than 260 closes.[2] It may be necessary to observe, that the closes in the High Street were, and still are, so very numerous, that there is seldom more than one row of buildings between them. At the same period the city occupied little more than it had done in the reigns of James III. and James IV., and although it had a grand external appearance, the lofty magnificence of the High Street being much admired by travellers, yet the details were in many districts mean and confined.

The ancient city was on all sides surrounded and closely hemmed in by properties, chiefly ecclesiastical, but partly also in the hands of laymen; nor was it till the North and South Bridges were erected that it began to be extended on both sides beyond its ancient limits, until the extension very far exceeded that of the ancient boundaries of the burgh. What in the popular acceptation now constitutes modern Edinburgh, is composed of various districts, subject to different jurisdictions, and as yet united only for the election of members of Parliament under the statute for amending the representation of the people of Scotland.

The period which first saw Edinburgh established as a Royal Burgh cannot be now ascertained; but it is mentioned as a king's burgh in the original charter granted by David I. to the abbey and convent of Holyrood, in the year 1128. The language of that charter has been by some regarded as at best most equivocal, and indicating the existence of Edinburgh as a burgh in demesne, rather than a Royal Burgh, in the modern sense of the term; yet it is on all hands admitted that Edinburgh was, in the reigns of Malcolm and William, established as a burgh royal, when very valuable grants of forest land were made to the com-

applied to the high houses in the Old Town of Edinburgh, whereas *tenement*, as a word for a house, is used every where in Scotland.

[1] Braun Agreppinensis, b. iii, voce Edinburgum.

[2] Mait. Hist. of Edinburgh, b. ii, pp. 216, 217.

munity, either for the support of their municipal government, or for the use of its individual members. Unfortunately, none of these early grants are preserved, nor in any of the later charters of confirmation are any of them recited or alluded to, so that the precise extent of the property originally bestowed on the burgesses can only be conjectured from what remained in their possession at much later periods. For the same reason, it can only be conjectured what was the original extent of the privileged territory within which incorporated bodies, in reference to non-freemen, had an exclusive right of traffic, and were entitled to exact tolls and customs; but there seems no reason for doubting that it coincided with what was ultimately constituted the sheriffdom of Edinburgh Principal, bounded by Edgebuckling Brae on the east, and the water of Amond on the west; on the south by the boundaries of the shires adjoining that of Edinburgh; and on the north, by an imaginary line along the middle of the Frith of Forth.

The burgesses of Edinburgh, in common with other burghs royal, paid each a certain fixed rent for his separate croft or tenement, down to nearly the close of the reign of Robert the Bruce, when a system began to be adopted of granting to the communities of burghs, the burghs themselves, with all their privileges and immunities, to be holden of the crown in feu-farm, for payment of fixed feu-duties, in commutation of those fluctuating payments. It is one of the indications of the rising importance of Edinburgh, that it appears to have been the first to obtain a charter of this description, dated only a few weeks before the demise of King Robert, in 1329. It is entitled a "*Carta assedationis Burgi de Edynburgh ad feudi firmam.*" It is under this charter of Robert the Bruce that the corporation of the city continues to account annually in exchequer for a quit-rent of 52 merks sterling, or £34, 13s. 4d., under various allowances anciently granted by the crown, or more recently by the barons of the exchequer, which reduce the balance now actually paid to a very trifling sum.

Edinburgh was at a very early period one of those burghs royal whose magistrates constituted the court of four burghs; and it may be regarded as a proof of the pre-eminence to which it had arrived in the fifteenth century, that king James II., by a charter, dated in the year 1452, conferred on it the privilege of being exclusively the seat of that court: "*Erga annuam de cetero tentionem, infra predictum nostrum burgum parliamenti curie quatuor burgorum principalium, viz., Edinburgh, Striveling, Linlithgow, et Lanerk.*"

James III., by a charter dated in 1482, granted to the magistrates and community the right of sheriffship within the bounds of the burgh; a jurisdiction afterwards repeatedly confirmed by subsequent monarchs, and more particularly by James VI. and Charles I.

The community, partly by royal grants, and partly by transactions and purchases, acquired at various periods very considerable additions to their original property. Of the former kind were numerous small endowments for religious purposes, which had

fallen to the crown at the period of the Reformation, and were transferred to the burgh avowedly for pious purposes; of the latter sort, the most considerable were those connected with the town of Leith.

The charter of James VI., commonly called the *Golden Charter*, contains a most ample confirmation of numerous royal and other grants to the burgh, and of various decrees of Parliament, or of courts of law, in favour of the rights and privileges of the citizens. In this charter is contained a minute detail of the various rights of property in Edinburgh, Leith, Newhaven, and elsewhere, belonging to the burgh; and of the markets, tolls, and customs, constituting a part of the *common good;* for the protection of all which the provost and bailies are declared to have an extensive jurisdiction conferred upon them. The declarations therein of civil and criminal authority and jurisdiction are followed by a confirmation and grant *de novo* of the hereditary offices of sheriff and coroner within the bounds of the burgh, and in Leith and Newhaven, declaring the provost to be sheriff and coroner principal, and the bailies to be conjunctly and severally sheriffs and coroners depute. This charter further grants to the community the whole of the escheats, fines, etc., arising within the bounds of the burghal jurisdiction, to be disposed of and applied to the use of the burgh for ever; and all these grants of property, superiority, privilege, and jurisdiction, are declared to be permanently united into a royal free burgh (*in unum liberum burgum regale tenementum et tenandriam*). This charter is dated at Holyrood on 15th March, 1603, only a few days before the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, and of his departure from his native kingdom. The excess of some parts of the grant in this charter, especially those relative to the jurisdiction of the burgh in matters mercantile and criminal, appears to have occasioned dissatisfaction, as derogatory to the honour and dignity of the crown; and, in the year 1630, the magistrates and council found it expedient voluntarily to renounce the benefit of any alleged excess in that charter, and to petition the crown for a new and restricted charter; accordingly, in 1636, another charter passed the great seal in favour of the city. Its principal clauses did not differ in substance from those of the *Golden Charter*, except in the particulars referred to in the Act of Renunciation by the corporation.

Several other grants and charters, flowing from the bounty of the crown, were afterwards obtained, at different periods, prior to the union of the kingdoms in 1707; but though by these the financial resources of the burgh were modified or improved, no substantial change was made by them in its political or municipal constitution.

For several centuries prior to the year 1763, little effort had been made to enlarge the boundaries of Edinburgh; but since that epoch in its history, its extension has been marvellous. In 1767, the royalty of the city was first extended by act of Parliament[1] over a part of the barony of Broughton, Barefoot Parks,

[1] Geo. iii, parl. 7, c. 27.

and other lands, the property of the corporation, certain lands granted to the town in feu by the governors of Heriot's Hospital, and a part of Broughton Parks belonging to Watson's Hospital.

By another act in 1785,[1] it was further extended over an additional part of the lands of Broughton, and provision was made for its extension over other lands which the act authorised the corporation to purchase; and in 1809, an act[2] was passed, by which the royalty was still further extended over various lands belonging to the community of the city, the governors of Heriot's Hospital, and their feuars.

By a charter of George III., (dated 25th August, 1794,) the provost was constituted lord-lieutenant of the county of the city.

Till nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, the ancient city occupied little more than the same space of ground which it had done for centuries previous. On 8th July, 1752, a plan was drawn up and laid before the convention of royal burghs, proposing that the sites of some old houses which stood in the principal street, which had become ruinous and were ordered to be pulled down, should be occupied by public buildings. This as a national design was approved of, and subscription papers were ordered to be lodged with the magistrates of the county towns. The public building first projected was to contain a hall for the convention of the royal burghs, a council chamber for the magistrates, a robing-room for the judges of the supreme court, a library for the faculty of advocates, a hall for the society of writers to the signet, and other apartments for the register of public writings. Parliament was applied to, and trustees were appointed for carrying out the proposed improvements. The first object to which these trustees turned their attention was the erection of the Royal Exchange, the foundation stone of which was laid on 15th September, 1753, on the north side of the High street, opposite to the site of the ancient cross. The building was commenced on 13th June, in the following year, and the whole was completed in 1761, at an expense of £31,000.

The gentry and wealthier citizens began about this period to be dissatisfied with the mean and confined houses which had been the abodes of their forefathers, and desired to possess more elegant and detached residences; but from the confined nature of the ancient city, these inclinations could not be gratified unless by the erection of a bridge which should connect the old city with the fields to the north of the North Loch. Such was accordingly proposed, but its execution was delayed for some time on account of the threatened opposition of certain landholders in that quarter. The magistrates, however, undeterred by such threats, began, in 1763, to drain the North Loch, and make the necessary preparations for the erection of the North Bridge; and to encourage their laudable exertions, the Parliamentary trustees made over to them a balance of £3000, which remained in their hands after the erection of the Exchange. The foundation stone of the bridge was laid on 21st October, 1763, but the building was not carried on till 1767. To remedy an error committed by the architect in not

[1] Geo. iii, parl. 25, c. 28. [2] Ibid. parl. 49, c. 21.

raising the piers of the bridge to a sufficient height, from six to eight feet of earth were placed upon the vaults and arches, in order to secure a gentle incline of the street from the south to the north; but no calculation having been made for such an immense mass of earth, the result was, that on 3rd August, 1769, when nearly completed, it having become swollen by recent heavy rains, the side walls and abutments burst. The vaults at the south end also yielding to the pressure, five persons who happened to be on the spot were buried in the ruins, and eleven others considerably hurt. The whole was repaired and completed in 1772, at an expense of about £18,000.

During the erection of the North Bridge, numerous buildings sprung up on the fields south of the ancient city. The only access to these was by the different closes or wynds, one of which, called Merlin's wynd, opposite the opening of the North Bridge, somewhat wider than the rest, was the principal thoroughfare to these new erections; and at that period the only entrance to the city for carriages from the south was either by St. Mary's wynd, or the narrow and steep defile of the West Bow. The erection of so many buildings to the north of the city soon suggested the necessity of the construction of a bridge and line of street towards the south; accordingly the foundation stone of the South Bridge was laid in August, 1785, and opened in March, 1788.

The North Bridge was no sooner finished than the New Town began to make its appearance, and the buildings proceeded with such rapidity that, within six years, St. Andrew square, and the streets in a direct junction with it were nearly finished; since then, streets, squares, places, terraces, crescents, circuses, and public edifices have arisen in rapid succession, wholly built of stone; an assemblage which, for regularity and beauty, will bear comparison with the most magnificent cities in Europe. These, with all other improvements, will be particularly described in a subsequent ramble through the city.

CHAPTER II.

Ancient and present constitution of the burgh—Honours and privileges enjoyed by the provost—Jurisdiction of the magistrates—Bailie court—Ten merk court—Small debt court—Criminal court—Police court—Council chambers court—Assessors—Dean of guild court—Duties of city treasurer and chamberlain—Merchant company—Incorporated trades—Convenery—Constitution of the burghs of Canongate and Portsburgh—The magistrates' privileges as superiors of these and of Calton—The election of the two city members—Patronage of the town council—Official dress of the magistrates—City arms blazoned—Town Guard—Trained Band—High Constables—Police establishment—Fire establishment.

Previous to the passing of the Scottish Burgh Reform Act in 1833, the corporation of Edinburgh was of a close character, though not altogether without an admixture of popular representation. The constitution of the burgh was settled by decrees-

arbitral of King James VI. in 1583, of Lord Islay in 1729-30, and of two acts of council in 1658 and 1673. Previous to 1833 the civic functionaries consisted of seventeen merchants, six deacons, and two trades' councillors, in all twenty-five, and the *modus operandi* was as follows: Towards the end of each civic or official year, a leet or list of six individuals was sent up to the council from each of the fourteen corporations or trades, and from each of these lists three names were struck off by the council, and the remaining three were returned to their respective trades, one of whom they elected deacon; six of these fourteen deacons were elected council deacons by the council, in room of six retiring, and these might remain in office two years. The twenty-five members of council then elected three merchants and two trades' councillors; and the old and new council, now increased to thirty, leeted for the office-bearers, who were elected by them, and the eight deacons not of the council, making in all thirty-eight. The actual council then, as formerly, consisted of twenty-five members. But in all cases involving a greater value than £1 13s. 4d., the remaining eight deacons not in council were entitled to vote. The magistrates consisted of Lord Provost, dean of Guild, and Treasurer, (each of whom might be re-elected for one year more,) and four bailies, who could not be elected *as such* until they had been out of the council for at least one year. But a bailie might be retained in the council for a considerable period, by being elected to other offices, such as provost, dean of guild, or treasurer, one after the other. Each office-bearer remained in council one year as councillor, *ex officio*.

Since the passing of the Burgh Reform Act, the city has been divided into five Wards or Districts, with special places for polling. Each of these wards annually elect a certain number of councillors, so as to make a total of thirty-one, (the voters being those qualified to return members to Parliament), who must be burgesses and freemen, and in whom is vested the power of electing from among themselves, jointly with the dean of guild and the convener of the incorporated trades, who are councillors *ex officiis*, a provost, four bailies, and a treasurer. One third part of these councillors (those who had the smallest number of votes at their election) retire annually, but may be re-elected. The provost's term of office is three years, but at the expiry thereof he may be re-elected. The other office-bearers retire at the expiry of one year, and cannot be re-elected until each has been out of his particular office one year: but, as under the old system, this does not prevent them being kept in the council from year to year, by their being elected to fill the different offices in succession.

The provost is chief magistrate of the city, his office is nearly synonymous with that of the lord mayor of London. Previous to the year 1377 the chief magistrate of the city was styled *Alderman*. John de Quhitness, who was chief magistrate that year, is said to have been the first who filled the civic chair under the title of *Provost*. The chief magistrate was honoured by Charles II., in 1667, with the title of *Lord Provost*, and he is further designated

Right Honourable. Within the city and liberties, and the town, harbour, and roadstead of Leith, he is high sheriff, coroner, and admiral; and within the city he takes the precedency of all the great officers of state, and of the nobility, walking on the right hand of the Queen, or of her Majesty's commissioner or representative. He is president of the town council and of the convention of royal burghs, lord-lieutenant of the city, a justice of the peace for the county, and lord-rector of the university. Previous to the Union he was an officer in the Scottish Parliament, and frequently a member of the privy council, colonel of the city regiment of trained bands, and was captain of the city regiment of Fusileers. The allowance to support the dignity of the office has varied at different eras: at the passing of the Burgh Reform Act it was £1000 sterling, but since that act passed it has been reduced to £500 sterling. The office of chief magistrate of the city has been often a matter of contest among the highest of the Scottish nobles. Since the Union, several of those who have filled the civic chair have had the honour of knighthood conferred on them, on being presented to the sovereign.

The magistrates possess, under the charters before referred to, very extensive jurisdiction, and of various kinds. Besides the ordinary civil and criminal jurisdiction common to royal burghs, they are depute lieutenants, and have a right to exercise the jurisdiction of sheriffs and justices of the peace within the city and liberties, and to hold an inferior Admiralty Court.

They hold a court called the *Bailie Court*, and while sitting in it can try causes for debt to any amount, and civil trespasses against persons residing within the ancient and extended royalty, the Barony of Portsburgh and Leith. This is a court of record, and the business is conducted by solicitors. They also hold a *Ten Merk Court*, in which cases not exceeding ten merks Scots, (11s. 1⅓d. sterling,) and cases as to servants' wages to any amount, are heard and determined in a summary manner. The magistrates also, as justices of the peace, under a provision in the Acts 39 and 40, Geo. III., cap. 46, § 21 and 22, hold a *Small Debt Court* for the county of the city, in which cases under £40 Scots, (£3 6s. 8d. sterling,) are tried agreeably to the forms of the Small Debt Act.

The chief magistrate of Leith has conferred on him, from the town-council of Edinburgh, the title of Admiral; and the Admiralty jurisdiction (which extends over the county of the city, and to the mid-waters of the Frith of Forth, limited on the west by a line drawn from Wardie-Brow to the Mickrie Stone, and on the east by a line drawn from the extremity of the Pentland Hills, through the mouth of the river Tummel to the middle of the Frith, east of Inchkeith,) has hitherto been delegated to the magistrates of Leith, by whom it is exercised in a court held by them at Leith. The magistrates of Edinburgh are also empowered to hold a *Criminal Court*, and their powers are co-ordinated with those of the Sheriff, and extend over the county of the city. Practically, however, they are exercised only in the punishment of petty delinquencies, which are brought before them while sitting in the council cham-

ber, and disposed of in a summary manner. More serious offences have sometimes been tried formally before the magistrates and a jury, assisted by one of the assessors, but this has been very rarely done, and not at all of late years. In certain cases they have a jurisdiction in matters of life and death, which, in ancient times, was often exercised by them; but that jurisdiction is now in desuetude. One of the magistrates sits daily as judge in the *Police Court,* whose criminal jurisdiction under the Police Act includes a much larger territory than the royalty. Punishments in this court are limited by the Police Act to sixty days' imprisonment in the Tolbooth or Bridewell, to a penalty not exceeding £10, to ordering payment of damages where due to a private party, to the extent of £5, and to requiring caution for good behaviour, or keeping the peace for 12 months, to the extent of £20. Cases occurring beyond the city are judged by the sheriff, who sits for that purpose daily in this court. The police can apprehend for every description of crime; but when the case is incompetent for that court to try, it is merely required to commit, and to send notice to the procurator-fiscal of the city or county, according as the crime has been committed within or without the royalty.

The magistrates exercise their muncipal jurisdiction with the assistance, and under the advice of three assesssors, who are advocates of considerable standing at the bar. They do not sit together, but each acts for two successive months at a time. They are paid by salaries from the city, but neither the magistrates nor any of the council have salaries, all give their services gratuitously.

The magistrates also hold what is called a *Council Chamber Court.* The only distinction between it and the Bailie Court is that the former is held weekly, on Friday, for the disposal of ordinary civil cases brought before it by summons, while the latter is a daily court for disposing of summary applications by petition, as removings, sequestrations, etc.

The Dean of Guild jurisdiction is vested in a court consisting of the Dean of Guild, and a council of six, partly merchants, and partly tradesmen, who are appointed by the magistrates. This court sits once a week, and is of very ancient standing; its constitution was, in 1585, confirmed by the town council, and on 24th June, same year, confirmed by Act of Parliament.[1] By this Act, it was empowered to judge in all causes between merchants, as also between merchants and mariners; but its power to judge in civil actions has for a long period been obsolete. This court takes cognizance of all buildings within the city and liberties, and previous to any building being erected, a warrant must be obtained from it authorising the same. It has the power of visiting and inspecting buildings insufficient, and condemning such as are insecure, and of obliging the proprietors to pull down and rebuild them. It also prevents any encroachments being made upon the public streets. All the weights and measures used in the city are inspected and regulated by this court, and it has power to seize such as are found deficient, and punish the persons who use them by fine or confiscation. The fees payable on entry with the

[1] James VI, parl. 13, cap. 180.

Guildry are the same as those leviable in the case of burgesses, and members have the privilege of paying lower shore-dues than others, of being eligible to be members of the Merchant Company, and of having their children admitted into the hospitals.

The duties of *City Treasurer*, previous to the year 1766, was to keep an account of, and to collect the revenues of the city; but as that officer could, by the late constitution of the burgh, only continue in office two consecutive years, it was found impossible for him during that short period to acquire a thorough knowledge of the town's affairs; besides, as the city increased, the branches of its revenue became so numerous, that no man who had any business of his own to attend to, could give the town's affairs the labour and attention they required. On that account the town council, in 1776, appointed an officer who is called *the City Chamberlain*, with an adequate salary, whose sole business is to conduct and keep an accurate account of the revenues of the city, from which period the office of treasurer became merely nominal.

Merchant Company.—The merchants of Edinburgh formed a corporation called the *Guildry*, from which, for many ages, the magistrates were exclusively chosen; but by Act of Parliament passed in the reign of James III, each of the incorporated trades was empowered to choose one of their number to vote in the election of officers for the government of the city. The Guildry was, on 19th October, 1681, incorporated by a charter from Charles II, which erected "the then haill present merchants, burgesses, and guild brethren of the burgh of Edinburgh, who were importers or sellers of cloaths, stuffs, or other merchandise, for the apparell or wear of the bodies of men or women, for themselves and successors in their said trade in all time coming, in a society or company, to be designed The Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh." The fees of entry at this period were ten shillings, besides two shillings yearly. A fee of five shillings was charged on apprentices being bound to a member of the company. As these trifling fees were found insufficient for the purposes intended, the company on 16th August, 1777, obtained a royal charter, authorising to levy from every member, upon his admission, six pounds and six shillings annually. The above charter was ratified by Act of Parliament in 1693. A subsequent charter and two successive Acts of Parliament, the last dated 28th May, 1827, have regulated the dues of entry, and authorised the company to admit all persons, "being merchants, burgesses, and guild brethren, or entitled to be chosen merchant councillors or magistrates of the city of Edinburgh."

The rate of entry-money as regulated by the last Act of Parliament is £63. By an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of George IV, the company was constituted an Assurance Society, for the benefit of widows of members, and certain contributions to its funds are compulsory on members at their entrance. The company have the chief interest, and are the virtual patrons and managers of the Merchant Maiden hospital, George Watson's hospital, James Gillespie's hospital and Free school, and other charitable institutions of the city, and through their master have

a share in the direction of almost all mercantile business of importance connected with the city. The company is presided over by a master, treasurer, and twelve assistants.

The company's stock at September, 1849, was £24,066 17s. 7½d. The income from interest of money, rents of real property, entry-money, etc., then amounted to £1,295 7s. 6½d. per annum.

From this fund the company paid pensions to 11 decayed members, amounting to .	£178 10s.
And pensions to 31 widows, . . .	582 10s.
	£761 0s.

The ordinary expense of the establishment amounted in that year to about £235.

The widow's scheme and fund is kept distinct from the common fund of the company, which on 28th August, 1849, had an accumulated capital of £43,401, 1s. 10½d., and distributed to 73 widows at Martinmas, 1848, £902 17s. 6d., and to 81 widows at Whitsunday, 1849, £941 16s. 9d.

The freedom or burgesship of the city is obtained by payment of a fixed sum, or serving an apprenticeship to some one or other of the crafts or trades, by propinquity to former burgesses, or by presentation. The price of a burgess-ticket to a stranger is £16 9s. It is £6 5s. 6d. if claimed in right of a father or wife; and £8 if by right of apprenticeship to a freeman.

There are fourteen incorporated bodies in Edinburgh, but they had no share in its municipal government till the reign of James III., when an Act was passed empowering each of them to choose one of their number to vote in the election of municipal officers. But this did not remove the disputes which had prevailed between the merchants and burgesses; there are however few, if any, authentic documents which explain the nature and grounds of the claims of the contending parties, except the decree-arbitral of James VI. in 1583, before referred to, when the late sett or constitution of the burgh was established. The fourteen incorporated trades which were formerly represented in the town council are, namely: *First*, the Shoemakers or Cordiners, who were erected by the town council into a corporated body by seal of cause on 28th July, 1449. Their charter was confirmed by the same body on 26th November that year, and also on 1st February, 1586, when an additional charter was granted them containing more ample privileges, and the latter was confirmed by James VI. on 6th March, 1598. *Second* and *Third*, the Wrights and Masons were united into one incorporation on 15th October, 1475, by an act of the town council. In 1489 the coopers were united to the wrights, and these grants were confirmed in 1517 by the archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1527 by James V., and in 1635 by Charles I. In 1703, by a decreet of the Court of Session, the bowmakers, glaziers, plumbers, and upholsterers, were united to the masons, and to the wrights were united the painters, slaters, and sievewrights. These incorporated trades hold their meetings in St. Mary's chapel in Niddry's wynd, and are commonly known by the name of *The United Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel.*

Fourth, the WEAVERS or WEBSTERS were formed into a fraternity by the magistrates on 31st January, 1475, and their charter was confirmed by the town council with additional privileges on 27th February, 1520; both of these grants were confirmed in the same year by John, archbishop of St. Andrews, and thereafter by the Scottish Parliament. *Fifth*, the HAMMERMEN obtained a seal of cause from the town council on 2nd May, 1483. At this time the corporation consisted of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, lorimers, saddlers, cutlers, and bucklerers or armourers; but none of these were allowed to practise more than one art, to prevent damage or hurt to each other. This incorporation in 1617 obtained an additional charter from the town council. The goldsmiths were separated from the hammermen in 1581, but the latter since then have had united with them several other branches, and now consists of blacksmiths, cutlers, saddlers, locksmiths, armourers, pewterers, shearsmiths, watchmakers, gunsmiths, hookmakers, pinmakers, bellmakers, founders, braziers, coppersmiths, and white-iron smiths. This incorporation meets in that small ancient chapel situated in Cowgate, called St. Mary Magdalene. Besides the general meetings of the united bodies, separate meetings of the several crafts are held to transact the business relative to them respectively. *Sixth*, the FLESHERS or BUTCHERS are a very ancient fraternity, but the precise period of their being incorporated is not with certainty known; however, on 11th April, 1488, they received a seal of cause from the magistrates. *Seventh*, the society of SKINNERS was formed into a corporate body by a seal of cause from the town council in 1586, which was confirmed in 1630. *Eighth:* the society of FURRIERS is also a very ancient body; but their original charter being lost, it is impossible to ascertain with accuracy when they were first erected into a corporation; however, in 1593 they presented a petition to the town council, setting forth that it was not unknown to them that they were an ancient free craft, with as old liberties and privileges as any other society within Edinburgh, paying *scot* and bearing *lot* with the rest of the inhabitants: and on 7th September that year they were incorporated by an act of council, and their privileges were confirmed on 5th April, 1665. *Ninth*, the WAULKERS were incorporated on 20th August, 1500, by a charter from the magistrates. The trade of HATTERS was joined to them on 13th September, 1672, and these two now form one body corporate. *Tenth:* although the TAILORS were erected into a corporation only on 26th August, 1500, by a seal of cause from the magistrates, yet, having then had an altar in St. Giles's church dedicated to St. Anne, they must have previously been formed into a society, and only applied at that date for confirmation of their rules and regulations. They subsequently received two charters from the town council, the one dated on 20th October, 1531, and the other on 11th November, 1584; the two former of these were confirmed by a crown charter dated on 18th November, 1531, and the whole by James VI. on 4th June, 1594. *Eleventh:* the SURGEONS were erected into a corporate body on 1st July, 1505, by the magistrates, and were at their erection conjoined

with the barbers, and both of these occupations were exercised by the same persons. The above charter was confirmed on 13th October, 1506, by James IV.; and Queen Mary did, by letters patent of 11th May, 1567, exempt them from attending juries, watching, and warding, within the city and liberties, to enable them to attend more closely to their patients and studies. These grants were on 6th June, 1613, confirmed by James VI., and likewise by Parliament on 17th November, 1641. The town council, on application being made to them, in 1657 erected by charter the surgeons and apothecaries into one incorporation, which with former privileges was confirmed by Charles II. in 1670, and by William and Mary in 1694, with an additional grant to practise in the counties of East, West, and Mid Lothian, Fife, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Berwick. The arts of surgery and pharmacy being thus united, the incorporation laid aside their profession as barber, which caused the town council to recommend the corporation to take care and supply the town with a sufficient number of persons qualified to shave and cut hair, under their inspection. In 1722 the Court of Session by a decree entirely separated the barbers from the surgeons, but the town council, to compensate the barbers for the loss of their privileges, granted to them an exclusive monopoly of making a spirituous liquor called *aquavitæ*. The surgeons, however, are still obliged to register the barbers' apprentices along with their own. The surgeons were again incorporated by a royal charter dated 14th March, 1778, under the title of *the Royal College of Surgeons*. *Twelfth:* the period when the society of the Baxters or Bakers was erected into a corporation is unknown, but it must have been previous to the year 1522, for in that year the town council granted them a charter, which sets forth, that by their negligence in times of public trouble the original charter incorporating them had been lost or gone amissing. *Thirteenth:* the society of Bonnet-makers was incorporated by the magistrates on 31st March, 1530. At that time they appear to have been united to the waulkers. In 1684 the litsters or dyers were united to them, although the corporation still goes under the name of Bonnet-makers. *Fourteenth*, the Goldsmiths, as before stated, were originally incorporated with the hammermen, from whom they were on 20th August, 1581, separated, and by the magistrates were erected into a distinct body. Their charter was on 3rd January, 1586, confirmed by James VI., and their rights and privileges were confirmed on 16th December, 1687.

Besides the above fourteen incorporated bodies, there are the Candlemakers and Barbers, neither of whom were represented in the convenery or town council. The Candlemakers were incorporated by a charter from the magistrates dated 5th September, 1517, which was confirmed by James VI. on 4th May, 1597, and ratified by Act of Parliament 17th July, 1695; but this corporation in 1582 lost the privilege of sending a member to the common council, by not producing their charter and signing the reference made in that year to the arbiters appointed by James VI., as before mentioned. The Barbers were in 1722 erected into a

corporated body by a charter from the town council, but without the privilege of sending a member to the common council. The first fourteen bodies above mentioned under the denomination of *incorporated trades* possessed the right of sending representatives to the town council, to the exclusion of more modern trades. However, all these rights were by the Burgh Reform Act abolished, and they now enjoy no other privileges but such as are common to other citizens, except that of sending their Convener to the council board as the representative of the whole fourteen incorporated trades.

Each of the incorporated trades had their favourite altar to support in St. Giles's church;[1] the manner of doing so will be fully explained by the following excerpt from the original charter erecting the weavers into a corporate body: "That nae man occupy the craft as foremaster quhill he be maide burgess and freeman, and be examinate be the deykin and maisteris of the craft, gif that he be worthie; and that he sall have gude and sufficient graith and workloumis, to be seen and considerit be four men of the craft; this beande, he sall pay twa marks and twa pund of wax to the said altare of Saint Severane, and uphald thereof; and gif he be a burgess' son, he sall pay half a mark to the altare foresaid." The whole revenues of these corporate bodies were, previous to the Reformation, appropriated to the defraying of the expense of keeping up their respective altars and maintaining the chaplains that officiated thereat; but since that period they have been applied to the maintenance of poor members, their widows and orphans.

There are few of the corporations in a flourishing condition in respect to funds, although some are much more so than others; their property has been generally prudently managed, and their funds, the Butchers' excepted, applied to proper corporation purposes.

The Convenery consists of the fourteen deacons of trades, with two trades' councillors. The deacon-convener has, as before stated, a seat *ex officio* at the council board, and is president of the convenery court, and, previous to the passing of the Burgh Reform Act, took cognizance of all encroachments made by non-freemen on the liberties and privileges of the several crafts. The period at which this officer was first appointed is unknown, but it could not have been previous to 1424, when Parliament ordained[2] that, for the better government of the several crafts throughout Scotland, the respective trades in each town should choose from among themselves a prudent and judicious man for their deacon, "swa that the kingis lieges be not defrauded and skaithed in time to cum as they have bene in time by-gane, throw untrew men of craftes." The convenery has neither corporate rights, funds, nor patronage, but the convener is *ex officio* a manager or director of various public trusts and charities, such as a road trustee for the middle district, a commissioner for the Jail and Bridewell, a director of the Water Company, and a manager of the Royal Dispensary and Royal Infirmary. He has the custody of the

[1] Previous to the Reformation there were nearly forty altars in St. Giles's church.

[2] James I., parl. 2, cap. 39.

banner or standard, which from its colour receives the name of the Blue Blanket.[1]

The magistrates of Edinburgh, previous to the passing of the Burgh Reform Act, had as superiors the appointment of the baron-bailie of Leith; but since that period Leith has had a magistracy of its own, independent of the town council: they, however, as superiors of the suburbs of Canongate, and Easter and Wester Portsburgh, have the appointment of baron bailies of these districts out of their own body. The duties of these functionaries are little better than nominal, as they in turn appoint others named *resident bailies*, who discharge the necessary duties. Their jurisdiction also extends over the Calton.

The Canongate was originally erected by David I. into what is called an Abbot's burgh, or burgh of regality, and it is one of the most ancient burghs of that description in Scotland. The privileges granted them in their original charter were confirmed by Robert the Bruce and Robert III., and many powers and privileges were conferred on them by subsequent sovereigns; among others, the power of setting down rules for the government of the inhabitants. Acting under these powers, the Abbots are said to have appointed as the earliest sett or constitution of the Burgh, two bailies, a treasurer, and council, with right to make burgesses and craftsmen, and to hold courts civil and criminal, with privilege and liberty of chapel and chancellary, by issuing briefs and serving the same before such courts. All these powers and privileges, with certain feu duties and other property, the abbots afterwards conveyed to the community of Canongate, reserving nothing but the bare superiority of the burgh, which they continued to hold till the Reformation. Robert Stewart, Commandator of Holyrood, exchanged the abbacy for the temporality of the bishopric of Orkney, with Adam, bishop of Orkney. The superiority passed successively into the hands of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Broughton and others, till it was acquired by the earl of Roxburgh, from whom the city of Edinburgh, about the year 1636, purchased it. The bargain included the town of north Leith, part of the barony of Broughton, and part of the Pleasance, then a village. The price for the whole was £42,100 Scots (£3,508 6s. 8d. sterling) which purchase was thereafter confirmed by Charles I.

The magistrates of Canongate still have the ordinary jurisdiction of Bailies of Regality, but their jurisdiction in criminal matters has not been exercised for many years. The resident bailies hold a weekly court for civil cases, in which they dispose of the same classes of questions that are competent to sheriffs and magistrates of royal burghs. They also act as justices of the peace within the bounds of the burgh, and as such hold a weekly *Small Debt Court*, in which cases not exceeding £5 sterling are tried *viva voce*, and also act in all matters falling under the cognizance of Justices. They are assisted by an assessor who is a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and is appointed by the town council of Edinburgh as superiors, although his salary is paid from the funds of the burgh. Their jurisdiction extends

[1] Vide B. i, p 45.

over the whole of the burgh, including Canongate proper, the abbey of Holyrood, Pleasance, North Leith, and Coal-hill. The annual revenue of the burgh amounts to about £420. This arises from annual feu duties, compositions on entries of vassals, petty customs, market dues, causeway mail, fuilzie, entries of burgesses, fines on non-freemen, etc. The burgh owes no debt, and its annual expenditure amounts only to about £250, so that it may be said to be in a prosperous state, its revenues being more than sufficient to meet its expenditure.

There are eight incorporated trades within the burgh, namely, Hammermen, Tailors, Wrights, Bakers, Shoemakers, Weavers, Fleshers, and Barbers. These, previous to the Burgh Reform Act, enjoyed exclusive privileges. They are still possessed of funds, which are appropriated to the support of their poor members and widows.

It will be necessary here to take notice of the bailie court of the abbey of Holyrood, it being connected with the burgh of Canongate.

The abbey of Holyrood, like many other religious houses, possessed, during the time of Popery, the privilege of sanctuary. As a royal palace, it continued after the Reformation to be regarded as an asylum for debtors, and still retains its privilege of exemption from personal arrest for civil debts. This privilege has been recognised by various decisions of the supreme court; and by an act of Scottish Parliament in 1696, and subsequently by the various acts of the imperial Parliament, called the Bankrupt Acts. It is the only sanctuary in Scotland. The same privilege was at one time claimed for the castle of Edinburgh,[1] the royal Mint and the king's stables; but the privilege in these cases has been abrogated. The bailie of Holyrood is appointed by the Duke of Hamilton as hereditary keeper of the palace, and holds office during his pleasure. His commission gives him power to appoint a substitute, and to name fiscals, clerks, and other officers of court. The jurisdiction of the bailie (who has always been a professional gentleman of respectability) is that of regality; and it was not affected by the Act abolishing heritable jurisdictions, being a royal residence and a regality, independent of a superior; and the Court of Session, in 1818, recognised the bailie as the judge of an independent regality. The bailie's jurisdiction is both criminal and civil, and from the diet books of court, it appears in criminal actions, he has pronounced sentence of banishment, pillory, and imprisonment, required bail to keep the peace, inflicted fines, etc. In civil cases he has entertained personal actions upon contracts to an unlimited extent; actions of rent, sequestrations, removings, scandal, etc.; and these whether the parties residing within his territory had the benefit of the sanctuary or not. The jurisdiction of the bailie is recognised and reserved in the police act for the city of Edinburgh. The bailie's jurisdiction is in some respects *privitive*. He alone can grant warrants against persons within his jurisdiction; and his concurrence is necessary to the civil warrants of other judges. Generally, the bailie's jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, is that of

[1] Mackay *v.* Campbell, etc., 15th December, 1714.

a sheriff. He holds courts weekly within the court-room of the abbey, and the mode of procedure is nearly assimilated to the forms observed in the court of Session and Sheriff court. Where, however, the debt is under £10, the pleadings are *viva voce*, unless the bailie considers it necessary to order written pleadings. The protection of the sanctuary is obtained by a *petition* to the bailie, and is granted of course, the expense of which is £2 2s. A debtor, on entering the sanctuary, is protected for 24 hours, after which, unless he obtains a protection, he is liable to be apprehended; as long as he resides within the bounds, the certificate requires no renewal; but should he leave the sanctuary for fifteen days he cannot be again protected by it unless renewed. No protection can be given to crown debtors or those convicted of or charged with fraud. Five hundred and ninety-three persons obtained the privilege of the sanctuary, from 31st October, 1824, to 31st October, 1834; four hundred and twelve of these belonged to Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, and one hundred and eighty-one to other parts of the kingdom. Refugees have liberty to leave the sanctuary from twelve o'clock on Saturday night for the space of twenty-four hours. The boundaries of the sanctuary are very extensive, reaching beyond the precincts of the palace, and comprising the king's park, Salisbury Crags, and the greater portion of Arthur's Seat. These grounds belong by right of free-foresting to the Earl of Haddington, who lets them for a considerable sum annually, as a grazing park for sheep. The public have nevertheless an indefeasible right to walk through them.

The burgh of barony of Portsburgh comprehends two districts, Easter and Wester Portsburgh, which lie discontiguous. These were on 4th April, 1649, by a crown charter united, and of new erected into a free burgh of barony, to be called 'The Burgh of Barony of Portsburgh.' The lands on which Portsburgh is erected, appear at one time to have formed portions of the barony of Inverleith, and the lordship of Dalry, Pocketsliev, and Bristo. They were first separated from that barony by a conveyance executed by John Touris of Inverleith, in favour of Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, knight, who, in 1648, transferred his right to the magistrates and council of Edinburgh for 27,500 merks Scots (£1500 sterling). What is now known as Easter Portsburgh was at the beginning of the seventeenth century described as the east and west crofts of Bristo, otherwise Potterrow, and has been described as comprehending "the east side of Bristo-street, from Bristo-port, southward, Potterrow, Lothian, and South College streets, Drummond street, to opposite Adam street, and Nicholson street, to nearly the entry to the York hotel on the west, and to the Surgeons' hall on the east." Wester Portsburgh comprehended the lands of the Hieriggs, Dundryan, Tolcross, Evanside, *alias* Pocketsliev, etc. This district lies wholly to the west of Wharton lane and the Vennel, and has been described as comprehending "the Main street of Wester Portsburgh on both sides, from the Corn-market and foot of Vennel to Main-point; the whole of Laurieston, both sides, from Wharton lane to Lochrin, including Portland-place, Cowfeeder-row, on the west, and to Bruntsfield

Links on the east, including Home and Leven streets." There lies interjected between these two, the whole territory along the southern boundary of Heriot's work and the site of the old city wall, comprehending the west side of Bristo-street, Park-place, Teviot-row, the Meadow Walk, the grounds of Watson's hospital, the Lying-in hospital, etc.

The town-council, in character of baron and superior, appoint annually a baron bailie, and two resident bailies, and these also appoint a clerk and procurator fiscal. Any expenses connected with this establishment are defrayed by the city. The burgh has no corporation property, revenue, or debt; neither are there any burgesses or guild brethren in the burgh, but there are eight incorporated trades deriving their rights from John Touris of Inverleith.

There has been no jurisdiction exercised of late years within the Portsburghs, either by the baron or resident bailies. Formerly courts were occasionally held for the recovery of debts under 40s., and for deciding summary complaints for theft, breaches of the peace, etc.

In 1661 the superiority of the king's stables was purchased by the town council from James Brisland, for £1000 Scots, (£83 6s. 8d. sterling,) together with his admission gratis to the guildry. This was a piece of ground lying on the south side of the castle, a little west from the West-port, that took its name in consequence of the stables or mews for the steeds and hawking establishment of the sovereign and suite having been there situated, when resident at the castle.

The lands of Calton formed part of the barony of Restalrig, belonging to Lord Balmerino. The magistrates and town council having purchased them from his lordship, obtained on 22nd June, 1725, a charter from the crown disjoining them from that barony, and annexing them to the city of Edinburgh. That charter, however, did not erect the lands into a burgh of barony. The town council appoint each year one of their number to be bailie of Canongate and Calton; but in the latter no judicial functions are exercised by him, nor does it appear that he has right to exercise any jurisdiction. The limits of the bailiary of Calton are now extremely difficult to ascertain, as it consists of different fragments of land since the erection of the Regent bridge, and the extension of the royalty in that quarter; it is, however, described as extending from "the brewery a little to the eastward of Shotts foundry at the north back of Canongate, westward along the street so called, including all the houses next the Calton Hill, and turning round and including the High Calton, passing through the archway of the Regent bridge, along Calton street, and down the street leading to Wordsworth's stables, including all the buildings on the side of the street next the hill, and down to the Greenside Well, at the north-eastern extremity of the city's property of Calton Hill; from thence the boundary crosses over the hill by the wall of the Regent terrace garden, and the east end of the High School, to the brewery above mentioned, all the immediate property being included."

The only corporation connected with the Calton is that of the incorporated trades, constituted by a charter granted on 21st December, 1631, by Lord Balmerino as superior. This charter does not, as is usually the case, erect each trade into a separate corporation, but combines all into one aggregate body.

The city of Edinburgh, previous to the Burgh Reform Act, returned one member to the British Parliament, who was elected exclusively by the town council; but it now returns two members, who are elected by proprietors or occupiers of houses to the amount of £10 of yearly value.

The patronage of the town council is very extensive and valuable. They appoint three assessors, two principal town clerks, a depute town clerk, a keeper of the council records, a superintendent and an overseer of public works, a procurator fiscal, a chamberlain, town officers, and numerous other civic functionaries, not only in the city, but in Leith and Canongate, who enjoy salaries and fees in the aggregate to a very considerable amount. They also appoint the majority of the professors of the university; are patrons of thirteen city churches, of Currie, Wemyss, and alternately with the Earl of Stairs, of Fala; are joint patrons of some of the public hospitals, High School, and many other institutions.

A sword and mace are carried before the magistrates and council on public occasions. Their official robes are scarlet gowns.

The City Arms are of considerable antiquity, and may be blazoned thus: Argent, a castle triple towered, sable marshalled of the first, surmounted with thanes' gules, supported on the dexter by a virgin lady, on the sinister by a deer; crest, an anchor proper surmounting a casque; motto on scroll beneath, *Nisi Dominus frustra.*

Town Guard.—Previous to the fatal battle of Flodden, in 1513, we have no account of how the city was protected; but it is not improbable that it was by that species of personal service peculiar to Scotland called *watching* and *warding*, by which the trading portion of the citizens were bound to keep watch in person alternately during the night, to prevent or suppress occasional disturbances. Immediately after the news reached the city of that unfortunate battle, the town council, with an intrepidity which did them honour, commanded the inhabitants to assemble in defence of the city,[1] and ordered every fourth man to be on duty each night. After the alarm occasioned by the above defeat had somewhat subsided, the inhabitants were relieved from personal watching, and a body of twenty-four men were raised and maintained for the security of the town; and this is said to have been the first time that it was placed under the protection of a paid guard. Some time previous to 1596, the citizens again adopted the old plan of personally watching the town by night;[2] but this mode being found extremely inconvenient, the town council appointed thirty men to guard the city as formerly, at the public expense. This guard being in 1625 discontinued, the ancient mode of watching was once more resumed, whereby each

[1] Vide B. i, p. 53. [2] Mait. B. i, c. 4, p. 55.

citizen watched by turns every twenty-fifth night. As the city increased, such a system became very inconvenient; and the town council, to relieve the citizens of so disagreeable a duty, in 1648 commuted these services into money, and again appointed a body, now composed of sixty men, for the security of the city, commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants, and three corporals.[1] As there was no regular fund for paying this company, and it having become impossible to raise the necessary sum by voluntary subscription, the old method of *watching* and *warding* was again resumed; but the citizens upon whom this duty devolved had become so relaxed in their discipline, that the magistrates were threatened by the privy council with having the king's troops quartered on the city, if they did not appoint a sufficient guard[2] for preserving order. To prevent this threat being carried into execution, forty men were raised in 1679. This body was in the year 1682 augmented to 108 men, at the suggestion of the Duke of York. To defray the expense of this company, the town council imposed a tax upon the citizens, and the imposition was ratified by the king, in whom the appointment of officers was vested, as also the power of marching the corps wherever he thought proper.

After the Revolution, the town council complained of this guard as a grievance, which they wished to have removed. Their request was immediately complied with, and the old method of *watching* and *warding* was resumed. The very next year, however, the citizens not thinking themselves safe, on account of the daily commotions in the city, without a guard of regular troops, voluntarily did what they would not permit to be imposed upon them. They applied to and were empowered by Parliament[3] to raise one hundred and twenty-six men, including officers, and to assess the citizens to the extent of £15,000 Scots (£1250 sterling) for their support. These were commanded by the provost of the city for the time being.

This company was, in 1698, reduced to one hundred and two; and on a peace being concluded between France and Britain, it was further reduced to twenty-eight. It was, however, in 1700, augmented to ninety men, who received sixpence per day; three corporals and three drummers, one shilling per day; three sergeants, one shilling and sixpence per day; and two captain-lieutenants, four shillings per day, each.

Some of the rules and regulations enacted by the town council for the observance of this company are so ludicrous, that the following copy of them may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"1st, That every sentinel, before his admission into the company, shall give security for his honest and good deportment. 2nd, That no sentinel stay a night without the city walls, without leave, on pain of being cashiered, and to be punished at the will of the provost. 3rd, That no sentinel shall either curse or swear, under the forfeiture of a day's pay; for the second fault, two days' pay (both for the use of the poor), and to sit four

[1] Arnot's Hist. of Edin., B. iv, p. 390. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 29, p. 275.
[3] Acta parl. v. 9, p. 202.

hours in the stocks; and for the third fault, to ride the wooden horse. 4th, That no soldier shall be absent from the public worship, when off duty, on the sabbath day, but shall religiously observe the same, on the penalty of a day's pay, and sitting in the stocks four hours; and for the second offence, to forfeit two days' pay, and ride the wooden horse. 5th, That none sleep, be drunk, or leave his post, or forbear calling to the next sentinel on the first disturbance in the street, on the pain of being broke, and otherwise severely punished at the will of the provost. 6th, That as often as any of the said soldiers shall be disguised in liquor, or using opprobrious language, he shall forfeit two days' pay, and ride the wooden horse the space of an hour. 7th, That none be absent from his duty on guard-day, on the penalty of two days' pay and riding the wooden horse one hour. 8th, That the sergeant of the guard call over the rolls twice a-day, at the hours of eleven, before and after noon; and oftener, if there be occasion. 9th, That none keep, or be seen in a bawdy house, or in bad company, or houses frequented by rogues, on pain of an exemplary punishment, to be inflicted at the will of the provost. 10th, That none discover the watchword, or give any other, under the pain of being broke, and punished at the discretion of the provost. 11th, That none presume to draw a sword, bayonet, or other weapon in wrath, nor fight or beat one another in the guard-house, or in sight thereof, or elsewhere, under the pain of being broke, and otherwise punished at the will of the provost. 12th, Whoever mutinieth, or conceals the same in any other, shall be broke, and punished at the discretion of the provost. 13th, That none disobey the just commands of his officer, on pain of being cashiered, and punished at the will of the provost. 14th, That no officer grant a furlough to any soldier without the provost's permission, under the penalty of a day's pay for every day the said soldier shall be absent. 15th, That the officer of the guard receive all persons committed by the magistrates, church-treasurer, constables, and others, and detain them till examined and discharged by a magistrate. 16th, That no officer disband any soldier, or absent himself from his duty on a guard day, without the provost's warrant, on the pain of an arbitrary punishment by the provost. 17th, That the captain of the guard cause two of his soldiers patrol the streets by night, to give notice of the breaking out of fires; and in order to extinguish them as soon as possible, the said captain shall keep an account of the dwellings and names of the firemen, to inform them of such an accident; and in a particular manner to have regard to the diligence of the said patrollers. 18th, That the whole company shall march and be exercised once a month. 19th, That the captain of the guard take particular care to keep the peace, by suppressing all riots, tumults, and other disturbances, by seizing the transgressors, whose names shall be given in every morning to the bailie in waiting. 20th, That the soldiers keep their arms and apparel clean and neat; and that all offences not above specified to be punished at the discretion of the provost."

From the above period to 1817, when this ancient guard was

disbanded, their number often fluctuated; and in 1805, when a regular establishment of police was established by Act of Parliament, they were reduced to thirty-seven men, and the burgesses relieved from the burden of their payment, which was laid upon the inhabitants at large. Their only duties, after the establishment of the police force were, attending the magistrates as an honorary guard, mounting guard on the prison and at the execution of criminals. For many years previous to being disbanded, this company was composed of feeble old men in the garb of soldiers, whose appearauce only excited the ridicule of the juveniles of the city. The day arms of this venerable body were the same as those used by the king's forces, but they were armed during the night with a Lochaber axe, an ancient Scottish offensive weapon, not now in use.

The guard-house of this ancient establishment stood upon the south side of the High street, a little below the cross, and had a *black hole*, which was the terror of youthful depredators as well as of nocturnal offenders. This building is supposed to have been erected in the reign of Charles II., and although a great incumbrance to the street, was not demolished till the year 1788.

Trained Bands.—In addition to the town-guard, the city had formerly a militia of its own, designated the 'Trained Band,' which appears to have been first established in 1626, and then consisted of eight companies, of 200 men each. In 1645, it was resolved by the town council that this militia should consist of sixteen companies;[1] and to carry that resolution into effect, the city was divided into as many departments, each company to consist of 100 men. Of these the lord provost was colonel; but their commanding officer in ordinary was known by the title of *Captain-Commandant*. Under him there were a lieutenant-colonel and major, and in each company a captain and ensign. In the rebellion in 1745, the arms provided for the trained bands, and kept in the city armoury, were carried off by the Highlanders, and they have since neither been restored nor replaced.

It was usual to parade this body every year on the anniversary of the Sovereign's birth; but only the staff, consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign, now remain, who are elected annually, as a matter of form, the institution for any useful purpose being now entirely dissolved.

High Constables.—This respectable body may be said to be, since the town-guard was disbanded, the magistrates' body-guard. They are sixty in number, and support the magistrates' authority when called upon. Previous to their election they must have entered as burgesses, and been in business three years. The society is governed by a moderator or president, treasurer, and secretary. They are chosen by the magistracy from leets of three persons, presented by retiring members, and remain in office for three years, unless when chosen as office-bearers within the last year, when they remain another year. These constables are sometimes of use in assisting the ordinary police in suppressing tumults; and on her Majesty's visit to the city in 1842, and pass-

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 13, p. 324.

ing through it by the railway in 1849, they made themselves very useful; but as they are now seldom called upon, the association has subsided into little else than an annual dining club.

Their number, including the chaplain and surgeon, amounts to fifty-six. There are also a body of seventeen high constables in the *Burgh of Canongate*, nine in the Abbey of Holyrood, and twenty in the Calton. In Easter Portsburgh there are fourteen constables, and in Wester Portsburgh fifteen.

Police Establishment.—In 1771 an act[1] was passed for the purpose of cleaning, lighting, and watching the streets without the royalty, on the south side of the city, which was divided into eight districts, called the 'Southern Districts.' And the following year an act[2] was obtained for the same purpose for the burgh of Canongate, and liberties of the Pleasance, and Leith wynd. In 1785, an act,[3] as before stated, was passed for extending the royalty of the city and dividing it into two districts, called the ancient and extended royalty, and for various other purposes, in which the commissioners therein appointed were empowered to assess these two districts to the extent of two per cent. on the rental of all shops, houses, and tenements, for the purpose of *lighting* the streets, in these districts.

The watching of the city was previous to 1805 a burden on the burgesses liable to "watch and ward," upon whom a *Stent* was imposed, as before mentioned, under authority of an act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1690, to support a military guard called the *Town Guard*. In that year the first police act[4] was passed, which suspended the two acts above mentioned, namely, those of 1771 and 1772, in so far as regarded *watching*, but in other respects they continued in force, and the act passed in 1785 was also continued in force, but the powers of the commissioners under it were extended to cleaning as well as lighting the streets. With these exceptions, a uniform system of police was then first established over Edinburgh and suburbs.

The establishment was re-modelled in 1812 by act[5] of Parliament, when the foundation of the present system was laid, which has been altered and amended by numerous subsequent acts.

The police territory includes the limits of all the *de facto* town of Edinburgh, which is divided into thirty-two wards.

The General Commissioners are forty-eight in number, twelve *ex officiis*, four elected by public bodies out of their own number, and thirty-two elected by rate-payers resident within the wards. To each ward there are one general and two resident commissioners. All householders paying ten pounds or upwards of annual rent are entitled to a vote. The commissioners *ex officiis* are, the lord provost, four bailies, dean of guild, treasurer and convener of trades, the sheriff of the county and one of his substitutes, the senior resident bailie of Canongate, and the convener of the southern districts. Those elected by public bodies are chosen by the faculty of advocates, the society of writers to the signet, the society of solicitors in the supreme courts, and the merchant company.

[1] Geo. III., parl. 2, cap. 36. [2] Ibid. parl. 12, cap. 15. [3] Ibid. parl. 25, cap. 28.
[4] Ibid. parl. 45, cap. 21. [5] Ibid. parl. 52, cap. 172.

The police establishment at this period (1850) consists of 1 superintendent, 4 lieutenants, 1 sergeant-major, 8 criminal officers, 2 senior reserve-sergeants, 31 sergeants, and 262 constables.

TOTAL REVENUE & EXPENDITURE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT FROM WHITSUNDAY, 1848, TO WHITSUNDAY, 1849.

Revenue—Watching,		£16,452 4	6½
—Lighting,		4,835 11	2
—Cleaning,		12,956 0	4¾
		£34,243 16	1¼
Expenditure—Watching,	£15,053 6 8		
—Lighting,	5,925 7 3		
—Cleaning,	13,723 10 0¾		
		£34,702 3	11¾
Leaving a Nett Deficiency, or sum short Assessed for the general purposes of the Act, of		£458 7	10½
Deficiency of revenue on Lighting,	£1,089 16 1		
do. do. on Cleaning,	767 9 8		
	£1,857 5 9		
Whereof supplied from the surplus on Watching,	1,398 17 10½		
Nett Deficiency as above,		£458 7	10½
In the year ending Whitsunday, 1830, the total revenue of the Establishment was calculated at		£22,304 8	7½
Revenue at Whitsunday, 1849, as above,		34,243 16	1½
Thus showing an increase of the revenue, since 1830, of		£11,939 7	6
Total expenditure as at Whitsunday, 1830,		£21,014 10	2½
Do. at Whitsunday, 1849, as above,		34,702 3	11¾
Thus showing an increase of the expenditure, *since* 1830, *of*		£13,687 13	9¼

Fire Establishment.—In the reign of James I. the houses in Scotland were generally built of wood and covered with straw, both in the country and within burghs. Houses so constructed must have been subject to frequent and ruinous fires. To provide against such accidents, Parliament enacted a number of regulations to be observed within burghs or towns, which were ordered to be enforced by aldermen and bailies, under certain penalties. And, for extinguishing any fires that might happen, it was in 1426 ordained,[1] "That in ilk burgh their be ordained, of the commoun coaste, six, seven, or aucht ledders, after the quantitie of the burgh; twentie fute the ledder, and that they be keeped in a reddie place of the toune, and to that use, and nane uther. And of the samin wise, there be ordained three or four sayes to the commoun use, and six or maa cleikes of iron, to draw downe timber and ruiffes that ar fired.

After the destructive fire in the Parliament square and Lawnmarket in 1700, before referred to,[2] the magistrates, in 1703,

[1] James I., parl. 4, c. 73 and 74. [2] Vide B. i, p. 230.

formed a company of firemen, which consisted of twelve burgesses or freemen, called fire-masters, each of whom had six assistants of his own nomination. The fire-masters received their instructions from the magistrates, and the assistants from their respective fire-masters; these were all ordered to present themselves to the magistrates, the first Monday of February and August, yearly.

When on duty, each fire-master had a batoon in his hand, and their assistants wore a leather cap with a cross iron bar on it; each of these had a "large hand-aix made with luggs nailed to the shaft, and ane sledge-hamer, with an hand-saw, all marked with the town's mark." Each fire-master had his name above his door, and a list of the whole was lodged with the town guard.

The town council appointed to be made, "Twentie-four sayes and threttie-sex slings with knags, whereof sex standing full of water, and the slings hanging by them, and some bucketts, with sex shovells, and sex mattocks, with the good town's name upon them, to be lodged in the north side of the Weigh-house, under a shade, to be made for that end; and the lyke at the east end of the Court of guard; and the lyke at the Back-closs of the Laigh counsell-house; and the lyke at the New Well at the foot of the Horse-wynd in the Cowgate." Three hundred leather buckets were also kept for the use of the establishment; as many of these as conveniently could, were lodged in the town guard house, and the rest were hung in the *old kirk*, where were also kept twelve ladders; three of forty-six, three of thirty, three of twenty, and three of fifteen feet in length. The council also "appoynts the whole men to have each of them a *creill*, and to repair to the fyre with their *creills full of horse dung or muck* upon the first alarm." Two firemen walked during the night through the streets, with large batoons, five or six feet long, in their hands; who, in case of fire, gave immediate notice to the firemasters and the city guard. The occupiers of each tenement within the city were ordered by the town council to keep two or three ropes that could reach from the top of the house to the ground, and four fathoms more, with a sufficient quantity of water in their houses or cellars, to be ready in case of fire. Regulations were also made by the council for keeping the wells and fire-cocks in proper condition; and, as an encouragement to the firemen's assistants, they settled an annuity of ten pounds Scots (16s. 8d. sterling) on each.[1]

The present system was organised about the year 1824 by Mr. Braidwood, who superintended it till the year 1832, when, his fame having reached London, he was called to superintend the fire department of that large city, over which he still presides, and has greatly improved the establishment. The fire establishment of Edinburgh, being included in the police act, is superintended by a committee of the commissioners of police; and from the great attention and strenuous exertions paid by them to this department of their arduous and numerous duties, it is kept in the most efficient state. Instead of foisting a superintendent over

[1] Coun. Reg. v. 37, p. 46.

the establishment, with no other recommendation than *interest*, the commissioners have, both in the last and present appointment, chosen men who had been long in the establishment, and they have had every reason to be satisfied with their choice. The present superintendent, Mr. Mitchell, has been about twenty years in the establishment, and his long experience and intimate acquaintance with every department of the system give the commissioners and the public in general the greatest confidence in his exertions.

The establishment in 1850 consisted of a fire-master or superintendent, an assistant fire-master, three captains of engines, four sergeants, sixteen pioneers, and twenty-eight firemen; in all fifty-three. The apparatus for extinguishing fires consists of five seven-inch barrel engines, with 117 lengths of hose, each length being 40 feet. When an engine is taken out to a fire, it carries along with it 14 lengths of hose, 2 lengths of suction hose, 6 feet each; 2 directors, 1 distributor, 4 ladders, 7 feet long each, made so as they can, if necessary, be joined together; 4 hooks, 2 keys and picker for opening the fire cock doors, 1 pick and 2 shovels, 1 mattock, hand saw, and crow-bar, and many other articles that may be required.

Total Expenditure of this establishment from Whitsunday, 1848, to Whitsunday, 1849, amounted to . .	£669	12	2¼
Total Income that year	357	3	2
Deficiency, supplied from the general police funds,	£312	9	0¼

CHAPTER III.

Monastery of Blackfriars—of Greyfriars—of Carmelite friars and Hospital of Greenside—of St. Anthony—of St. Catherine of Sienna—Church of St. Mary's in-the-Field—Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene—St. Mary's Chapel—St. Roque's Chapel—Hospital of the Virgin Mary—Hospital of our Lady—St. Thomas's Hospital.

The number of religious houses in Edinburgh and vicinity, previous to the Reformation, was very considerable; and although it may be admitted that the main object of these religious establishments was to promote learning, afford relief to the distressed, and give encouragement to the exercise of piety, conformably to their religious tenets, yet there can be little doubt that many of these institutions encouraged idleness, and even promoted debauchery. But it is questionable if the lands and revenues which were wrested from them at the Reformation by the rapacious nobles, were ever applied to purposes as beneficial to the community as those for which they were originally designed. We shall here briefly notice the most important of these, exclusive of Holyrood, which will be hereafter described. As before remarked, the whole of the religious establishments in the city were gifted to the magistrates by Queen Mary, with all the lands and revenues belonging to them in any part of the kingdom.

The Monastery of Blackfriars, (Dominicans,) which was founded by Alexander II. in the year 1230, was styled in the charters connected with it,[1] *Mansio Regis*, from having been the occasional and favourite residence of its royal founder. It was built nearly upon the same site on which the late High School in Infirmary Square was erected, and had a garden extending down to the Cowgate, as well as the piece of ground on which the lane called *Blackfriars Wynd* is built, which took its name from that religious community.

The revenues belonging to this convent appear to have been very considerable; their rental contained no less than two hundred and thirty-four articles of rents, the charters and other deeds belonging to their estates amounted to three hundred and ninety, and the anniversary obits, etc., made in return for their lands, amounted to ninety-seven. Among other endowments, the friars had six merks yearly out of the mill at Liberton, given to them by Robert the Bruce, and some rents from the chaplain of James III., "*pro sustentatione lampadis in choro.*" These, and all other foundations were confirmed in 1473, by James III. This monastery was accidentally burnt down in 1528, and scarcely rebuilt at the Reformation, when nearly all its inmates were stripped of their possessions.

The Monastery of Greyfriars (Franciscans) was founded by James I., who, after returning from England, endeavoured by salutary laws, and the encouragement of learning, to civilize the nation. It was situated on the south side of the Grass market, nearly opposite the West Bow, with some fine and spacious gardens, which have long been used as a cemetery.

The house that was prepared for the reception of these friars, who came from Cologne in Germany, was so magnificent for the times, that they, in their humility and self-denial, declined to lodge in it, and only accepted of such spacious accommodation on the repeated entreaties of the bishop of St. Andrews. Some of these friars were considered the most learned and devout men of their time, and divinity and philosophy were constantly taught in the establishment till the Reformation, when it shared the fate of other religious establishments.

The Monastery of Carmelite Friars and Hospital of Greenside, was erected on a piece of ground at the north-east base of the Calton hill, which was granted to the citizens in 1456 by James II., for the purpose of holding tilts and tournaments. In 1526 the town council, with consent of James V. and the archbishop of St. Andrews, assigned the piece of ground to certain Carmelite or Begging Friars, on which to erect a convent. This they afterwards did, and dedicated it to the "Holy Cross," but the establishment existed only about thirty years. After the Reformation, a person named John Robertson, "pursuant to a vow on his receiving a signal mercy from God," erected, in 1591, by licence of the town council, on the site of the monastery, an hospital for the reception of individuals affected with leprosy. The severity of the regulations which the magistrates appointed

[1] Braun Agrippensis voce Edinburgum, Keith's Catalogue, pp. 262, 270.

to be observed by those admitted into this hospital, secluded them from the rest of mankind. When opened, seven lepers, all inhabitants of Edinburgh, were admitted.[1] They were allowed fourpence Scots, weekly, besides the alms they could obtain by their *clapper*. The lepers were allowed to sit daily, by rotation, at the door of the hospital, with a *clapper* in their hands, begging alms, but were not allowed to cry or ask for any; what they received was equally distributed amongst the whole. They were restricted from going without the hospital, or having its doors open after sunset, *under the pain of death*. That this might not be deemed an empty threat, the magistrates erected "ane gibbet at the gebell of the hospital, for terrefying the leperes."

Monastery of St. Anthony. The monastery of the Knights Templars of St. Anthony was erected north-west from the present church of South Leith, upon the west side of the alley, still denominated *St. Anthony's Wynd*. There the fraternity had a church, church-yard, monastery, and gardens.[2] These, and all the lands belonging to the convent, were, in 1614, vested by James VI. in the session of the church of Leith, for endowing an hospital, called 'King James's Hospital.' The chapel of St. Anthony, situated on the north side of Arthur's seat, was an appendage of this monastery. This chapel is said to have been a beautiful Gothic building, well suited to the rugged sublimity of the rock. It was 43 feet long, 18 in breadth, and the same in height. At its west end was a tower 19 feet square, and is supposed to have been upwards of 40 in height. But only a small vestige of this building now remains. The cell of the hermitage is still in existence, a few yards to the west of the chapel. It is 16 feet long, and about 12 broad, and 8 high.

Monastery of St. Catherine of Sienna. South of the Meadows in the centre of a park stands a low shaped ruin, said to be the only relic of a monastery of Dominican nuns founded by the lady of St. Clair of Roslin, and dedicated to St. Catherine of Sienna. In the general wreck of religious establishments at the Reformation, this house was destroyed, and its revenues, amounting to £219, 6s. 8d., sterling, 80 bolls of wheat, six bolls of barley, and one barrel of salmon, were given to the magistrates,[3] who would not allow the poor gentlewomen that had been educated

[1] It is curious how certain diseases spring up and die away in different ages. The frequency of leprosy among the Jews is known to every one (Leviticus, ch. xiv, ver. 37, etc.). It was not a disease peculiar to the poor, but visited equally the cottage and palace. King Robert the Bruce, who is said to have been affected with it, founded, near the town of Ayr, an hospital for lepers. In the reign of James I. this disease was so general as to be the object of Parliamentary regulation.[1] The leprosy is now so little known in this country that few physicians even of the highest standing understand much about the nature of it.

[1] James I., parl, 7, cap. 106, A.D. 1426.

[2] The Seal of this convent is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. It bears the figure of St. Anthony in a hermit's mantle, with a book in one hand and a staff in the other; and at his feet a sow with a bell about its neck. The seal bears the inscription, 'S. Commune Preceptoriæ Sancti Anthonii Prope Leicht.'

[3] Coun. Reg. v. iv, p. 93. Keith's Catalogue, p. 230.

as nuns, and spent their lives in devotion within its walls, the smallest assistance out of the revenues which had been dedicated for their support, but turned them out upon the world, until compelled by Queen Mary. The neighbourhood of the convent still retains its name, but corrupted from Siensis or Sienna, to the vulgar name of Sheens, or Sciennes.

The Collegiate Church of St. Mary in-the-Field, was a large and handsome edifice, in which a provost and ten prebendaries officiated. The date of its foundation is somewhat doubtful, but it is generally referred to a period coeval with the foundation of the monastery of Blackfriars, in 1230. The building is noted in history for having been the place in which an assembly of the Scottish church was held, by order of cardinal Bagiment, in 1512.[1] The house of the provost[2] has obtained notoriety as being that in which Henry Darnley resided when he was murdered, in 1567. This structure took the name of Kirk-of-Field from having been originally placed without the city wall, in the district of Holy St. Mary; and although by the extension of the wall the church became to be inclosed within it, yet it still retained its original name. The provost of the college sold his interest in the lands to the magistrates of Edinburgh for the purpose of building a university. The lands on which this edifice and that of Blackfriars stood, and the gardens belonging of old to them, included the whole space south of the Cowgate between the Pleasance and Potterrow, and are now principally occupied by the University, the late High School, church of Lady Yester, Royal Infirmary, and the streets adjacent to these edifices.

Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. Not far from the monastery of Greyfriars, on the south side, at the head of the Cowgate, there was a chapel and hospital, or *Maison Dieu;* but the time of its foundation, or by whom, cannot now be ascertained. It was intended for the support of a chaplain and seven poor men. Having become ruinous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, its endowments were plundered; however, in the reign of James V. a citizen of Edinburgh of the name of Michael M'Quhan, and Janet Rhynd, his widow, erected on the site of its ruins a chapel and hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and conferred on it some small endowments, payable out of certain lands, and the whole was given in trust to the corporation of hammermen. To these Lord Sommerville added an annuity of £60, from his Barony of Carnwath.

This establishment at the Reformation shared the general fate of other religious houses, and its funds are now appropriated to the support of the poor of the corporation of hammermen. The chapel is still standing, and has a turret with a clock partly seen from the Cowgate.

St. Mary's Chapel, which stood about the middle of Niddry's wynd, was founded in 1505, by Elizabeth, countess of Ross, and dedicated to God, and the Virgin Mary his mother. This establishment was of small account. About the year 1600, one James Chalmers, a macer before the court of session, acquired a right

[1] Vide B. i, p. 52. [2] Ibid. p. 91.

to it, and in 1618 it became the property of the joint corporation of wrights and masons, who, from having made it their place of meeting, assumed the title of 'The United Corporation of St. Mary's Chapel.' The original building was removed sometime during the last century to make way for new erections.

St. Roque's Chapel. This edifice stood on the south side of the Borough moor, in the neighbourhood of the Grange, and had attached to it a large cemetery in which all those who died of the plague in Edinburgh were interred. The date of its foundation is very doubtful; however, in 1532, the town council granted to Sir John Young, the chaplain, four acres of land in the Borough-moor, to pray for the souls of those interred in its cemetery, and to keep the windows and roof of the buildings in repair. After the Reformation no service was performed in it, the revenues of the chaplain were seized, his chapel demolished, and its site, with the cemetery, were subsequently converted into private property. There is not now a vestige of this establishment remaining, the site being occupied by a modern villa.

Hospital of the Virgin Mary. Towards the head of St. Mary's wynd, on the west side, there stood at one time a chapel or convent of Cistercian Nuns, with an hospital or *Maison Dieu*, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. When founded, or by whom, is not known, but in 1499, its revenues were so small that the town council passed an act[1] ordaining the most respectable of the citizens to beg daily, by rotation, through the streets of the city for the support of the *beads-people;* those who refused were fined forty pence Scots. The chaplain's salary, at this period, was only 16s. 8d. sterling. No vestige of the house now remains, but the thoroughfare still retains the designation which it derived from it.

The bell used in this chapel, which is of brass, and nearly square, or at least oblong in its shape, is preserved in the museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and may now be considered as a rare curiosity. On the outside it is ornamented with figures in relief.

The Hospital of Our Lady. This hospital was, in 1479, founded by Thomas Spense, bishop of Aberdeen, near the bottom of Leith wynd, and dedicated to the Virgin, and bore the above designation. It was adapted for the reception of twelve poor men, but its annual revenues did not amount to twelve pounds. This building and its small revenues were acquired by the magistrates at the Reformation, and in 1619, they converted it into a workhouse, and bestowed on it the name of *Paul's work*. This workhouse, after existing for some time, was turned into a Correction-house, which was, in course of time, finally abandoned, and the property disposed of to private persons. The pious prelate died in 1482, and was buried in the vaults of Trinity church, which stood adjacent to it. The buildings erected on or near the site of where this hospital stood, still go under the name of Paul's work.

St. Thomas's Hospital. This was a Maison Dieu, situated at

[1] Coun. Reg. v. i, p. 35.

the foot of the Canongate, near the Watergate, and was at one time of great consideration. To show the ridiculous manner of endowing such foundations in times of Popery, it will be necessary to give the heads of its ancient and curious charter. It was founded by George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, in the reign of James V., who gave and granted, "in pure and perpetual alms, to the honour of Almighty God, the most blessed Virgin Mary his mother, and all saints, all the lands of Lochflat, with their appurtenances, lying within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh," out of the revenues of which he ordered the following sums to be paid, namely: To two chaplains and their successors, for celebrating divine service at the altars of St. Andrew and St. Catherine within the adjoining church of Holyrood, twenty merks each; forty shillings to the Canons of that church, to celebrate his anniversary *obit*, by solemnly singing in the choir of the said church yearly, on the anniversary of his death, the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a mass on the following day for the repose of his soul, and the souls of several other persons named in the preamble of the charter; sixteen shillings for eight wax candles, two to be put upon each of the chapels of Holyrood, two on the high altar, and two upon his own tomb, "decently adorned;" and he directed to be paid on his anniversary, ten shillings for six tapers of three pound weight to be lighted up and burned during mass, three shillings for ringing the great bells, and eight pennies for ringing the small or hand bell, through Edinburgh and Canongate; two shillings to the bearers of torches about the said altar and his tomb; thirty shillings to defray the expense of four wax candles, to be kindled and burned on the said altar, "decently adorned," during the first and second vespers, and festivals throughout the year; thirty shillings to be given to thirty poor persons; ten shillings for bread and wine for the celebration of masses at said altars; twenty shillings to defray the decorations of said altars; an annuity of four pounds to the church of St. Mary-in-the-Field; eight pounds annually to the abbot and canons of Holyrood as a feu-farm or quit rent for the said lands of Lochflat; and one hundred and sixty-eight merks to seven poor old men, and their successors, to be lodged in the hospital.

Besides what is above mentioned, this charter of foundation contained the following rules and regulations, for the guidance of the chaplains and almsmen, namely: The chaplains were enjoined to say mass daily, at the said altars; and at the beginning of each mass to exhort the people to say one *Pater Noster* with an *Ave Maria* for the souls of the founder and all those named in the charter; thereafter, clothed in white, they were to repair to the founder's grave with a sprinkler dipped in holy water, and there chant the Psalm *de profundis*, with prayers requisite for the souls before referred to. When done, they were directed to sprinkle the bishop's tomb and the people present with holy water; to celebrate weekly the *Placebo* and *Dirige* for the repose of his soul, and those of the persons named in the charter.

The chaplains had the care and government of the alms-men, with power to correct, chastise, and punish them if necessary, and if any of them were frequently guilty of breaking the rules and

constitution of the hospital or alms-house, it was lawful for the patrons to remove them and place others in their stead.

The alms-men were directed to rise about eight o'clock in the morning, and say fifteen *Pater Nosters*, the same number of *Ave Marias*, and three *Credos in Deum Patrem*, in honour of God, the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, St. Andrew, and St. Catherine; and to sit and pray before the said chapel for the founder's soul, and the souls of those persons above referred to. On Sundays and festivals they were directed to wear their red gowns, as often as they entered the church for divine service, and at high mass to sit before the altar of the chapel of the said church, and there say fifty *Ave Marias*, five *Pater Nosters*, and one *Credo:* in like manner, in time of vespers to say two *Rosaries* of the blessed Virgin. They were also enjoined to walk in their red gowns in all public processions, and leave them to their successors; and were restricted from begging under the pain of ejection.

In 1617, this building was disposed of by the chaplains and beadsmen with consent of the patron, to the magistrates of Canongate, who converted it into an hospital for the poor, and named it 'St. Thomas's Hospital.' It appears from the following inscription which was over its entry, 'Helpe here the poore, as ze vald God did zou: Junii, 19, 1617,' that it had either been repaired or rebuilt in 1617. The magistrates growing tired of keeping up the establishment, sold the hospital in 1634 to the kirk-session of Canongate; still, however, to be applied to a charitable purpose. However, its revenues having been by degrees embezzled, in 1747 the building was converted into coach-houses, but becoming ruinous, it was pulled down in 1778, and private houses erected on its site.

There were numerous other religious establishments and private chapels, but to discover them would be more difficult than material; for, at the Reformation, the mob ransacked and defaced the public and private religious houses of all the Roman Catholics in Edinburgh and six miles round. It may, however, be remarked, that on the north side of the Castle Hill, in Blythe's close, is an old building which had been erected for a lodging-house and private oratory of Mary of Lorraine, queen dowager of Scotland. Over the door are inscribed in Saxon characters, 'Laus et honor Deo,' and the cypher of Maria Regina. On the same side of the street in Tod's close, there was another private oratory of a mean appearance.

In the lower part of the old church-yard of St. Giles, called previous to the great fire in 1824, 'the Back Stairs,' stood *the chapel of Holyrood*, built in commemoration of Christ crucified. About the end of the sixteenth century it was demolished. On the south side of the High street, at the head of Bell's wynd, there were an hospital and chapel, known by the name of a *Maison Dieu*. It is not known when, or by whom founded. At a distance of about three hundred yards north-west from Paul's work there stood a chapel dedicated to *St. Ninian*, of which little is now known. In 1778, its baptismal font was removed to the tower of Dean Haugh, by Mr. Walter Ross, writer to the signet. There

was also a chapel situated east from the chapel of St. Roque, dedicated to St. John the Baptist; but as to the time it was founded, or by whom, cannot be ascertained.

Near the east end of Drummond street there once stood a nunnery, dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia, and it was from this establishment that the long street called the *Pleasance* derived its name. At St. Leonards, on the south of the city, there once stood a chapel and hospital dedicated to St. Leonard; the endowments of which having been seized by the Crown, were granted by James VI. to the magistrates of Canongate, as the patrons of St. Thomas's hospital, who, it is said, embezzled them along with those of that hospital. A chapel dedicated to Knights Templars stood upon a small eminence on the east side of Newington, not far from the monastery of Sienna, above mentioned, which is vulgarly called *Mount Hooly*, a corruption of the *Holy Mount*. In digging the ground in this mount, several bodies were found therein buried cross-legged, and having swords by their sides:[1] children who died without receiving baptism, and those who committed suicide used to be interred in this hill. There were a number of other religious houses situated in the fields to the south of the city, devoted to the purposes of Maisons Dieu; but neither their dates, by whom founded, nor the particular spots on which they stood, can now be ascertained. But agreeably, however, to the general embezzlement which took place at the Reformation, their revenues have all been seized upon and applied to other purposes.

CHAPTER IV.

Ministers' Stipends, from whom exacted since the Reformation—Number of the City Clergy at different periods—Amount of their Stipends—Annuity Tax —Seat-rents—Rouping for Annuity Taxes.

From the period of the Reformation, the clergy of Edinburgh appear to have been supported, partly from the common funds of the city, aided by assessments and voluntary contributions, and partly from the rents of property, which, previous to the Reformation, had formed the endowment of altarages, chaplainaries, and prebendaries, in the city churches, and were granted to the community by Queen Mary and James VI.,[2] for the support of the ministers, and of the schools and hospitals within the city. These however, in a district, of which comparatively little remained for agricultural purposes, rendered various expedients necessary to make up the deficiency of tithes. Accordingly, in 1633, an Act was passed levying the sum of twelve thousand merks, (£666, 13s. 3d. sterling,) yearly, from the whole inhabitants of Edinburgh, in

[1] Maitland's Hist. b. ii, p. 176. [2] 13th March, 1566. 14th April, 1582. Ratified in Parliament, 1579, 1587, 1532, 1593, 1621.

proportion to their rents, the lords of council and session only excepted; the collectors to be appointed by the magistrates.

The number of ministers in the city, previous to that period, had fluctuated, and they had no fixed income; however, it was then settled that the four parishes into which the city was divided should each have two ministers, and the stipends of the first four were fixed at 2000 merks (£111, 2s. 3½d. sterling) each, and those of the other four at 1300 merks (£72, 4s. 5½d. sterling) each, with an addition of 200 merks (£11, 2s. 2½d. sterling) each, for house rent. In 1641, the city was divided into six parishes, and in 1648, the parochial sessions of these six parishes, the town council, and a great number of the citizens, represented to the General Assembly the necessity of increasing the number of ministers; setting forth "how agreeable it is to conscience and reason, that all those who possess dwelling-houses, and enjoy the benefit of God's ordinances, should contribute willingly to the entertainment of God's servants who dispense the same." Conformably to a resolution then passed, ratified by a committee of estates the same year, the number of ministers was increased to twelve, the stipends of six of these twelve were made payable out of a tax imposed on inhabitants and possessors of houses in the town, without exception or exemption. The sum to be raised was fixed at 19,000 merks, (£1055, 11s. 1½d sterling,) giving a stipend of 3166⅔ merks (£175, 18s. 6½d. sterling) to each minister, with 400 merks (£22, 4s. 5½d. sterling,) for house rent. The above act was ratified by Parliament on 2nd March, 1649, and the rate of impost was fixed at *five per cent* on house rents, which was on 19th June raised by the same Parliament to *six per cent*, on a petition from the town council in name of the whole inhabitants, stating the insufficiency of the former rate to make up the sum of 19,000 merks. That this revenue might not be mixed up with the revenue applied to common municipal purposes, the tax by these enactments was made leviable by the ecclesiastical officers; but on 4th September, 1654, the parish sessions humbly desired the magistrates "that they would be pleased to give their concurrence with the several deacons for collecting and ingathering the annuity which very many doth refuse to answer, except they be compelled by the authority of the magistrates." Heavy deficiencies had arisen and large abatements had been granted, and on the 19th March, 1655, a temporary arrangement was entered into, by which the ministers assigned to the town council their right to uplift the annuity, and accepted from them a fixed stipend of 2,500 merks (£138, 17s. 9d. sterling) yearly, payable by the town council.

The provision of the six ministers of Edinburgh remained on this footing till the Restoration; when, in 1661, Parliament passed *the Annuity Act*, the terms of which have formed the warrant for collecting this tax for nearly two centuries. Its preamble bears, that "the teinds, rents, and others belonging to the citie, for the use and maintenance of the ministers of the said citie, ar far short and not proportionable nor sufficient for such ane number of ministers as is necessar ther; and the said town having been at vast charges for building of churches and publick works upon that

and other occasions, the common good and patrimonie thereof is exhausted and over-burdened." And after setting forth that it had been usual to pay six of the ministers by an imposition of *six per cent* on the rents of houses, and that "there is not a more easie and effectuall way of provyding and paying the stipends of the said six ministers than in maner and by the imposition foresaid," it was enacted, "that the yeerly stipends of six of the ministers of the said burgh shall be imposed upon and payed be the inhabitants, tennants, and occupyers of the severale duelling-houses, chambers, buiths, cellers, and ale-houses, heigh and laigh, within the said town, without exemption or exception of any house, of whatever holding or nature the same be of, or of any persone or persones, of whatsoever degree, or qualitie, or place, upon pretence of any priviledge or pretext whatsoever, and that the quota of the saide annuitie, payable be the severale inhabitants of the said houses, shall be according and effeirand to the mailes of the houses occupyed and inhabited be them, at the proportion of six merks for each hundred merks of maile."

In addition to this annuity tax for the maintenance of the clergy, in 1636 the town council had a grant from the Crown of a duty of a merk on each pack and ton of goods imported from countries without the bounds of the kingdom of Scotland, into the burgh of Edinburgh, the towns of Leith and Newhaven, or any part of the liberties of the same; and that grant was, in 1661, ratified by Parliament, "to the effect the haill benefite of the said gift may be now applyed toward the maintenance of the ministers of Edinburgh."

It appears that previous to 27th December, 1639, no seat-rent was exacted, but that the churches of Edinburgh were open and free to all the citizens; however, the magistrates and town council then passed an act, which, after narrating that the existing funds were insufficient for supporting the ministers, ordained, "for the better decencie of their churches, and for the relief of the foresaid burdens, that the whole churches of this burgh sall be filled with pews or desks, and that there be ane certain yeirlie deutie imposed upon ilk pew or saitt, to be uplifted of these to whom the same sall be allotted be the counsall, and that the same be ingathered be the elders and deacons of ilk church, each of them within their own quarter, together with the yeirlie annuitie appointed to be taken of the house maills, to be delivered to the treasurer of the kirk rents, for payment of the ministers' stipends and maintaining of the fabric of the churches."

King Charles I. by a charter under the Great Seal, granted to the magistrates and community of the city, the rents, feu duties, customs, and teinds of the bishopric of Orkney and deanery of Edinburgh, "*pro usu adjumento et supplemento sustentationis ministrorum dicti burgi;*" but these were afterwards surrendered to the Crown; and on tenth November, 1641, the town council had in exchange a grant of an impost on wine and other liquors vended in Edinburgh and the adjacent parishes; which grant was, on 29th July, 1644, ratified by Parliament, and declared to be "in order to the payment of ane part of their ministers' stipend." Although the town council received this grant in lieu of that

bishopric and deanery, yet they, on 28th November, 1662, in consideration of these being withdrawn, "doe thairfor ordane towards that use, that the pryces of the seats of the several kirks be appropriated to that use."

The magistrates having had the administration of the various sources of revenue destined for the maintenance of the ministers of the city, for a very long period, without giving any account to them of their intromissions, placed the amount collected to the common good of the city, and paid each of the ministers of the burgh a fixed stipend, which was liable to a slight variation, in the event of an increase of their number.[1] In 1708 there were fifteen ministers in the city churches, and in 1722 their number was raised to sixteen. From 1712 to 1781 the amount of stipend payable to each minister was 2500 merks, or £138, 17s. $9\frac{2}{3}$d., sterling.

The acts of Parliament passed in 1767 and 1785–6, for the extension of the Royalty, declare "that the houses to be built upon the annexed ground shall be subject to the same public burdens as the houses of the city, and, in particular, an equal proportion of the *annuity* payable to the ministers of the city."[1]

In 1809, when it was proposed that the royalty should be farther extended, the ministers intimated to the town council their resolution to oppose the clause introduced into their bill which provided for an extension of the annuity, unless it should, at the same time, provide for the whole produce of that tax being applicable to the stipends of all the ministers of Edinburgh, including those who were about to be established within the extended royalty. This condition was ultimately agreed to by the magistrates; and by that act, for the first time, the *annuity tax of six per cent* was declared by the legislature leviable for the stipends of all the ministers of Edinburgh.

In 1810, an action was raised by the ministers against the magistrates, to have their absolute right to the several funds claimed by them declared, and to oblige the magistrates to account for their administration of them. After several interlocutary judgments of the Court of Session, which the parties held to fix sufficiently the principles to be observed, the cause was taken out of court, by a compromise, which was afterwards extended in the shape of a formal contract, by which the magistrates became bound to pay, for the years from 1814 to 1820, an annual stipend of £502, to each of the 17 ministers, then forming the establishment of the city, and to provide for any additional ministers that might be introduced; in consideration whereof, the ministers assigned to the magistrates all the funds to which they claimed right. From 1820 to 1825, the magistrates became bound to pay the same stipends to the 17 ministers, but should their number be increased, they were

[1] In 1687, the Court of Session declared "the members of the College of Justice exempt from the payment of the ministers' stipends, as also from watching, warding, and all impositions for the same;" and in 1788, they were found exempt from the payment of poor's money and other taxations imposed by the magistrates.

held bound to free and relieve the magistrates of all claims competent to such additional ministers. It was optional to the ministers either to declare this contract at an end in 1820, or continue it till 1825; but whenever it should cease, the magistrates bound themselves to account to the ministers for the whole produce of the funds awarded to them by the Court of Session, under certain deductions for expenses of collecting, etc.

The annuity tax for a number of years past has been collected as a separate tax for the support of the clergy, consequently, their stipends have fluctuated and become a precarious income. This mode of supporting the ecclesiastical establishment of Edinburgh has always been, and still is, considered as a heavy burden on the inhabitants, and has for many years been the subject of much discontent. Many dissenters, doubtless from conscientious motives, rather than make payment of this objectionable tax, have allowed their persons to be imprisoned, and their goods distrained. But to find purchasers at these sales was often a matter of difficulty, and consequently the goods were frequently knocked down to the poinding creditors, though generally worth double their value. The following occurrence in connection with this subject may very appropriately be detailed in the 'Chronicles,' indicating, as it does, in no very equivocal manner, the sentiments of a large portion of the community.

Messrs Darlington and Sword, dissenters, having refused to make payment of the amount of their assessment, a portion of their effects, to the extent of £380, was poinded for a debt of £96, and under warrant of the Sheriff advertised for and brought to sale; but as no purchasers could be found, it was evident that a feeling of hostility existed in the minds of those present against the parties concerned. A new warrant was obtained from the Sheriff, authorising the sale of the effects to take place on the 3rd June, 1848; and it having been currently reported that the authorities would on that occasion call in the aid of the military as well as the police to support them in discharge of their duty, considerable excitement prevailed throughout the city on the subject; and such was the odium attached to these proceedings, no auctioneer in Edinburgh would undertake to sell the poinded effects. Recourse was accordingly had elsewhere, and an arrangement was entered into with Mr. Barclay, of the highly respectable firm of Barclay & Skirving of Glasgow. The sale of Mr. Darlington's effects was advertised to take place at 12 o'clock, by which hour not less than from 2,000 to 3,000 people had assembled in front of his premises, in Frederick street, while large placards, bearing the words, "Rouping for Ministers' Stipends! Shame!" etc., were displayed at the door in company with the auctioneer's flag, and the warehouse was no sooner opened than it was crammed to suffocation, and loud demands made for the auctioneer, who soon made his appearance, and in reply to the demands made for his name, handed his card to Mr. Darlington.

The announcement of his name was followed by a scene of uproar and confusion utterly beyond description, while a torrent of abuse poured from all quarters on the dauntless auctioneer,

who had taken up his position at an extreme corner of the ware-room, where he hastily read over the articles of sale, and a list of the goods to be sold; but his voice was drowned amid the hootings, yellings, spitting, and jostling of the audience, with one of whom Mr. Barclay was forced in self-defence to a round of fisticuffs. As no bidders were forthcoming, the articles were knocked down to the poinding creditors, at their appraised value. Mr. Barclay then made his way to the door, and with great difficulty effected a passage, on reaching which, he leaped into a cab which was waiting for him under a guard of police, and, along with Superintendent Moxey, proceeded to the County buildings, where he had an interview with Sheriff Gordon, the Procurator Fiscal, and other officials. Mr. Barclay then, contrary to the expectations of the mob, who thought his treatment at Mr. Darlington's would be quite sufficient to deter him from making a second appearance, proceeded to Mr. Sword's in Hanover street, the sale of whose effects was advertised for 1 o'clock, where a mob of from 5,000 to 6,000 were assembled. Here the same tendency to interrupt the proceedings was evident, but the presence of a considerable force of the police, supported by the military, effectually repressed any outbreak of popular feeling, if we except a volley of stones which was levelled at the police, and a considerable display of indignation when the articles to be sold were brought into the open space kept by the police and military. A considerable portion of the valuable furniture was purchased by a Glasgow broker, at sums far below their value, and the remainder was knocked down to the poinding creditors. At the close of the sale Mr. Barclay judiciously made his exit through a baker's shop into Rose street, and thus escaped further molestation; while the Glasgow broker, under the protection of the civil and military forces, proceeded to remove his bargains to the station of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, amid the hootings, yellings, and execrations of a mob, now numbering at least 10,000.

Our duty is not to comment upon, but to record facts as they occurred, yet we may be permitted to express our regret that the opponents to this tax should have displayed their sentiments in so unbecoming and lawless a manner.

The treatment which Mr. Barclay received, while acting under the sanction of the law, was discreditable in the highest degree; for, objectionable as the tax may be to many, it has the sanction of the law, and having such, it is the duty of every one, more especially those whose interest it is, as well as duty, to honour the law and submit to it.

It would be for the interest of religion, as well as the peace of the community, were some other mode substituted for the payment of the established clergy of the city than the present, which has long been viewed as an oppressive burden by the citizens, and has often been the cause of much unpleasantness and great excitement. Although many plans have of late been suggested, the great difficulty lies in the formation of a fund for the purpose. But until that has been accomplished, the present tax ought and must be held obligatory, however offensive it may be to the greater

number of the citizens. From the great exertions presently making by influential public bodies and respectable private individuals, we fondly hope that this obnoxious tax will soon be abolished, and some less objectionable mode substituted for the maintenance of the city ministers. But whatever plan may be adopted for their support, care should be taken to avoid placing them in a situation of personally exacting the stipend from their individual parishioners, whether they attend the Established Church or not. Ministers, to be useful, should be freed from the cares consequent upon a fluctuating and precarious income.

CHAPTER V.

CHURCHES, CHAPELS, AND PLACES OF WORSHIP SITUATED IN THE CITY OF EDINBURGH AND SUBURBS.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh are patrons of all the Established Churches within the royalty. The revenue appropriated for the ministers of these churches has been already treated of. The inferior officers connected with the ecclesiastical establishment of the city are also under the patronage of the council; they consist of 14 Precentors, 10 Bell-ringers, 14 Beadles, and 13 other servants. These receive, on an aggregate, £714.

The Magistrates and Council are also patrons of the Churches of Currie in Mid-Lothian, and Wemyss in Fife; and they exercise alternately the patronage of the united parishes of Fala and Soutra, in the counties of Edinburgh and Haddington. They were formerly patrons of Dumbarnie in Perthshire, but they sold the patronage in 1820 for £1,200.

St. Giles's Church. This church stands on an elevated situation in the High street, separating the area of the Parliament square from that street. It is the most ancient ecclesiastical edifice in Edinburgh. The famous St. Giles, abbot and confessor, was patron of it, and tutelar saint of the city. The legend concerning him runs, that he was born in Greece, in the sixth century, and that after the death of his parents he gave all his wealth to the poor and retired to France, where he lived in great solitude on the banks of the Rhone, near its confluence with the sea, and for three years lived upon the spontaneous produce of the earth, and the milk of a doe. He was reputed a person of great sanctity, and various miracles were attributed to him. It is not certain when this venerable edifice was founded, but from an ambiguous passage in the writings of Simeon of Durham, it is supposed by

various authors,[1] that a church existed on this spot in the year 854, at which period the province of Lothian was a portion of England, consequently this church must have been erected by the Anglo-Saxons. There is a total blank in its history between the year above mentioned and the reign of David II., when that monarch, in 1359, by charter under the great seal, granted to the chaplain officiating at the altar of St. Catherine's chapel, *in the parish church of St. Giles in Edinburgh*, all the lands of Upper Merchiston, the presentation whereof to be in Roger Hog, burgess of the city, and, after his decease, in the aldermen and community of Edinburgh. It was only a parish church at that period, under the patronage of the bishop of Lindisfern, who, in the year 1366, bestowed it on the monastery of Dunfermline.

The next mention made of it is in the year 1380, when a contract was entered into between the provost of Edinburgh and several masons to vault, or arch over, certain parts of it. This church having been, in 1385, partially destroyed by fire, another contract was two years afterwards entered into by the provost of Edinburgh and certain masons, to make considerable additions to, and repairs on it. This ancient and curious contract is of the following tenor:

"Yis endenture, made at Edynburgh, ye 29th day of the moneth of November, between worthy men, and nobyl Adam Forster Lord of Nether Leberton, Andrew Yiehston, provest of the burgh of Edynburgh, and communite of that Ilk, on the ta half, and Johne Johne of Stone, and Johne Skayer, Masounys on the toyer half, berys wytness in fourme, ye qwhylk efter follows:

"That is to say, yat the forsaidys Johne Johne, and Johne Skayer, al as ane, and ane as al, sall make and voute fyve chapells, on the south syde of the paryce kyrke of Edynburgh, fra the west gavyl, lyand, and rynan doun est, on to the grete pyler of the stepyl, voutyt on the sam maner by the Masounys, as the vout abovye Sanct Stevinys auter, standand on the north syde of the parys auter of the abbay of Haly-rude houss, ye qwhylk patroune, yay hef sene.

"Alsua, yat ylk man sal mak in ylk chapel of the four, a wyndow, with thre lychtys, in fourm, Masoune lyke, the qwhilk patroune yai hef sene; and the fyfte chapel voutyt with a durre, in als gude maner; als the durre standand in the west gavyl of ye foresaydes kyrk: alsua ye chapel and ye Ilys quhair ye auttrys sal stand, sal be voutyt all under after ye maner, as it is before spokin: alsua ye forsayde five chapellys sall be thekyt abovyn with stane, and water thycht; ye buttras, ye lintels fynyt up als hech as ye lave of yat werk askys: alsua betwene the chapells gutryt with howyn stane to cast the water owte, and to save the werk fra the water: alsua, ye communite, as it is before spokyn, fynand al coste, and al grayth tyl yat werk, and ye forsayde Masounys doand their craft tyl yat werk trewly withowtyn fraude, as trew man aw to do: alsua, it is acordyt, yat ye forsayde communite sal gyfe to ye forsayde masounys, for ye forsayde werk, as it is before spokyn, six

[1] Mait. B. iii., p. 270.

hunnred marks of sterlings of the payment of Scotlande; alsua it is accordyt, yat ye forsayde communite sal gyf to the forsayde masounys, ay fourtie pund before hand, for to mak thair awne werk with, ay tyl ye forsayde werk be brocht tyl end: alsua, ye forsayde masounys sal lay in place on thair cost twal hundreth hewyn stanys of astlyr and coynhe swylks, as fallys to yat werk; ye quhilks werk ye forsayde masounys sal warrand water thycht, and all yire thingis to be fulfilit; ilk ane of the forsaydes masounys is others bourcht: wretyn under the seill of the forsaydes Adam, ye provest, and ye communite, sal anent ye forsaydes masounys to be remaynanede, and Johne Primros has procurit ye selle of James Tulforde; and Johne of Stone has procurit ye selle of Johne of Irwine, in failzie yai hade nane of yeir awyne; and Johne Sqwyer has put to his awyne selle, anentis ye forsaydes Adam, Provest, and Communites to be remaynande. The yhere of our Lord, a thousand ccc. lxxx. and vii.[1]

The next mention made of this church is in a charter executed, in 1452, by James II., entailing the lands of Barntown on George, Earl of Caithness, and his heirs and assignees, and his maternal daughter, with this provision, that he or his assignees should cause to be paid to his illegitimate daughter Janet, on 6th April, between the rising and setting of the sun, "*in the parish church of St. Giles, in the burgh of Edinburgh, upon the High Altar of the same, three hundred merks usual money.*"[2]

In the reign of the same monarch, Mr. Preston of Gourton, whose descendants still possess an estate in the county of Edinburgh, by the assistance of the king of France got possession of a supposed arm-bone of St. Giles, which precious and esteemed relic he most piously bequeathed to St. Giles's church in Edinburgh. In gratitude for this invaluable donation, the magistrates of the city, having taken into consideration that the said bone was "freely left to oure moyr kirk of Saint Gele of Edinburgh, withoutyn ony condition makyn," granted a charter in favour of Mr. Preston's heirs, entitling the nearest heir of the donor, being of the name of Preston, to carry this sacred relic at all public processions. The magistrates at the same time obliged themselves, to found in this church an altar, and appoint a chaplain for celebrating an annual mass of requiem for the soul of the donor; and ordered a tablet displaying his arms, and describing his pious donation, to be erected in the chapel.[3]

In the year 1462 other considerable additions to or repairs on

[1] Inventory in the city Cartulary, v. i, p. 12.

[2] It would therefore appear that at this period the altars were allowed to be used as counters. So long as St. Giles's church remained in an open state, appointments were made to meet in it, for the giving and receiving of money payments, and in the course of time it became a kind of mercantile Exchange. About the beginning of the last century, that part of the edifice called the "Old kirk" was an open promenade for loungers and persons on business, and the tomb of Regent Murray was the ordinary place for paying bills.

[3] This relic, enshrined in silver, was kept among the treasures of the church till the Reformation, and the family continued to enjoy the honour of carrying it at all public processions till that period, when it was sold, amongst the other relics, by order of the town council.

this church appear to have been in operation, it being then enacted by the town council that all persons presuming to buy corn before it was entered, should forfeit one chalder to the *church work*.

Previous to 1466 this was only a parish church, of which the Abbot of Scone was patron; but it was on that year, by virtue of a grant from James III., converted into a collegiate church, and new erections were established therein, on the old foundations of altarages, or chaplainaries, and its importance is certified by the variety of altars it contained, under the following names, namely: St. Andrew, St. John the Evangelist, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Salvator, St. Michael de Mont Tomba, the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Holy Blood, St. John the Baptist, St. Nicholas, St. Duthac, Sancti Crucis de Lucano, St. Sebastian, Notre Dame, St. Gabriel the Archangel, St. Ninian, St. Catherine, St. Gregory, St. Barbara, St. Blase, St. Dionysius, St. Francis, St. Eloye, St. Martin and St. Thomas, St. Roque and St. Nicholas, the Holy Blood and St. Anthony, Our Lady of Piety, St. James, St. Laurence, St. Mungo, St. Thomas the Martyr, the Holy Cross of the Body and Blood of Christ, St. Crispan, and St. Crispinianus, also the High Altar, making in all thirty-six. Some of these altars had individual foundations and chaplains, while others had a plurality. Each incorporated trade of the city had its favourite altar, to the support of which, and of the priest who officiated, certain payments were made weekly by the craftsmen. At these altars were performed numerous anniversary obits, etc., for the repose of the souls of the founders, their relations and friends. This church had a provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacristan, beadle, minister of the choir, and four choristers. The provost for his support received the rents, fruits, and profits, together with the manse and glebe belonging to the church, with the right of choosing a curate, to whom he allowed twenty-five merks (£1 7s. 9d. sterling) yearly, and a dwelling-house near the church, while the prebendaries had stipends varying from twenty to thirty merks annually.

As almost the whole of these altars had more than one chaplain each, there must have been, together with those in the collegiate foundation, who were employed in parochial duties, not less than one hundred persons, all of whom were supported by particular mortifications of lands, oblations at altars, donations of money or food, or by living among the families of the endowers. The patronage of the private benefices was in the gift of the descendants of the endowers, and the town council, or bishop of the diocese, had the patronage of those on the foundation.

The precious relics, sacred utensils, and other paraphernalia, belonging to these numerous altars having become after the Reformation no longer necessary in spiritual affairs, were seized by the magistrates as lawful prize. The following is a list of them: "The arm of St. Giles, enshrined in silver, weighing five pounds three ounces and a half; a silver chalice, weighing twenty-three ounces; the great eucharist, or communion cup, with golden

weike and stones, two curets of twenty-five ounces; a golden bell, with a heart, four ounces and a half; a golden unicorn; a golden pix, or small box, to keep the host (or the real body of Christ, as it is held out to be); a small golden heart, with two pearls; a diamond ring, with small stones; a silver paten and spoon, (that is, a small vessel to hold particles of what is held out to be the real body of Christ, and a spoon to lift them and place them in the mouth of the devotee) of thirty-two ounces and a half; a communion table-cloth of gold brocade; St. Giles's coat, (the saint himself having been stolen),[1] with a little piece of red velvet which hung at his feet; a round silver communion cup; two silver censers, of three pounds fifteen ounces; a silver cup of incense; a large silver cross, with its base, weighing sixteen pounds thirteen ounces and a half; a triangular silver lamp, two silver candlesticks, of eleven pounds three ounces; other two candlesticks, of eight pounds thirteen ounces; a silver chalice, gilt, of twenty ounces and a half; a silver chalice and cross, twenty-five ounces," besides various priestly robes, and other vestments of golden brocade, deacons and sub-deacons, and cap abbas, with the thessodal of red velvet, embroidered with gold, and sundry vestments of green silk damask. The whole of these were sold, and the proceeds applied, in the first place, to repair the church, and the surplus went into the town's funds. At same time, the common prayer and clock bells having been judged sufficient for the service of the town, a bell called St. Mary's bell was taken down, which, together with the brass pillars of the church, were ordered to be made into cannon for the defence of the city; but this resolution being sometime after altered, they were sold for the sum of £220 Scots,[2] (£18 6s. 8d. sterling).

After the Reformation, St. Giles's church was divided into four sections by thick walls which reached from the floor to the roof.[3] One of these divisions at the east end was constituted the parish church; the others were fitted up for courts of justice, a grammar school, a town-clerk's office, a prison, and a workshop, in which were erected a number of looms to discover the frauds of weavers, which appear to have prevailed at this period to a great extent. In 1585, the clock belonging to the Abbey church of Lindores, in Fifeshire, was purchased for £4 12s. 4d., and placed in the spire of St. Giles's church. In 1599, the tower of this fabric was used as a common prison, but the prisoners having damaged the roof, the town council then discontinued its being used for that purpose.

From being only a parochial district, the city was, in 1625, divided into four parishes, by order of Charles I., and, for the convenience of the inhabitants, three other divisions of St. Giles's church were fitted up as places of worship, each parish having two ministers; at same time the magistrates and town council were constituted the patrons of the city churches.

These four divisions went under the names of the High church, the Tolbooth church, the Old church, and the New North

[1] Vide B. i. p 73. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 3, pp. 29, 45, 76.
[3] Coun. Reg. v. 3, p. 73.

Church.[1] The *High Church* is the chief division of the edifice, having been the choir of the brief bishopric of Edinburgh,[2] from the year 1633 to 1638, when it was ordered to be fitted up for the Bishop, with a Dean and twelve Prebends. In 1636 an attempt was made by the magistrates to give this place of worship the appearance of a cathedral, by delegating the Dean[3] to repair to Durham, and take a draft of the choir of the cathedral there, with a view of fitting up this church in the same style; but the whole Episcopal system being, in 1638, overturned by the General Assembly, such was rendered unnecessary. In it is a seat for her Majesty, elegantly ornamented, as also seats in the front galleries for the judges of the supreme courts and the magistrates and council, who attend in their respective robes of office.[4] The scene of the well known cutty-stool exploit by Jenny Geddes[5] took place in this church, and in 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed and sworn to by a Committee of Parliament, the Commissioner of the Church, and the English Commissioners, within its walls.[6] The *Tolbooth Church*, which occupied the south-west corner of St. Giles', acquired its name from the circumstance of condemned criminals having been, before the erection of the new prison on the Calton Hill, brought into it to hear sermon on the sabbaths previous to their execution. The *Old Church* was in the central part of the building under the great tower, and the New North (or Haddo's Hole[7]) church occupied the north-west part of the edifice.

The walls of this ancient edifice never were of imposing architecture. A lane for foot passengers ran between the Lucken-

[1] It may be here remarked, that most of the city churches having been, previous to the Reformation, named after men and women who had been dignified with the title of Saint, were after that period *unsainted* by the Reformed clergy; hence the Old, New, Tolbooth, Tron, College, and West Churches, which were so denominated in respect to time, vicinity, situation, etc.

[2] Vide B. i, p. 147.

[3] The celebrated Scottish poet and translator of Virgil, Gavin Douglas, was for some time Dean of St. Giles' cathedral.

[4] The judges and magistrates have had seats in this church since the year 1563.

[5] Vide B. i, p. 148. A stool, said to be the same which "the immortal Jenny Geddes" hurled at the Dean of St. Giles' head, on his proceeding to read the Liturgy in this church on Sunday, 23rd July, 1637, is shown in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. It is an old Scottish folding stool, with the date 1565 carved on it, and stated by the donor, Mr. Joseph Watson, writer, Dunse, to be the identical stool used by Jenny Geddes on that memorable occasion. The old oaken pulpit of this church, occupied by John Knox, while first minister, is also preserved in this museum.

[6] There are two copies of the National Covenant, engrossed on vellum, preserved in the Antiquarian Museum. The one is subscribed by many of the chief Scottish nobles and others. The first signature is that of Montrose, whose desertion of the Covenanters at a later period was visited with such vindictive vengeance. The other has a painted border, and contains the signatures of most of the members of the Scottish Privy Council in 1638.

[7] An obscure room in this division of the edifice, in 1669, went under the name of *The Priest's Prison*, because fornicators and adulterers used to be confined in it. Sir George Gordon, of Haddo, having been long therein imprisoned for his loyalty to Charles I., when that division, as above stated, was fitted up as a church, it went popularly under the name of "Haddo's Hole Church."

booths[1] and the walls, which was lined on both sides with small paltry sheds occupied as shops. Those on the south were built to the walls of the edifice, and bore the odd name of *Krames*.[2] From the east end of this lane, a flight of steps led off past St. Giles', and from a statue of the Virgin Mary being placed in a niche on the side, was called St. Mary's steps. The Luckenbooths and Krames, along with the old Tolbooth, were pulled down in 1817, which laid the north front of St. Giles' fully open to the public, and converted the High street and Lawnmarket into a continuous and uniform thoroughfare.

The fabric was, between the years 1829 and 1833, completely remodelled by an entire casting of new walls, the expense of which was aided by a Government grant of £10,000. By these alterations it was divided into three separate divisions only, namely, the High Church, with 1187 sittings; the New North Church, with 1369 sittings; and the Old Church, with 692 sittings; the last of these is a Hall that was intended for the use of the General Assembly, but found after its completion to be unsuitable.

The High Church parish is situated in one of the most crowded parts of the old town; it has an area of 51,222 square yards. In 1831, the population was 2414; in 1841, 2785; in the latter year, the number of inhabited houses was 466; of families, 646. The charge is collegiate. The New North Church, or West St. Giles' parish, lies wholly within the ancient royalty, and contains only 22,354 square yards. Population in 1831, 1,350; in 1841, 2,627; inhabited houses in 1841, 337.

The Old Church parish is situated wholly in the old town, and measures less than 800 feet from east to west, and not more than 500 from north to south, and contains only 30,522 square yards. Population in 1831, 1952; in 1841, 2949. Houses in 1841, 438.

In 1840 a new bell was placed in the beautiful architectural coronal of this ancient edifice; it is exactly an inch and a half larger in diameter, and one and a half cwt. heavier than the old one placed there in 1585, as above stated. It stands four and a half feet high, measures four feet nine inches and a quarter in diameter at its widest circumference, and weighs 32 cwt., or 3584 lbs. The only inscription it bears is the name of the founder who re-cast it, and those of the then lord provost and dean of guild.

The ground on which the Parliament Square is erected was anciently the cemetery of St. Giles, in which were deposited the remains of the great Scottish Reformer, John Knox. Near the middle of the south side of the edifice are monuments over the remains of Regent Moray[3] and the gallant Marquis of Montrose,

[1] The Luckenbooths was a range of buildings rising to nearly the height of the houses on the street-line, and stretched parallel with the side of St. Giles', and terminated at the end in the old Tolbooth of the city. These erections were occupied principally as shops or warehouses, and were supposed to have been built as early as the reign of James III. The appellation arose from the occupiers of these warehouses selling principally woollen cloth, brought from France by the Flemings, called *Luken*.

[2] The Krames began to be erected as early as 1555.

[3] In 1850, Regent Moray's vault was opened and inspected by John Philipps, Esq., chamberlain to the present Earl, when three coffins were discovered, one of

and, under a window outside of the north wall, is to be seen the monument of Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms. This piece of ground in course of time ceased to be a burying-place, and became of a parallelogram form, and was in the year 1753 bounded on the north by St. Giles's church, on the west by the Parliament House and Goldsmith's Hall, and on the south by a row of houses, one of which was the highest in the city, the front being seven, and the back twelve stories: these houses were all destroyed by the great fire in 1824.

Tolbooth Church, or, The Assembly Hall. Her Majesty having honoured the Castle of Edinburgh with a visit on Saturday the 10th of September, 1842, as before mentioned, the foundation stone of this Church or Hall was laid during the time Her Majesty was inspecting that fortress, by lord Frederick Fitzclarence, G.C.H., Grand Master Mason of Scotland. Besides the Grand Lodge, there were present about 300 brethren, composed of deputations from numerous lodges in the country. The ceremony took place within the great tower of the Hall, and though short, was most solemn. Elegant and impressive addresses were delivered by the Grand Master and Grand Chaplain, in course of which allusion was made to the auspicious occasion of Her Majesty's visit. This Hall, which was erected to accommodate the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, stands on the Castle Hill. The expense of the building was defrayed jointly by the town council and government, and its site was acquired from the Improvement Commissioners. It is fitted up for about 400 sitters, and contains separate accommodation for ministers not members, for licentiates, students of divinity, and the public, all of whom not only have access by separate entries, but there are separate entrances for members and parties, and their counsel and agents, by which no other is admitted. The Moderator's chair, slightly elevated, stands at the upper end of the Clerk's table. The bar is at the lower end of the room. The seats have all soft cushionings, and the Hall and adjoining rooms are heated and ventilated upon scientific principles. The Lord High Commissioner's throne is placed at the east end of the Hall, on a platform a little elevated above the Moderator's chair. Distinguished strangers are accommodated on one side of the throne, and the gentlemen of the press on the other. Under the Hall there is a room nearly sixty feet long, which affords excellent accommodation for synod, presbyterial, and other meetings, and adjoining there are a variety of Committee rooms, etc.

The Hall, when not required for the Assembly, is used as the Tolbooth church, the congregation of which formerly met in one of the divisions of St. Giles's Church. The parish attached to this church does not extend in any direction more than a quarter of

which, a leaden one, bore the marks of great age, and was of peculiar construction, being shaped so as to fit the head and body exactly. Although there was no inscription on it, there seemed no reason to doubt that it contained the Regent's remains. The skull, which was visible by removing a part of the lead of the coffin, was injured, and had been sawn through, probably for the purpose of embalming, and the teeth in the upper jaw were quite entire.

a mile, and lies wholly within the old town. Population in 1831, 3,016, in 1841, 2,216. Houses in 1841, 297.

Trinity College Church. This church stood at the foot of Leith wynd, and the principal access to it was by the Low Calton. It was founded by Mary of Gueldres, consort of James II., in the year 1462, for a purpose sufficiently explained in the charter of foundation; wherein it is declared to have been erected "For the salvation of the soul of the late illustrious prince, James, king of Scots, our late husband, of pious memory; likewise, for the souls of all the kings and queens of Scotland, deceased; also, for the salvation of the illustrious prince, our son James, (III.) the present king of Scotland; for the salvation of our own soul, those of our father and mother, ancestors, and all the sons and daughters succeeding to, and descending from them; and for the salvation of the reverend father in Christ, Lord James Kennedy, (a grandson of Robert III.) present bishop of St. Andrew's, our dearest cousin, and for the souls of all those whom consanguinity, affinity, or benefits have endeared to us; and of all those whom we have any ways offended in our life, to whom we are obliged to make satisfaction; and for the souls of all the faithful deceased." The church was formerly collegiate, and by the preamble of its charter of foundation, of which the above is an excerpt, provision is made for a provost, eight prebendaries, two choristers, and a sacristan, all of whom had distinct stipends, derived from lands assigned to them respectively for their maintenance; and they assumed, and were distinguished by, the several names of the lands out of which they drew their incomes. The regulations established by the charter of foundation, place the virtue and learning of the Popish ecclesiastics in no very respectable view, it being thereby provided, that "if any of the said prebendaries shall keep a *Concubine or Fire-maker*, and shall not dismiss her, after being *thrice admonished thereto* by the provost, his prebend shall be adjudged vacant, and conferred on another." It is farther provided, "that no prebendary shall be instituted unless he *can read and sing plainly, count and discount;*" and whenever any of them said mass, it was by said charter ordained that he should, "in his sacerdotal habiliments, repair to the tomb of the Foundress with hyssop, and there devoutly read over the prayer, *de profundis.*"

The first provost of the establishment was Sir Edward Bonkle. It was endowed with the profits of lands in a considerable number of places, but especially of those belonging to the chapel of Soltra or Soultra, Lampetlaw, Strathmartin in the dioccse of St. Andrew's, etc., and out of lands belonging to the towns and villages of Hangardshaw, Lampetlaw, Fala-hill below Heriot-moor, Strathmiglo, Browderstane, Gilestown, and many other places, whose names, from having been long since changed, are now unknown. In 1502 James IV. gave this establishment some additional revenue.

Although the sentiments of the provost and prebendaries appear to have changed at the Reformation, yet their doing so did not save the revenues of their establishment from the general scramble for church property; however, in 1567, Regent Moray bestowed

the whole of its revenues on Sir Simon Preston, provost of Edinburgh, who generously gifted them to the town council, or common fund of the burgh. But this appears only to have been a reversionary gift, for Robert Pont, the then provost of the establishment, had reserved a claim on these revenues, which was, in 1685, bought up by the town council for 300 merks Scots, or £16, 13s. 4d. sterling, and an annuity of £160 Scots, or £13, 6s. 8d. sterling. This transaction was, in 1587, confirmed by charter from James VI. and the magistrates restored an hospital that had formerly belonged to the establishment, which will be afterwards noticed along with other charitable institutions of the city. This edifice was after the Reformation fitted up as a place of public worship for the Reformed citizens of Edinburgh, and continued to be used as the parish church of a particular district till 1848, when the fabric was purchased by the North British Railway Co. for the sum of £13,325 sterling, and demolished to make way for that railway, when the remains of its foundress, Mary of Gueldres, was discovered as formerly mentioned.[1]

The structure was elegant, and of the best Gothic order, but its original plan was never completed. It was in the cathedral form, but only the choir or eastern part and the transept or cross was erected, the western part having been begun, but never completed. The arms of Gueldres, quartered with those of Scotland, were on one of its buttresses.

Previous to the Reformation this church went under the name of the 'Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity,' but in modern times it was styled 'The College Kirk.'

The town council of Edinburgh, on recovering the revenues and immunities of the old collegiate foundation, acquired the patronage of the parish of Soltra or Soultra, which was joined to Fala, and the presentation of a minister was taken alternately with the patronage of the latter; but the town council sold their interest in that patronage in June, 1846, to George Grant, Esq., advocate, for £150.[2] The parish attached to the church lies wholly in the town, and contains an area of 52,711 square yards. Population in 1831, 4,244; in 1841, 2,314. Houses in 1841, 359; but its extent has been circumscribed and its population decreased by *quoad sacra* arrangements. The congregation connected with this church presently assembles for divine worship in the Calton Convening Hall, which could contain 176 sitters.

Tron Church. About the year 1637 it having been found that more churches were required for the accommodation of the inhabitants, two new ones were founded by order of the town council, and carried up a considerable length; one on the Castle hill, and the other in the High street, at the point where the two bridges leading to the south and north parts of the city meet. For the latter site 11,500 merks Scots, or £638, 17s. 9d. sterling, were paid. Voluntary subscriptions were made towards

[1] Vide B. i, p. 41.

[2] The town council, as before mentioned, held also the patronage of Wemyss, which they this year (1850) sold to James Stewart, Esq., for £750. These sums were applied in the purchase of City bonds.

the erecting of these churches, but the sums collected being inadequate for defraying the expense, the town council[1] ordered money to be borrowed for that purpose. For want of funds, however, the former of these intended churches was given up, and pulled down, and its material used for the building of the latter,[2] which went originally under the name of 'Christ's Church,' but seems to have derived its present name from a weighing machine or tron which stood near it, and to which it was customary to nail by the ears false notaries and other malefactors. The town council intended originally to have covered this church with copper, and in 1644 purchased 1,000 stones weight of that material at Amsterdam for the purpose; but the money paid for it having been required before being used, it was sold, and the church covered with lead and slates. The building, for want of money, went on very slowly, and in 1647 was only so far completed as to be fit for public worship being performed in it. On the north front entrance is the inscription, "*Ædem hanc Christo et ecclesiæ sacrarunt cives Edinburgeni.* Anno Dom. MDCXLI." A bell was in 1673 placed in the spire of this church, which cost 1,490 merks, eight shillings, Scots, or £82, 15s. 4½d. sterling; and five years after, the clock belonging to the Tron or Weigh-house was

[1] Coun. Reg. v. xv, p. 47; v. xvi, pp. 16–26; v. xxii, p. 59.

[2] This intended church had been founded almost on the same spot which was occupied for many years by the reservoir of the Water Company, and when clearing away the earth in 1849, for the purpose of forming a new and much larger reservoir, many ancient relics were found. A few of the coins of the early mintage of George II. were picked up, in which the king figures in Roman costume. A silver coin and six bodles of Charles I. were also found, also various moulded stones, and one sculptured tablet were fallen in with; these were supposed to be portions of the church above mentioned. A large wall, measuring seven feet thick, was discovered; it lay directly east and west, having another wall attached to it, at right angles, proceeding directly south below the old reservoir. It extended about eleven feet below the newer foundation, and probably might have formed part of the city wall before described,[1] erected in 1450. The excavators came upon a bed of clay below the foundation of this ancient wall, and beneath that a thick bed of moss, or decayed animal and vegetable matter, in which was found copper coin of the Lower Empire in good preservation. Two very remarkable coffins were found under this moss, which had been hewn out of a solid trunk of oak, and had a circular hollow roughly cut out for the head; one of them is supposed to have contained a female, and the other a male. The coffins were unfortunately broken to pieces before properly examined. The Scots Magazine for 1754, thus narrates a curious discovery made near the site of these coffins. "About the middle of June, some workmen employed in levelling the upper part of Mr. Ramsay's garden, on the Castle Hill, fell upon a subterraneous chamber, about fourteen feet square, in which were found an image of white stone, with a crown upon its head, supposed to be the Virgin Mary, two brass candlesticks, about a dozen of ancient Scottish and French coins, and some other trinkets, scattered among the rubbish. But by several remains of burned matter, and two cannon balls, it is guessed that the building above ground was destroyed by the Castle in some former confusion." This may have been a portion of the ancient church of St. Andrew's, mentioned by Maitland as having stood "at the southern side of the Nordloch, near the foot of the Castle Hill." From these discoveries there appear to have been in this site, an accumulation of twenty feet of artificial soil, with buildings apparently of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, built above more ancient edifices and graves of primitive times.

[1] Vide B. I, p. 39.

placed in it. The edifice was not completely finished till 1663, and cost about £6,000 sterling. The houses in the High street were originally contiguous to the church, but by the opening of the South bridge on the east, and Hunter's square on the west, the church was then almost rebuilt, and now stands separate from all other buildings, and contains 697 sittings. It presents a handsome front to the High street with a main entrance, and has four semi-Gothic windows. The tower of this church was, as before narrated, destroyed by fire on 16th November, 1824.[1] In 1828 a new and elegant spire was erected on the old walls. The tower is square for a certain length, and of mixed architecture; afterwards it rises in an octagonal shape, and is surmounted by a gilt ball and vane. Its height from the street to the top of the vane is about 160 feet. A clock is placed in it, with a dial plate on each side, lighted with gas in the inside after sunset.

The parish attached to this church is situated wholly in the old town, and contains an area of 34,822 square yards. Population in 1831, 3,009; in 1841, 2489. Houses in 1841, 401. The charge is collegiate.

During the erection of this church, David Mackall, merchant in Edinburgh, bequeathed 3,500 merks Scots, or £194, 8s. $10\frac{5}{12}$d. sterling, in trust to the magistrates, for the purpose of maintaining a minister to officiate in it every Sabbath morning, from six to a quarter past seven o'clock, or such other hours as the magistrates should appoint. They, as Arnot the historian of Edinburgh states, "may truly be said to have hid their talent in a napkin;" sixty-four years having elapsed before the citizens enjoyed the benefit of this bequest. In 1703 they appointed two persons to preach alternately in the morning, to each of whom they gave a salary of forty guineas; but only one preacher now officiates in it.

Old and New Grayfriars Churches. The Monastery of Grayfriars, as before stated, was demolished in 1559; and the fine gardens attached to it, which ascended with a gentle acclivity to the High-riggs in the fields south of the city, were conferred by Queen Mary on the town in 1561, to be used as a public cemetery.

The inhabitants of the city having so greatly increased, more church accommodation became necessary. The town council therefore, in the year 1612, built a church in the centre of the new cemetery, the spire of which having been converted into a powder magazine by the magistrates, was unfortunately destroyed on 7th May, 1718, by an explosion. Instead of rebuilding the steeple, which would have cost £600 sterling, the council in 1719 laid the foundation of a new church, and separated it from the old one by a partition wall. This church being erected posterior to the other, received the name of the New Grayfriars Church, and was finished in 1721, at an expense of £3,045 sterling. It was not, however, till the year 1722, that the original edifice was constituted a parish church, and some time afterwards the New church also had allotted to it a distinct parish. These two churches were long distinguished as the Old and New Grayfriars.

[1] Vide B. i, p. 230.

Outwardly the edifice had only the appearance of a plain slated house of an oblong form, but it was internally of Gothic construction, with heavy pillars and arches.

In January, 1845, the citizens were alarmed by a report of these two churches being on fire. The fire had originated in the Old church, and was occasioned by the overheating of the flue of the stove, which had been kindled on the previous night. The flames soon found their way to the New church, and notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the firemen, these two churches, forming together a venerable relic of the olden times, and connected with many historical associations, were totally destroyed. The Old church was completely gutted, nothing was left standing but the bare walls, scorched, cracked, and blackened on every side. The New church was not so much injured; a small portion of the roof at the west end remained, and the two side galleries were left standing. The vestry was also destroyed, and though the communion plate and some other articles were preserved, a table, originally used by John Knox, was consumed in the conflagration. The edifice was insured for £4,000.

The New church has been since repaired and used as a place of worship, and can accommodate 1,211 sitters; but the Old church is now in total ruin. The parish attached to the Old Grayfriars contained an area of 44,627 square yards. Population in 1831, 4,345; in 1841, 2,580. Houses in 1841, 401. The charge was formerly collegiate, but has recently been divided into two distinct charges, one of which is now known as the parish of St. John's. Population in 1841, 2,140.

The parish attached to the New Grayfriars has an area of 96,493 square yards. Population in 1831, 4,536; in 1841, 2,481. Houses in 1841, 344. Many houses in these parishes were taken down to make way for new streets between the years 1831 and 1841, which accounts for the decrease in the population.

There is a monument erected in this cemetery, near the gate, to those noble martyrs for civil and religious liberty, who fell by the hands of the public executioner in the time of the persecution, and who are interred at that spot. There are also in this churchyard the remains of the celebrated George Buchanan; Henderson, the celebrated Presbyterian divine; and Dr. Robertson, the elegant historian of Charles V., as well as several other distinguished individuals.

Lady Yester's Church. This church is situated nearly opposite the Royal Infirmary, and owes its origin and name to Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, who in the year 1647 gave to the magistrates 15,000 merks (£833, 6s. 8d. sterling) to build a church, and granted them 1,000 merks per annum for the stipend of its minister. This church, in the year 1655, had a particular district set apart for its parish. The original building, which was very plain, having become ruinous, was in 1803 pulled down, and in 1804–5 the present elegant Gothic edifice erected in its stead, which can accommodate 986 sitters. At one time there was a small burying-ground attached to it, which has long been discontinued as such, and the ground has been partly feued out for

buildings. It is now a regular city church, under the patronage of the town council.

The parish attached to it has an area of 67,472 square yards. Population in 1831, 2,890; in 1841, 1,800. Houses in 1841, 275.

St. Andrew's Church. This church, which stands on the north side of George street, in the new town, was founded in 1779, and finished in 1781. The body of the building is of an oval form; when first erected it had no spire, but a beautiful tapering one was afterwards added in front, reared on a base and pediment partly resting on a range of four exceedingly handsome Corinthian pillars, and rises to the height of 168 feet, in which there are a clock and a chime of bells. The building cost about £7,000, and contains 958 sittings. Its parochial district was formerly part of the parish of St. Cuthbert's, but was erected into a separate parish, by Act of Parliament, in 1785. Since then, parts of it have been assigned to several parishes of more recent erection. Population in 1831, 7,339; in 1841, 4,440. Houses in 1841, 696. The charge is collegiate.

St. George's Church. This edifice, which occupies a conspicuous situation in the centre of the west side of Charlotte square, and terminates the view to the west from George's street, was founded on 14th May, 1811, and opened for public worship in 1814. It is a square building, in a massive Grecian style, with a front of 112 feet in length, in which is a lofty portico supported by four pillars and two pilasters of the Ionic order; a circular tower rises behind this opening, with a lead-covered dome, which is seen to advantage in all directions, and was intended as a miniature representation of St. Paul's in London. This church was built on a plan estimated at £18,000, but it cost the enormous sum of £38,000. It contains 1581 sittings. It was originally a parochial division out of St. Cuthbert's parish, attached to St. Andrew's parish, from which it was disjoined about the year 1814 by the town council and presbytery of Edinburgh. It is partly landward, extending from Hanover street to the farthest boundary of Coates, and is nearly one mile and a half in length, and one half mile in breadth, but most of the inhabited houses are within the town. Population in 1831, 7,338; in 1841, 5,518. Houses in 1841, 980.

St. Mary's Church. This church, which stands in the centre of Bellevue crescent, in the north-east extremity of the new town, was founded in August, 1823, and opened for public worship on 11th December, 1824. The building is of an oblong shape, and has a front consisting of a portico with a range of pillars of the Corinthian order, supporting a pediment, from which rises a spire, including the vane, of 186 feet in height, first of a square, and afterwards of a circular form. The building, including clock, etc,, cost £13,000; it can accommodate 1,800 people, but only lets for 1564 sittings. The parish attached to the church was separated from St. Andrew's in 1824, by the town council and presbytery of Edinburgh. Population in 1831, 6,587; in 1841, 6,724. Houses in 1841, 1,127.

St. Stephen's Church. This edifice, which stands at the foot of St. Vincent street, was opened in December, 1828, for divine service. Its exterior is of a quadrangular form, but its interior is octagonal. The building is of mixed Roman architecture; and from an obtuse angle, which is turned to the street, rises a tower of 162½ feet in height. This church cost £25,000, and can accommodate 1610 sitters. Its parochial division was disjoined from the conterminous parishes in 1828, by the teind court and presbytery of Edinburgh. Population in 1831, 5,772; in 1841, 6,754. Houses in 1841, 1,092.

Greenside Church. This church, which stands at the base of the Calton hill, facing Leopold Place, is a plain building, with no spire; but the town council lately voted £200 to assist in erecting one. The church was opened in October, 1839. It cost £3,570, and the school room below the church cost £600; the latter was paid by the trustees of Dr. Bell, and the school belongs to them. The church contains 1,062 sittings, every one of which are presently let. By the constitution of the church, one half of the sittings are let to parishioners only at an average rent of 2s. each per annum.

In the above fifteen city churches, containing 14,838 sittings, there were only let in the year 1849-50, 6,904: of these 1,113 were let to persons residing or carrying on business in the ancient royalty; 3,830 in the extended royalty; 1,742 to persons residing in the West Church parish; 31 in Canongate; 147 in South Leith; 10 in North Leith; and 31 in other parishes.[1]

Canongate Church. This church, which stands near the middle of the north side of the street named the Canongate, was founded in the year 1688. It is a Gothic building, in the form of a cross; in its front are the head and horns of a deer, with a cross erect over the top of the forehead between the horns, emblematical of the legend which is told of King David I., founder of Holyrood Abbey. The inhabitants of Canongate for a long period previous to its erection performed their religious duties in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, but in 1672, the king (James VII. of Scotland) wrote to the privy council, 'That the Abbey Church was the chapel belonging to his palace of Holyrood,' and ordered the provost of Edinburgh to see the keys of it given to the knights of the ancient order of the Thistle, that it might be fitted up and appropriated for the celebration of divine service according to the rites of the Church of Rome; some opposition was made to the order by the bishop of Edinburgh, but it was ultimately agreed to, and the parishioners of Canongate were accommodated in Lady Yester's church till they got a church of their own. Holyrood chapel was accordingly magnificently fitted up, with richly carved stalls for the knights of the Thistle, and a college of priests was established in Holyrood Abbey, who performed divine service in it.

The inhabitants of Canongate attended Lady Yester's church for nearly fifteen years; but becoming impatient to have a church of their own, sent a petition to his Majesty reminding him, that

[1] Return prepared by the city accountant.

in the year 1649, Thomas Moodie, or, as he was styled, Sir Thomas Moodie of Sachtonhall,[1] merchant in Edinburgh, had left 20,000 merks (£1,111, 2s. 2½d. sterling,) to the council of Edinburgh, in trust for building a church in the town,[2] and humbly prayed that he might be graciously pleased to grant as much out of that bequest as would build them a church. The civic rulers, who were the trustees, appear to have been at a loss how to dispose of this donation, as they then held the same opinion that many of their successors presently hold, namely, that there was no necessity for any additional church accommodation; hence they obtained an act relative to this legacy and mortification, 'That in regard they have no use for a church, therefore they might be allowed to invest the money in some other public work.' Parliament recommended the town council to the privy council, to see the will of the defunct fulfilled as near as could be, for it came near to sacrilege to invert a pious donation. The town council offered to 'buy with it a peal of bells to hang in St. Giles' steeple, to ring musically and to warn the church;' also, 'to build a Tolbooth above the West Port of Edinburgh, and put Thomas Moodie's name and arms thereon.'[3] Many other plans were suggested for disposing of the donation, but in answer to the petition of the burgers of Canongate, his majesty sent a letter to the privy council, stating that they would request the lord provost, magistrates, and town council of Edinburgh, to deliver the keys of the church of Holyrood to the Earl of Perth, the chancellor, that it might be fitted up as a royal chapel, and that he should require them and the bailies of Canongate to remove all the lofts, galleries, and seats or pews, or other things within the church, made of timber or wood, and bestow them on the parishioners of Canongate, under the reservation of the rights of the trades, and private persons therein, who were to have lofts assigned them in the new church.

At the request of his Majesty, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury paid the magistrates of Edinburgh out of Moodie's donation 34,000 merks to enable them to erect this church; but James Smith, the architect, having made several alterations on the building not included in the contract, was allowed by Parliament 900 merks more, making together 43,000 merks, (£2,389, 7s. 8½d. sterling.) The building, however, of the church, and laying out the ground for the churchyard, cost upwards of £2,400.

The church is a collegiate charge. The crown is patron of the first, and the magistrates, treasurer, deacons of trades, and the heritors and kirk session of the parish are joint patrons of the second charge.

The *first* minister is partly paid from the public exchequer, namely, £21, 2s. 2½d., which is supposed to come out of the bishop's rents belonging to the crown, with a certain amount of victual stipend, which varies in value according to the fiars, but seldom exceeds £50 per annum. The remainder of his stipend is

[1] Slezar's Theatrum Scotiæ. [2] It appears that the bishop of Edinburgh's house rent was paid out of the annual interest of this sum. [3] Fountainhall's records in 1681, v. 1, p. 156.

made up from the annuity tax.[1] The *second* minister is wholly paid out of the annuity tax. The average amount of the annuity tax is about £600 per annum, besides the small impost on wine before referred to.

Each of the ministers has a stipend of £240 per annum. The first has a manse, and the second is paid £24 per annum additional in name of house rent. Taking all emoluments, each of them receives what may be equivalent to nearly £300 per annum. The church was reseated in 1817; sittings, 1,295. The population in 1841, of the parish *quoad civilia*, amounted to 8,932; families, 2,130; houses, 1,496. Population, exclusive of *quoad sacra* parishes, in 1841, 4,697, besides 425 in public institutions; families, 1,126; houses, 819.

New Street Church. This church was opened as a chapel-of-ease in 1794 to the parish of Canongate, and cost nearly £2,900; sittings, 1,150. By an act of the General Assembly in 1834, a *quoad sacra* parish was disjoined from the parish of Canongate, and attached to it, which parish lies wholly within that burgh. It is of small extent. Population in 1841, 1,932; houses, 351.

St. Cuthbert's Church. This church was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, who was born at Tweedside, and bred in the monastery of Melrose. He died on 20th March, 687. Since the Reformation, when, as before mentioned, churches were generally *unsainted*, it has from its local situation, standing at the western extremity of the valley which divides the New from the Old town, gone under the name of the *West Kirk*. It is evident from the lapse of so great a length of time, as well as from the ravages of war, which, previous to the ascension of James VI. to the English throne, often destroyed every building in and about Edinburgh, that the old building, demolished in 1775, when the present plain erection was founded, could not have been the original church. It has been stated, that on digging the foundation of the present erection, the remains of five distinct foundations were discovered.

This church, says Chambers,[2] 'is older than record in Scotland, and had several grants before the charter of Holyrood.' In that charter, executed in 1128, King David I. granted and perpetually confirmed to the church of the Holy Cross, (the original name of Holyrood Abbey) 'the church and parish of St. Cuthbert's, with all things thereunto belonging, with the church, town, and its divisions, and the ground whereon the church is situated, together

[1] By a statute dated 5th October, 1633, there is imposed under this name, a tax of *six per cent* on the rents of all property within the parish of Canongate, to be applied, first, "for payment to the *first* minister, of the sum of £500 Scots money (£41, 13s. 4d. sterling,) yearly, for a help to make up his stipend;" and, second, "the surplus of foresaid annuity, with the small impost on wine, conform to his late Majesty's gift, to belong to the town of Canongate, for payment of their *second* minister's stipend, and other pious uses." The tax on wine above mentioned, had its origin in a grant of Charles I., under the privy seal dated 7th July, 1632, which grant was ratified and approved of by the statute, 1663. And the impost is declared "to be employed be the ministers of the said Kirk, etc., for maintenance of the *second* minister at the said Kirk, and other pious uses."

[2] Caledonia, v. ii, p. 780.

with all the lands lying within the castle, namely, from the well which riseth or springeth near the corner of my garden, by the way which leads to the church of St. Cuthbert's. And on the other hand, along the foot of the Castle hill to the rock at the eastern side of the said Castle hill, with the two chapels belonging to the said church of St. Cuthbert's, namely, Corstorphine, with two bovates (thirty acres) and six acres of land, and the chapel of Liberton, with two oxgans, (thirty acres,) together with all rights and tithes, as well of the dead as the living, in Legbernard,[1] which Macbeth gave to the said church.'

The old church, which had stood for ages, and been used alternately as a Popish, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian place of worship, and had from time to time received many additions and alterations, was in the year 1772 condemned to be taken down by the verdict of a jury, as being in 'a ruinous and irreparable condition.' It is described as having been a homely piece of architecture originally covered with thatch, but in the year 1589 the thatch was removed, and slates substituted in its place. One building was added to another, till it had the appearance of a number of houses drawn close together, while the interior, formed after no plan, presented a multitude of petty galleries stuck up one above another, to the very rafters, like so many pigeons' nests. The pulpit, which was made of oak, and carved almost in every part, must have had a very diminutive appearance. It is now placed in the hall of the Charity workhouse.

Besides the high altar, there were during the times of Popery several other altars in this church, consecrated to various saints. Hence we are informed that William Towers of Inverleith granted an annuity of fourteen merks for the support of the chaplain who officiated at the altar of St. Anne; and in January 1489, Alexander Currier, vicar of Haddington, granted various rents from tenements in Edinburgh, to support a chaplain to officiate at the Trinity altar. There were also numerous religious foundations belonging to or connected with it previous to the Reformation. At that period, although stripped of all its superstitious ornaments and altars, yet the church itself received no damage. William Harlow, who was born in Edinburgh in the year 1500, was the first Protestant minister who filled this important charge. He was in 1578 succeeded by Robert Pont, a native of Culross. Mr. Pont when inducted was a lord of session, and provost of Trinity college, Edinburgh. He resigned his place as a lord of session in 1584, and was the last ecclesiastic that sat on the bench. At this period there was no bell attached to the church, the people were convened by the beadle ringing a hand-bell through the parish.

During the period of taking down the old church and erecting the present plain edifice, which was opened on 21st July, 1775, the congregation assembled for public worship in the Methodist chapel, Low Calton, which was generously given for this purpose by the managers of that chapel.

The church was erected by the heritors at the expense of

[1] This church cannot now be traced.

£4,231 sterling; but as they made no provision for the erection of a steeple, it stood without either spire or bell till 1789, when the present handsome steeple, about 170 feet in height, was built by private subscription. The lower part of the steeple to the height of the church was built by a Mr. Weir, but it was completed by Mr. Stein, the same person who built St. Andrew's church steeple. The bell was cast and hung in the steeple in 1791. It is about two feet nine inches in diameter, and bears the following inscription: 'George Watt, fecit, St. Ninian's Row, Edin. 1791.' The clock was not put up till 1798, but a sun-dial was fixed in the church when erected to serve in place of one. The present church, within the walls, is 88 feet in length, 62 feet in breadth, and 47 feet in height; it has a double gallery, and contains about 2,500 sittings. Part of the church is occupied by the inmates of the Charity workhouse, and the children of the Industrial school.

The cemetery attached to the church in 1595 included but a very small space of the present burying ground, and extended to little more than a hundred feet. It appears not to have been walled in, at least cattle seem to have intruded; for by a minute of session of 9th October that year, the church officer is found fault with for having 'ye kirk yard evill keipit frae horse and uther bestial.' At this period the beadle had the sole charge of the burying ground, and received the whole emoluments, which for each funeral amounted to 3s. 4d. Scots, or three pence and one third of a penny sterling. He went before the funerals ringing a hand-bell, a practice which, however ridiculous it may now appear, was continued even in the last century. The cemetery since that period has gone under many alterations, enlargements, and improvements.

The charge is collegiate. Patron, the crown. The stipends of its ministers vary, but they commonly amount from £350 to £400; besides, one of the ministers has a manse, and the other £60 for house rent. There are also £15 given for communion expenses, beside some other small additional emoluments.

St. Cuthbert's parish is not only the oldest parish in Mid-Lothian, but it was the most extensive and most opulently endowed in Scotland, except that of Dunbar. It anciently, as above stated, comprehended the parishes of Corstorphine and Liberton, and is supposed at one period to have also comprehended the city of Edinburgh and the burgh of Canongate.

In its greatest extent *quoad civilia* in 1835, it measured five miles in length, and in its greatest breadth three and a half miles. Many of the parishes attached to the city churches, and the greater number of the *quoad sacra* parishes in the city and liberties, have been disjoined from St. Cuthbert's. The parish is partly landward and partly town, but as regards population it is chiefly the latter. Population in 1755, 12,193; in 1801, 29,771; in 1821, 50,597; in 1831, 70,887; and in 1841, 71,908. Houses in 1841, 12,784. To supply so large a population with church accommodation, there are many other places of worship within the parish.

Buccleuch Church. This church, situated in Chapel street, was built as a chapel-of-ease in 1756, and cost about £700, which was raised by voluntary subscriptions and collections. In 1834, it was erected along with other chapels into a *quoad sacra* parish church, and a territorial district was assigned to it, by an act of the General Assembly. It extends one mile and a half in length, and one and a half in breadth. In 1808, it was enlarged by the addition of an aisle, at an expense of £500, and, in 1824, the lower part of it was new floored and re-seated, the front seats of the gallery altered, and two new staircases built to it; these last improvements cost £700. Sittings, 1,320. Patrons, St. Cuthbert's kirk-session. Stipend varies according to the amount drawn for seat rents, including the interest of an endowment; but by its constitution, a bond for a certain yearly amount of stipend must be granted to the satisfaction of the presbytery, previous to the induction of the minister. Since the decision of the supreme court in the Stewarton case, in 1842-3, this and the other chapels-of-ease were restored to their original footing. Population in 1841, 3,168; houses that year, 621. A small cemetery is attached to the church, which was opened for interments in June, 1763. On the evening of 25th June, 1764, at the request of an individual unconnected with the kirk-session, the ground was clandestinely consecrated by Bishop Falconer, of the Scottish Non-jurant Episcopal church in Edinburgh.

St. Bernard's Church. This church, standing in West Claremont street, was, in 1822, erected by contributions and loans as a chapel-of-ease, and cost £4,200; sittings, 1,309. Patrons, St. Cuthbert's session. In 1834, this *quoad sacra* parish church was disjoined from St. Cuthbert's parish, and had a territorial district attached to it; it is nearly a mile and a half long, and three-fourths of a mile broad. Population in 1841, 3,683. The stipend is regulated according to the extent of seat rents, and a bond granted in the same terms as is above mentioned.

Roxburgh Church, situated in Roxburgh place, was erected in 1809 as a Relief chapel, and opened on 3rd June, 1810. The original cost of the building was £2,960. In 1814 it went under some internal alterations, and is now a very commodious place of worship, of an elliptical form.[1] It was used in connection with the Relief body till 1823, when its congregation, and the Rev. John Johnston their pastor, were admitted into full communion with the Church of Scotland. In 1835 it was purchased from the creditors for the Church Extension committee, and was then erected into a *quoad sacra* parish church, and had a territorial district assigned to it of an area of about a quarter of a mile square. Population in 1841, 3,683. Patrons, elders, managers, and male heads of families; sittings, 830. This church has remained unoccupied since 1843, in consequence of a difficulty in acquiring a title.

St. David's Church. This church, situated in Gardner's crescent, was erected as a Secession meeting-house, but was, in

[1] It was in this building that the meeting of the celebrated convocation of ministers and elders was held in 1842, which led to the secession the following year.

May, 1831, purchased by the kirk session of St. Cuthbert's for £2,105. For several years it was used as a preaching station for that district of the parish, and the pulpit duties were performed by the two parish ministers, until such time as the proceeds of seat rents, church-door collections, and subscriptions, enabled the session to pay off the expense of the purchase, and free it from debt. In 1835 it was disjoined from St. Cuthbert's and a *quoad sacra* parish attached to it. Patrons, St. Cuthbert's session. Stipend regulated on the same footing as in the churches above mentioned. Population in 1841, 2,913; houses, 534.

St. Paul's Church, situated in St. Leonard street, was erected in 1836, chiefly at the expense of a benevolent lady, with grants from the Church Extension committee, and some private contributions. In 1835 a territorial district was assigned to this church as a parish *quoad sacra*. Population in 1841, 2,845. Patrons, male communicants above 20 years of age. By an arrangement entered into between the presbytery of Edinburgh and the trustees of the church, it was lately made over to the Free Church of Scotland.

Morningside Church, situated immediately north of the village of Morningside, near to the *Hare stone*,[1] was, through the influence of the late Dr. Thomas Chalmers, erected by voluntary subscriptions, and opened by him and the Rev. James Begg, on 29th July, 1838. A territorial district was in 1835 assigned to it as a parish *quoad sacra*, including within it the ancient site of *St. Roque's chapel*.[2] Stipend regulated by the revenue from the seat rents. Patrons, the congregation, trustees, and kirk session. Population in 1841, 1,795.

Lady Glenorchy's Church. This church, which was a plain square building, stood at the foot of Leith wynd. It was founded and endowed in 1772, solely at the expense of the pious lady whose name it bore. It was opened in 1774. Her ladyship retained during her lifetime the patronage of it, although it was her intention that the clergyman who officiated in it should be in connection with the Church of Scotland, but not under its presbyterian authority; this led to much profitless discussion, and the result was, that it was constituted a chapel-of-ease, with the provision that the sitters and session nominated and paid the clergymen, and dedicated the collections to their own poor. It was in 1835 erected into a *quoad sacra* church, and had a parish attached to it, which lay partly within the city and parishes of St. Cuthbert's and South Leith. Patrons, trustees. Population in 1841, 2,157; houses, 381; families, 505.

Its site having been required by the North British Railway, it was purchased by that company, and demolished in 1844.

Newington Church, situated on the west side of Clerk street, was by contributions and loans erected in 1823 as a chapel-of-ease, and cost about £7,000. It is a handsome building, with a spire 110 feet high. Patrons, St. Cuthbert's session; sittings, 1,623. In 1835 it was erected into a *quoad sacra* parish church, with a territorial district attached to it. Its extreme length is

[1] Vide B. 1, p. 52. [2] Ibid, B. 2, p. 275.

three quarters of a mile, and about a quarter of a mile in breadth. The stipend is regulated by the sum drawn for seat rents, excepting that a part of it arises from a small endowment. The buildings are numerous, and in 1841 amounted to 634. Population that year, 3,310.

The Gaelic Church, situated in the parish of the Old Grayfriars, ranks as a *quoad sacra* parish church by the act of Assembly in 1834, but has not annexed to it any separate or definite territory. The church was in 1809 erected by subscription, and cost nearly £3,000. Sittings, 1,166; stipend, £280. Patron, Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

The Dean Church, situated at the village of Dean, was erected by subscription, under the auspices of the late Dr. Chalmers, and opened for public worship by him on 15th May, 1836. It was amongst the first of the extension churches that was erected, and had a territorial district assigned to it as a *quoad sacra* parish, with a population in 1841 of 2,262. It can accommodate 1,000 persons. The subscribers are the patrons, and the *minimum* stipend £80.

St. Luke's Church, situated in Young street, was opened for public worship in 1837; the expense of its erection was defrayed by a liberal donation from a benevolent lady, and *anonymous* subscriptions; the same year it was erected into a *quoad sacra* district church. Although its minister and congregation joined the secession in 1843, they kept possession of the church till 1849, when they voluntarily left it, and it has since remained unoccupied.

The General Assembly. The government of the church is vested in kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and the General Assembly. The Assembly was first held at Edinburgh, on 20th December, 1560. Although it often thereafter met in different places, yet the Capital has been for a long period the regular place of holding its annual meetings in May, as also the meetings of its commissions. A presbytery that consists of fewer than thirteen parishes delegates to the Assembly two ministers and one elder; if fewer than nineteen, but more than twelve, three ministers and one elder; if fewer than twenty-five, but more than eighteen, four ministers and two elders; and if fewer than thirty-one, but more than twenty-four, five ministers and two elders are delegated; and a presbytery of more than thirty parishes, delegates six ministers and three elders. Churches having two ministers are considered as two parishes. Each royal burgh sends one member, Edinburgh two, and each university one; one elder also represents the presbyteries in the East Indies. At their meetings the Assembly chooses a clerical president, who goes under the name of *Moderator*, and it is also presided over by a civil president, appointed by the crown, who represents her Majesty, and attends in state at its opening. He is styled, *The Lord High Commissioner*. The Moderator is the real president, acting very much as if the civil president did not exist. The latter is usually a Scottish nobleman, who takes no part in the business, unless to open or close the meeting in name of the sovereign, which is also simul-

taneously done by the Moderator in name of the spiritual Head of the Church, but in such a way as never to interfere with the royal authority. This assembly, which is composed of nearly 400 members, lay and clerical, meets in the Tolbooth church or Victoria hall, before described, which was fitted up for its accommodation. The business which cannot be overtaken within the ten days of the Assembly's full session, is left to the commission of the Assembly, which consists of a great portion of its members, who are invested with full power to decide all cases left by the Assembly, and to watch over the general interests of the Church.

During the sitting of the court, the Commissioner keeps a sort of open table for members. He also holds a levee, at which numerous clerical and civil dignitaries attend. From the levee a procession takes place to the church, bearing a faint resemblance to a royal pageant, a sermon is then preached by the late Moderator, the rolls called over, and the ministers appointed who are to preach before the Commissioner on Sunday.

The Commissioner receives a salary from the crown of £2,000, and the Assembly is supported by a donation of nearly £1,000 annually; besides which, government pays £10,000 yearly to raise the small stipends of ministers to the *minimum* of £150.

The Free Church of Scotland. Long previous to the year 1843, there had been two parties in the Church of Scotland, distinguished by the names of *Intrusionists* and *Non-Intrusionists*. But it is not our province to discuss the different opinions held by each party, but merely to record facts. The meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the above year was held in St. Andrew's church, and had been looked forward to, throughout the whole country, not only with deep interest, but with much anxiety and great excitement. For several days previous to the meeting, the number of strangers from all quarters that crowded into the city was unprecedentedly great; and on the day the Assembly was held, every seat in the church was occupied long previous to the hour of meeting, while on the outside, the house was surrounded by a dense crowd unable to gain admittance. Many applications were made by ladies to be allowed to sleep all night in the church; that request being refused, not a few of them took possession of seats in the gallery by five o'clock in the morning, where they patiently waited for the Assembly meeting. The members on both sides began to drop in about twelve o'clock. There was no manifestation of feeling on the entrance of the leaders of the *Intrusionists*, but on the entrance of the Rev. Messrs. Chalmers, Candlish, and Cunninghame, and other champions of spiritual independence, they were hailed with the applause of their party.

The Lord High Commissioner's procession was on this occasion unusually magnificent. As soon as he had taken his seat on the throne, prayer was offered up by Dr. Welsh, the moderator, who, immediately after the prayer was concluded, commenced reading the protest of his party, the Non-Intrusionists, which he did distinctly, leisurely, and with great coolness. The protest, although of great length, was listened to throughout with

the most anxious attention from every quarter of the house, the Commissioner, and the ladies and gentlemen around the throne, leaning forward to catch every word. As soon as the doctor had finished reading the protest, he laid it on the table, and having bowed to her Majesty's representative, took up his hat and walked to the door, and was instantly followed by all those of his party. A momentary cheer from the gallery was heard on the first movement being made, but it instantly subsided, and the secession took place with no more bustle than that unavoidably created by the moving away of upwards of 200 members of the Assembly, followed by their adherents among the audience, who were numerous. On the part of the Moderates, the movement was witnessed with dignified composure.

The seceding party, on reaching the door of the church, were received with cheers from their adherents in the crowd. The lord provost of the city, who left his place beside the throne, drove in his carriage before the procession, which, headed by Drs. Welsh, Chalmers, and Macfarlane, reached in about twenty-five minutes a large hall at Canonmills, that had been previously fitted up as their new place of meeting. On their way they were cheered by the crowd, while from the windows along the streets through which they passed, white handkerchiefs were waved by the ladies of their party, Some hours before the disruption took place, Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, was filled with the adherents of the secession. When Dr. Welsh and his party made their appearance, they were hailed with the most enthusiastic cheering. After the meeting was constituted by prayer, Dr. Welsh in a few words moved that Dr. Chalmers be their Moderator. At this announcement the whole vast assemblage rose at once and cheered enthusiastically, with waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Dr. Chalmers then addressed the meeting, in a speech full of genius and feeling. The protest was signed by 118 ministers, (of whom 31 were *quoad sacra*,) and it was also subscribed by 73 elders. In the first publication thereafter of the *Witness* newspaper, the number of ministers that had seceded was stated to amount to 435.

The Protesters and all their Adherents, who were very numerous, constituted themselves into a body, under the denomination of 'The Free Church of Scotland.' They hold a General Assembly at Edinburgh annually, in the month of May, besides several meetings of its commissions. Each presbytery delegates to it a certain number of ministers and elders, the number being regulated in conformity to the number of members of presbytery. The president, or Moderator, is elected by the majority of votes of members. Business which cannot be undertaken during its sitting is delegated to a commission, invested with all ecclesiastical powers, to watch over the interest of the Church throughout the country. There are now (1850) in the city and suburbs 25 churches belonging to this large and respectable body, namely: Buccleuch, Canongate, Dean, Gaelic, Greyfriars, High church, Lady Glenorchy's, Morningside, New North, Pilrig, Roxburgh, St. Andrew's, St. Bernard's, St. Cuthbert's, St. David's, St.

George's, St. John's, St. Luke's, St. Mary's, St. Paul's, St. Stephen's, Tolbooth, Tron church, and Chalmers's Territorial church. Many of these are large and elegant buildings.

The Free Church contains seventeen synods and seventy-one presbyteries. The amount of money raised by the different congregations connected with this church has astonished all other Christian denominations, and has stimulated them to make exertions, which but for their liberality would never have been thought of.

In the annual report of public accounts, the whole sums raised for the various objects of the Church during the year ending 31st March, 1849, are stated to have amounted to £275,041, 4s. 4¾d. In the General Assembly held in May that year, an act was passed with a view of keeping the Sustentation Fund to the level which would give a *minimum* of £150 to each minister.

The Free Church College, which is presently erecting at the head of, and fronting the Earthen Mound, is a beautiful edifice of the Gothic order of architecture. The Free High church, which forms its east wing, was opened on 4th February, 1850, for public worship, by the Rev. Dr. Gordon, minister of the congregation, which, since its separation from the Establishment, had met in the Music Hall, George Street. The admission was by tickets, principally confined to the members; and liberal collections were made at both diets of the service, in aid of the funds of the church.

The College was instituted in 1843; the first Principal was the late Dr. Chalmers. Besides the Principal, there are eight Professors, who fill the chairs of Divinity, Divinity and Church History, Hebrew and Oriental Languages, Exegetical Theology, Moral Philosophy, Natural Science, Logic and Metaphysics.

United Presbyterian Church. It is not our province to describe the arguments and formalities which preceded and prepared for the union of the Secession and Relief bodies, it being sufficient for us to state, that when all preliminary points relative to it were settled, it was agreed that the respective synods should meet on Thursday, the 13th May, 1847, in Bristo Street church, and there be united. In this church, one of the largest in the city, the re-union of the Burgher and Anti-Burgher synods took place in 1821; however, the demand on this occasion for admission tickets was so great, that it was found the church would be much too small to contain the number of applicants; therefore, agreeably to arrangements entered into with the Free Church of Scotland, it was arranged that this meeting should take place in Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, before mentioned, to which Hall the synods proceeded about mid-day, from their usual places of meeting. Great numbers had come from the country to witness this memorable event, and many of these, mixed with thousands of the citizens, lined the streets on the way to Tanfield. Previous to the arrival of the two synods, the spacious Hall was crowded in every corner, except a space in the middle of it reserved for the members of the two courts, who were, in taking their seats, arranged in alternate benches, so as to mix with one another. After the singing of psalms and prayer, the clerks read

the minutes of their respective synods agreeing to the union, upon which the Moderators of the two Synods gave to each other the right hand of fellowship, and declared the union formed; when instantly ministers, elders, and the immense assemblage, exchanged the same tokens of Christian regard, and became one body, under the designation of the United Presbyterian Church. The Congregations in Edinburgh and suburbs belonging to the Secession body that joined the union were, namely: Bristo Street, established in 1740. Their church was erected in 1802, and has since been greatly enlarged and altered. Nicholson Street, established in 1747. Their church was founded in 1819, and opened in March, 1820. Rose Street, established in 1786. In 1830, their present church was erected upon the site of the original church and manse. Broughton Street, established 1785. This congregation met in a chapel in Rose street till 1821, when the present church was erected. Potterrow, established in 1792. Their church was erected in 1793, and altered and repaired in 1831. Portsburgh, established in 1792. The present church was, in 1828, erected on the site of their former meeting house. Lothian Road, established in 1827. They met in Gardner's Crescent chapel till 1831, when their present church was erected. Stockbridge, Dean Street, established in 1829. Their church was built in 1828 for a Relief congregation, and purchased by them in an unfinished state in 1829. Cowgate, established in 1828. This building was, in 1771, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith as an Episcopal chapel, and continued as such till the year 1818, when the congregation presently in St. Paul's chapel, York place, removed from it, when it was united to the Relief denomination, in which it continued till the year 1828, and was then purchased by its present congregation, which belonged to the United Associate synod.

The congregations in Edinburgh and suburbs belonging to the Relief denomination that joined the union were: College Street, formed in 1765. Their present church was erected in 1797. St. James's Place, established in 1796. Their church was erected in 1800, and repaired and altered in 1828. Bread Street, formed in 1831. Their church was erected in 1831-2. Arthur Street, Pleasance. This congregation originally erected, and for some years occupied Brighton Street church, which was, in 1835, sold, and their present church purchased. Newington Street congregation was formed and their church erected in 1840.

The United Presbyterian Synod, or supreme court of that ecclesiastical body, comprehending twenty-eight presbyteries, meets at Edinburgh annually, in their large and commodious hall, 5 Queen street, on the first Monday of May. The congregation which meets in Carrubber's close is not connected with the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church.

Scottish Episcopal Church. The clergy connected with this church are supported by their congregations. In connection with the church a society has been instituted for the purpose, amongst other objects, of providing for aged and infirm clergymen, the salaries of their assistants, and giving general aid to

congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties. The funds are invested in Government securities, and are under the management of trustees.

There are eight places of worship in the city connected with this church, and of course subject to the authority of the bishop, namely, St. John's, which is situated on the south side of the west end of Princes street, and is the most splendid ecclesiastical edifice in the city. It was founded in 1816 and opened in 1817, at an expense of £16,013, 14s. Being the scene of episcopal ordinations, it is viewed by many in the light of a cathedral. It has no gallery, except at the west end, where the organ is placed, which is also seated for the use of the congregation. Two rows of very light Gothic columns support the roof. This chapel, externally and internally, is embellished with all the graces of the florid Gothic order. Its form is oblong, with a square tower of 120 feet in height rising from the west end, which by projecting beyond the body of the building, forms a porch to the principal entrance. The building is 113 feet in length, by 62 in breadth. The great window in the east is 30 feet high, of stained glass, and represents the twelve apostles in full length figures. The other windows are also of stained glass, which produce a fine effect. Around the building is a terrace, underneath which, on the south side, is a range of arched burial vaults, and it is also partly surrounded by a cemetery. The congregation of St. Paul's, in which the Bishop officiates, was formed about 1735, and removed to its present splendid place of worship, erected on the north side of York place, in 1818, in which year it was finished, at an expense of £13,533, 11s. This sum was raised by voluntary subscription among the members of the congregation. This elegant Gothic structure consists of a nave and side aisles; measuring in all 122¾ feet in length, and 73 feet wide. The interior dimensions are 105¾ feet by 63 feet. The nave is 105¾ feet by 26 feet, and 46 feet high; the chancel, as usual, occupying a position at the east end. From each of the four angles of the inner walls rises a small circular turret of open stone work; three of these are occupied by staircases, and the fourth, in the north east angle of the building, forms the vestry. The great eastern window is of stained glass, with no other figuring than the cross, which appears in the centre towards the top, with rays of glory proceeding from it. A bell, formerly in the spire of the royal chapel, Holyrood, and afterwards in the spire of the Episcopal chapel, Cowgate, is still preserved here. St. George's Chapel, York place, was erected in 1794, (in which year the congregation was formed,) at an expense of £3,000. This chapel is finished entirely in the Gothic style, and is very tastefully fitted up. St. Paul's Congregation, Carrubber's close, is of remote origin, but is supposed to have been established about 1688. The building, originally a warehouse, is supposed to have been occupied that year in its upper flat by one of the Edinburgh bishops. It was by the congregation purchased partly in 1741, and partly in 1781. This place of worship was long attended by the Jacobites residing in the city. St. James's Chapel, Broughton place, was erected in 1820,

(in which year the congregation was formed,) at an expense of £4,000. St. Peter's Chapel, Roxburgh place, was constructed out of a five story tenement. Its congregation was established in 1791. St. Columba and Trinity chapels are recent erections.

There are seven bishoprics in Scotland, the seventh having been recently erected through the munificence of the Bishop of Moray, by whom it has been endowed.

In addition to the foregoing, there is an Independent Episcopal chapel, named 'St. Thomas's,' and by those frequenting it denominated an 'English Episcopal' chapel, in contra-distinction from those in connection with the Scottish Episcopal Church.

There are in the city and suburbs eleven different places for interring the dead, namely: Newington Necropolis; Dalry Necropolis; Edinburgh and Leith Cemetery, Inverleith Row; Edinburgh and Leith Cemetery, Pilrig street; Edinburgh Western Cemetery, Dean; Calton Burying-ground; Newington, and Buccleuch Burying-grounds; Canongate, Grayfriars', and St. Cuthbert's church-yards; and St. John's Cemetery, before mentioned.

Roman Catholic Church. We have already given a description of the numerous Roman Catholic establishments that existed in the city and suburbs previous to the Reformation, which were then not only wholly suppressed, but many of them demolished.[1]

Although the ebullitions of resentment that were then manifested against the noble edifices of the Catholics have long since subsided, and buildings permitted to be erected for the purposes of the same religion as those demolished, yet it was long after that event before any public Catholic place of worship was permitted to be erected in the city. An obscure spot in the 'Shoemaker's Land,' Cowgate, is pointed out as the site of their only chapel about the middle of the last century. In the Gordon riots of 1779, before mentioned,[2] a new building, near the foot of Leith wynd, in which the Catholic bishop resided, was set fire to and reduced to ashes. A Catholic chapel in Blackfriars wynd was damaged, and its furniture and ornaments brought to the street and burned.[3] This chapel, situated on the highest floor of a dwelling house, was occupied as a Catholic place of worship till St. Mary's church, after described, was erected, when its congregation removed thereto.

St. Mary's Chapel. This small handsome edifice stands in Broughton street, near the termination of York place. It was built in 1813, at an expense of £8,000. It was intended to have been more ornamental, but the original plan was not carried into execution for want of funds, which were chiefly raised by subscription, added to £1,500 paid by the city for the damage sustained by the riots in 1779, above referred to. It measures within the walls 110 feet in length, by 57 feet in breadth, and can accommodate 700 persons. The eastern front, in which is the entrance, is ornamented with two central pinnacles, 70 feet high. The architecture is Gothic, and since its erection, a similar style has been adopted in the buildings of many of the Protestant chapels in the city. It possesses a fine organ. Its

[1] Vide B. 2, pp. 271—278. [2] Ibid. B. 1, p. 221. [3] Ibid. p. 221, 222.

chief ornament is an original painting of the Entombment of Christ, by Vandyke, which was presented to the chapel by Miss Chalmers, daughter of Sir G. Chalmers.

St. Patrick's Chapel. This showy Gothic edifice, situated in Lothian street, was erected in 1835, for the accommodation principally of the Irish population of the Old Town. It has 750 sittings, but the numbers that repair to it on the Sunday mornings often exceed 1,000, many of whom can scarcely find standing room. The hall underneath the church is used as a Catholic school.

About the middle of the last century the Catholic population of Edinburgh did not exceed 600, but of late years the great influx of Irish has increased them to upwards of 16,000; hence the church accommodation, both of St. Mary's and St. Patrick's, is so disproportionate to the wants of the people, that it is in immediate contemplation to erect a church on a very large scale near the head of Bruntsfield Links, where it is also intended to establish an Episcopal seminary for the district.

There are four schools in connection with the Catholic congregations, two for boys and two for girls. A large Hall has been lately fitted up in the Canongate, under the name of 'Holy Cross chapel and school,' where a great number of boys, chiefly belonging to the poorer classes, are educated. This Hall serves as a chapel on Sundays for the Catholic population of that district. There are other Catholic schools in the city, all of which are provided with efficient masters, mistresses, and pupil teachers, under the inspection of the committee of the Privy Council on education. These schools afford education to about 500 children, besides about 100 more are taught in the 'United Industrial School,' South Gray's closs, High street, in which there are a Protestant and a Catholic teacher.

The Convent of St. Margaret was erected in 1834 by Bishop Gillis, for a few members of a French religious institution, whose numbers have since received many additions from that country and England. They devote themselves principally to the education of French children of the wealthier classes, who board in the house. Parents who cannot afford to send their children to the Convent, may secure a superior education for them at a moderate rate, in another institution in connection with the Convent of St. Margaret's.

Baptists. The Leith Walk congregation was formed in 1798. Their chapel was erected in 1801 by a private individual, at a cost of £6,000. The upper part of the building is now only used as a place of worship. Rose Street congregation was established about 1806. This chapel originally belonged to an Episcopalian congregation, and was in 1818 purchased, altered, and enlarged. Elder Street chapel was built in 1814, and along with a dwelling house with which it is connected, cost £1,500. Congregations of Baptists meet also in Minto House, Roxburgh Terrace, and Bristo Street.

Congregationalists. The congregation Argyle Square was established about 1802, at which period the church was built,

entirely at the expense of the late Rev. Mr. Aitkman, its first minister, and cost upwards of £3,000. Since its erection it has been altered and improved. The congregation ALBANY STREET was established in 1808, and removed to its present place of worship in 1816. The chapel was erected in 1816-17, at an expense of £4,000. RICHMOND PLACE congregation was established in 1833, and got possession of the present chapel in 1840. There is also a congregation that meets in Brighton street. The WESLEYAN METHODIST congregation has been in existence since about the year 1795. Their chapel in Nicolson square was erected in 1814, and cost £6,800. THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN congregation, Lady Lawson's wynd, was established in 1804; and in 1835 their present church was erected, and cost about £1,150. There are two congregations in the city connected with the Synod of the UNITED ORIGINAL SECEDERS; the one has a meeting-house in Davie street, and the other in Adam square. Laurieston Street congregation has no connection with the United Synod. The GLASSITES have a meeting-house in Barony street. The UNITARIANS meet in St. Mark's chapel, Castle terrace, erected by them in 1835, at an expense of about £2,000. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS has had a meeting-house in the city since about 1685. Their present one in Pleasance was built about 1790, and cost nearly £1,000. The HEBREW congregation was established in 1817. Their synagogue in Roxburgh street was originally a dwelling-house, but was in 1824 purchased by them, and converted into their place of worship. There is a neat chapel in Albany street occupied by a congregation which was formed in 1833, under the ministry of the Rev. Walter Tait, but assumes no particular denomination. They originally met in a building in Carrubber's close, which was at one time used as a theatre, and subsequently as a place of worship by various denominations of Christians. Besides the sects above mentioned, there are various other denominations, such as the New Jerusalemites, Morisonians, Latter-day Saints, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

POSTAL—First formation of posts—Their progress—'Merchant post'—Revenue farmed—Revenue bestowed on the Duke of York—Edinburgh post-office established—Revenue of Scottish postal granted to Sir Robert Sinclair with a pension—Placed on its present footing—Tedious manner of conveying posts—A penny post-office first established in Edinburgh—Number of penny post-offices in Scotland—Mail coaches introduced—Postages of letters—Gradual improvements on postal arrangements from Edinburgh to London, Aberdeen, and Glasgow—Extensive frauds committed in the Edinburgh post-office detected—Privilege of franking letters restricted—Revenue of the Scottish postal from 1707 to 1840—Number of letters and newspapers that passed through the post-office in the year 1837—General penny postage introduced—Amount drawn at, and number of letters and newspapers passing through the Edinburgh post-office at certain periods—Mails carried by railway trains—Establishment of Edinburgh Post-office—History and progress of private carriages, sedan chairs, and hackney coaches in Edinburgh, from their earliest establishment; and of stage coaches leaving the city for Leith, London, Glasgow, Dalkeith, etc., at different periods to the year 1850.

THE first postal establishment in Europe is ascribed to Louis XI. of France, in the year 1477. On the 1st of April, 1515, the English Envoy in Scotland wrote from Stirling to Henry VIII. of England, 'This Friday, when I came home to dyner, I received your moost honourable letters *by post*, dated at your mansion, Greenwiche, the 26th day of March.' Previous to 1590 the town of Aberdeen had a *common post* for carrying letters to and from the Court. A public post-office was first established in Britain in 1635 by Charles I., and in that year a regular post began to run between Edinburgh and London; it however extended to only a few of the principal roads. The time assigned for the journey[1] from London to Edinburgh was three days; letters were despatched twice a week, and sometimes only once. The postage of a single letter was fixed at sixpence sterling. So insecure was the establishment in 1638, that a person in England wrote to his friend in Scotland, 'I hear the *posts* are waylaid, and all letters taken from them and brought to Secretary Cooke; therefore I will not, nor do you, send by that way hereafter.' That the mail was at this period tampered with, can easily be credited; for it is known that the pages of the bed-chamber picked the king's pockets at night, and copied his letters for the use of his open enemies. This *Merchant Post*, as it was called, did not prosper; but in 1649 it was placed on a better footing by the Commonwealth, which took the Scottish posts under its jurisdiction; and in 1656 it was still further improved by Cromwell, who put the General Post-offices upon a new footing by farming them; and in that year John Manley, Esq.,[2] was appointed Postmaster-General, and farmed the revenues of the post-office of Great Britain and Ireland, for which he paid £10,000 sterling per annum, whereas

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, v. 19, p. 649.
[2] Dec. ord. and proclam. of Cromwell. Parl. v, c. 2, p. 669.

formerly, it is said, the national charge[1] of maintaining post-masters amounted annually to £7,000 sterling. The rates of postages were, for a single letter, under 80 miles, 2d ; above 80, 3d ; to or from Scotland, 4d.; to or from Ireland, 6d. The post was then required to travel in summer at the rate of seven, and in winter at the rate of five miles an hour. But how inadequate it was for the speedy transmission of intelligence, may be gathered from the statement, that the tidings of the abdication of James II. of England and VII. of Scotland, did not reach the Orkneys before the expiry of three months. By a subsequent regulation of the Protector's, every post-master was instructed to keep a book, and enter in it[2] the exact time of the arrival of the post, and the name of the person who carried the mail, and that it should not be detained at any stage above seven minutes and a half; and the management of the post-office was committed to the sole care of John Thurloe, Esq., principal Secretary of State. In 1656 the Parliament of the Commonwealth ratified this establishment,[3] and vested the appointment of the Postmaster-General in the Lord Protector and his successors. On the Restoration of Charles II. the revenues of the post-office were bestowed[4] upon the Duke of York. By a subsequent act in the same reign, this revenue was settled on the Duke of York and his heirs-male; and, upon his succession to the throne, the revenue of the post-office was vested by Parliament in him, his heirs, and successors[5] for ever. A post between Edinburgh and Ireland was first established in 1662. The privy council gave Robert Mein, who was Post-master-General for Scotland, £200 sterling to enable him to build a packet-boat[6] to convey the mail between Port-Patrick and Donaghadee. The postage of a letter from Scotland to Ireland was sixpence as formerly. In 1667 the magistrates of Aberdeen established a post twice a week to and from Edinburgh, but in 1674 this office was assumed by government. The Scottish Parliament established posts over all Scotland in 1695, and fixed the highest rate of postage of a single letter, passing between any two parts of the country, at fourpence; but the revenues derived from the post office at that period were so small, that Sir Robert Sinclair, who obtained in the year 1698 from King William III. a grant of the whole revenues of the post-office of Scotland, together with a pension of £300 sterling yearly, on condition of his maintaining the establishment, found the undertaking so unprofitable that he speedily abandoned it. The General Post office for Scotland was placed in 1710 on its present footing by Act of Parliament;[7] when the post-offices of the United Kingdom and the Colonies were placed under one Postmaster-General, in correspondence with the Treasury, and the rates of charge were fixed as

[1] Blackstone's Com. v. 1, p. 321.

[2] The post-masters at the different stages were also vested with an exclusive privilege of keeping post horses for hire.

[3] Blackstone's Commentaries, v. 1, p. 321.

[4] Dec. ord. and proclam. 21st August, 1665.

[5] Charles II., parl. 12, c. 37. Ibid. parl. 15, c. 14.

[6] Record of Privy Coun. No. 1, p. 186. Sept. 1662.

Anne, parl. 9, c. 11.

follows, namely: To or from Edinburgh, not exceeding 50 miles, 2d.; not exceeding 80 miles, 3d.; above 80 miles, 4d.; from Edinburgh to London, 6d. The establishment was, however, still very imperfect, the mails being carried in a very tedious manner by boys on horseback, (a mode attended with delay, danger, and uncertainty) and in local cross-roads posts were either still more defective, or altogether wanting. So late as 1757 the mail did not reach Edinburgh until 87 hours after its departure from London, while the time occupied for its conveyance from Edinburgh to London was 131 hours. Upon a representation from the committee of royal burghs to the Postmaster-General, such regulations were then adopted, that the mail from Edinburgh reached London in 82 hours, and in 85 hours it reached Edinburgh from London. The tardiness of the mail was not its only defect; its insecurity was notorious. In 1738 the Earl of Islay wrote to Sir Robert Walpole, "I am forced to send this letter by a servant twenty miles out of town, where the Duke of Argyle's attorney cannot handle it, and I inclose it to William Stewart." In 1748 the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, wrote to the Secretary of State, "My letters are opened at Edinburgh Post-Office, and I think this is done by order of a noble Duke (Argyle) in order to know my secret sentiments of the people and of his Grace: if this practice is not stopped, the ministers cannot hope for any real information." Until 1750, there were only three mails weekly to Aberdeen. The first day the mail carrier passed through Fife to Dundee, on the second he reached Montrose, and only arrived at Aberdeen at the close of the third evening. This was the most perfect mode of carrying the mail then known. On most other roads in Scotland, the mail was conveyed by a foot post, and went but twice a-week, while in some districts only once. Soon after this period relays of riders and horses were established on the north road. In 1763 the number of posts between Edinburgh and London was increased from three to five weekly, and the number to Aberdeen also from three to five weekly. In 1765, the postage of letters carried only one stage, or not exceeding 30 miles, was reduced in Scotland from 2d. to 1d.

A kind of Penny Post was established in Edinburgh in the year 1776, by Peter Williamson, an eccentric native of Aberdeen, who having been kidnapped when a boy, was sold to the plantations in North America, and having been carried off by the Indians, he lived among them for many years; till, getting free, he returned to Scotland, and set up a coffee-house in the great hall of the Parliament House, part of which was then partitioned off for shops, etc. In the course of business he was frequently employed by the gentlemen attending the courts, to forward letters for them to different parts of the city; he kept a man for delivering them to his customers, and charged but a trifle. In 1779, he removed to the Lucken-booths, a range of buildings that stood in the centre of the High street. Williamson, finding that his postal establishment had greatly increased, was induced to set up a regular penny post office, and forward all letters deposited

therein, at fixed hours, over the city. Peter had, at this period, four men constantly employed delivering letters; they went about the streets in uniform, ringing a bell to apprise those who wished to employ them, of their approach. Peter was the first who published an Edinburgh Directory. It appears from an advertisement attached to his Directory for the year 1780, that he dispatched his letters hourly, and had agents throughout the town to receive them for him, besides at his own place of business. The scheme was so successful, that Peter soon had many competitors, and was obliged to use a particular mark to distinguish his letters from those of his rivals; but the authorities of the post office soon became sensible of the importance of this branch of business, as a source of revenue, and an arrangement was eventually entered into with Williamson for the transference of his right to that establishment, but the public has never since been so well accommodated. Although the Scottish Penny Post Office was confirmed by an act of Parliament in the reign of George III,[1] yet there was not one established at Paisley till 1827, nor at Aberdeen till 1829, nor at Dundee till 1830, neither was there one at Perth, till 1832. In 1838, the number of Penny Post Offices in Scotland was 199, and the number of offices to which they were subjected, 82. In 1787, the conveyance of the mail from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, occupied 35 or 36 hours. About 1788, the mail from London to Glasgow, passed through Edinburgh, where it was detained 12 hours, so that it required five days for its transmission.

The ordinary stage coaches having at length outstripped the mail in point of despatch and safety, it occurred to John Palmer, manager of the Bath theatre, that a great improvement might be made by contracting with the proprietors of coaches, for the carriage of the mail, and binding them to perform the journey in a specified time, and take a guard for their protection. This mail coach plan was submitted to Mr. Pitt in 1782, by whom it was zealously supported. In 1784, notwithstanding great opposition, it was carried into operation on the principal roads, Mr. Palmer being at the same time appointed Comptroller-General of the Post Office. When this improved system was introduced into Edinburgh in 1789, it excited so much interest, that on the starting of the coach on 10th April, from Ramsay's Inn at the foot of St. Mary's Wynd, an immense crowd collected out of curiosity to witness its departure, yet it took 60 hours to perform the journey to London. A daily post to Aberdeen was established on 31st July, 1798, when the *first mail coach* for the north left the city at 9 o'clock A. M., but did not reach Aberdeen until about six o'clock on the following morning. On the introduction of the above plan, one object of which was an augmentation of the revenue, the whole rates were graduated between 2d. and 6d.; these rates, owing to the exigencies of the war, were successively increased in 1797, 1801, 1805, and 1812. In the year last mentioned, the charges on general Post letters in Britain were, for distances not above

[1] Geo. iii, parl. 5, c. 25.

15 miles, 4d.; from 15 to 20, 5d.; from 20 to 30, 6d.; 30 to 50, 7d.; 50 to 80, 8d.; 80 to 120, 9d.; 120 to 170, 10d.; 170 to 230, 11d.; 230 to 300, 1s., and an additional penny for each additional 100 miles. These rates were continued until 1839. A single letter was understood to contain a single piece of paper not exceeding one ounce in weight; a second piece or inclosure constituted a double letter; beyond, fourfold, the postage advanced by weight. In Scotland, an additional halfpenny was charged on each letter for tolls.

In 1822, the official arrangements of the Edinburgh Post Office were re-modelled in consequence of a discovery of an extensive system of fraud. The Report given on the inquiry into this singular case, runs thus: Sometime in the year 1822, the Post-master-General received information of the existence of an extensive system of depredation upon the Post Office revenue of Scotland, carried on by a combination between some of the clerks in the Office, and the whole body of the Letter-carriers; the nature of the fraud being thus described by Sir Francis Freeling: "In point of fact, the letters were stolen from the bags, and never were brought through the proper channels, but given into the possession of the Letter-carriers, and at certain periods there was a division of the spoil according to the rank and standing of the individual in the department. Extraordinary as it may seem, although it does not appear that any particular caution was used by the officers, amounting in number to forty-one, who had confederated to carry these frauds into execution, yet no suspicion was entertained that any improper practices were in existence, and for a period of probably twelve years at least, they remained undetected. The remorse or apprehensions of a Letter-carrier, were, it appears, at length so far excited, as to induce him to make a voluntary communication of all that had taken place, and the information thus acquired, was so ably and judiciously used by the Solicitor of the department, as to lead ultimately to the discovery of every person who had been engaged in the frauds, or who had participated in the booty. One of the clerks absconded and was outlawed, and some of the Letter-carriers were imprisoned; but it having been found, upon a careful and deliberate examination of all the evidence connected with the subject, that sufficient legal proof to prosecute to conviction could be only obtained against one individual, a supernumerary Letter-carrier, who had been employed but a few weeks in the office, it was deemed inexpedient, under all circumstances, to make that solitary case the subject of a trial in a public court of justice. If the fact, that for a period of ten weeks subsequent to the first discovery of the frauds, the revenue of Edinburgh had increased at the rate of £119 per week, can be taken as a fair ground of calculation, the extent to which the revenue was defrauded, during the continuance of the nefarious combination, cannot be estimated at a less sum than £6,000 per annum; and assuming that the frauds were carried on to the same extent, during the stated period of twelve years, the whole sum which was thus embezzled, would amount to upwards of £70,000." The disclosure of such extensive and

complicated robberies, for so long a period of time, necessarily implied that the duties of the superior and superintending officers must have been wholly neglected, or performed with a culpable remissness and inattention, which led to the removal of these officers, as well as the dismissal of the greater number of the Clerks and Letter-carriers. Mr. Angus Godby, who had formerly been a surveyor of the north-west district of England, a gentleman of zeal and ability, was placed at the head of the establishment as secretary.

The exemption from postage and the privilege of *franking* letters were claimed by the House of Commons, and certain other official persons, as early [1] as the regular establishment of the Post-Office at the Restoration; and such were the abuses that had crept into the practice of *franking*, that the amount of *franked* letters had gradually increased from 23,000 in the year 1715, to 170,000 in 1763. An act [2] was in consequence passed restricting the latitude formerly exercised in *franking*, but confirming such a privilege as was thought consistent with expediency. Parliamentary papers and stamped newspapers were exempted from postage, and the letters of soldiers and sailors, countersigned by their officers, were charged after 1795, at a uniform rate of 1d.

In 1707, the gross revenue of the Post Office of Scotland amounted only to £1194. Its increase since that period is truly extraordinary; in 1730, it amounted to £5399; in 1754, to £8,927; in 1763, to £11,942; in 1775, to £31,147; in 1780, to upwards of £40,000; in 1796, to £69,338; in 1800, to £100,651; in 1805, to £137,479; in 1810, to £168,098; in 1815, to £201,992; in 1825, to £205,988; in 1835, to £209,669; and in 1839, to £229,334.

The letters and documents that passed through the Post Office in 1837, amounted to 81,923,830, and the number of newspapers was 44,500,000. Mr. Rowland Hill, a gentleman unconnected with the Post Office, after using strenuous exertions, got, in 1839, Parliament to pass an act for a uniform rate of postage; accordingly the penny rates of postage came into general operation on 10th January, 1840, and stamps were introduced on 6th May, same year. The vast advantages reaped from the uniform penny post system, can only be appreciated by looking back to the time, not more than ten years ago, when envelopes, and Queen's heads, and all the improvements and elegancies of the penny postage, were things unknown. There was in the following year a falling off in the revenue of the Post-Office of £111,757, but the deficiency has since been gradually decreasing.

In the week ending 14th December, 1828, which is taken as an average, the money drawn at the Edinburgh Post Office, for letters and newspapers, amounted to £2,535, 11s. 5½d; [3] the number of letters delivered was 29,965, and of newspapers, 5,550; the number of letters put in was 33,138, and of newspapers, 17,534; the number of letters passing through Edinburgh was 27,707, and of newspapers, 8,568, which makes the number of letters and

[1] Blackstone, Com. v. i, p. 321. [2] Geo. III, parl. 4, c. 24.
[3] Report by the Parliamentary Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry.

newspapers delivered in Edinburgh in one year amount to 1,846,780, and the number of letters and newspapers despatched, 2,634,949. The number of letters which passed through the penny post office at Edinburgh in 1838, may be estimated at 1,159,570. The number of letters posted in the first four months of 1842, being two years after the uniform penny rate of postage was introduced, averaged about 3,130,000, a week, or about 162,760,000, yearly, being about 124 per cent. more than the number in 1838.

In 1837, there were still about 2,500 miles on which the mails were carried by *foot posts*, at the rate of three miles, or by *horse posts* at the rate of seven miles an hour. The greatest rate of speed of mail coaches was ten miles, four furlongs, an hour; the least, six miles, five furlongs; the average, eight miles, five furlongs, 184 yards, an hour. A wonderful change has taken place in the speed of the conveyance of the mail since the formation of Railways, which were introduced into mining districts in the 17th century, and were originally rudely made of pieces of wood embedded in the ordinary roads, so as to form wheel-tracts for facilitating the motions of carts and waggons; in the succeeding century these were generally superseded by the plate railway or tram-road, and edge-rails were introduced in 1801, both in England and Scotland.

These rails were afterwards made of cast iron, and iron wheels were at the same time used on waggons. Malleable iron rails were first introduced about the year 1815, but the only motive power for a long time after the introduction of railways was horses. The epoch of the modern railway system is fixed at 1814, when George Stephenson invented the steam blast, which increased its speed from three to six miles. But the capabilities of a railway for the conveyance of passengers, as well as merchandize, were not fully established until 1829, shortly before the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, when a premium of £500 was offered by the Directors of that railway, for the best steam-locomotive, which was, after a keen competition among the distinguished engineers, awarded to Robert Stephenson, the proprietor of the "Rocket," which though weighing with tender, only 7½ tons, drew 44 tons gross, at the rate of 14 miles an hour. The average speed of the passengers' train is now (1850) estimated about 30 miles an hour, but an express has been known to run 60 miles an hour, and the progress of improvement is such, that no limits can be placed to the rapidity, ease, and cheapness of conveyance by these splendid creations.

In July, 1838, the number of mail coaches in Scotland was 24, of other carriages carrying mails, 8; of mail carts, 25; of horse-posts, 25; of foot-posts, 201. The average yearly cost of conveying the mails, was for each double mile by mail coaches, £5, 14s. 4½d.; by mail carts, £5, 17s, 10½d.; by horse-posts, £5, 18s. 10d.; by foot-posts, £2, 15s. 1d.; by stage coaches, £1, 7s. 7⅔d. In 1800, the number of post-towns in Scotland was 175; in 1850, these numbers had, including sub-offices and receiving offices, increased to 885.

The mail now (1850) leaves Edinburgh twice a day to London, by railway, and performs the journey in 15 hours; 4 times a-day to Glasgow, and is conveyed in little more than an hour; and to Aberdeen twice daily, and the journey is performed in 8½ hours.

The duties of the General Post Office in Edinburgh, are at present managed by a receiver-general and 2 clerks; secretary and 6 clerks; solicitor, two surveyors, and 5 clerks; accountant, and 5 clerks; inspector of Dead and Mis-sent letters, and 4 clerks; superintending president of the inland office; first and second vice-presidents, with 36 inland office clerks; 2 window clerks; inspector of letter-carriers, and his assistant; besides a president and 24 clerks in the money-order office; 54 letter-carriers; and 16 supernumeraries.

The building formerly occupied by this establishment, was situated at the northern extremity of the western range of buildings on the North Bridge; but being considered too small, a new Post Office was erected in Waterloo place, to the east of the arch of the Regent Bridge. It is built in the Grecian style of architecture, of four stories in height above the street level, with a spacious open porch in the lower part, and extensive accommodation for the business of this important public office. Besides the principal office, there are in different parts of the city and suburbs, 24 receiving boxes for the accommodation of the public.

Ever since the Scottish postal was established, the mail coaches and other conveyances ran as pointedly on Sunday as on any other day of the week; and the General Post-office in Edinburgh, and all country post-offices, opened certain hours each Sunday for the delivery of letters and newspapers, and receiving payment of letters; but within these few months a motion in the House of Commons was made by Lord Ashley, and carried by a majority, to suspend the running of all postal conveyances in Great Britain and Ireland on Sundays, and to have all the post-offices in the three kingdoms closed during the whole of that day. Upon Her Majesty being memorialized, and giving her royal consent to that arrangement, the postal business of the three kingdoms was wholly suspended during the Sundays. This alteration took effect in Scotland on 23rd June last. Many memorials having since been presented to the House of Commons, complaining of the suspension of postal operations on the Sunday, a committee of their number was appointed to investigate 'whether the amount of Sunday labour in the post-office might not be reduced without completely putting an end to the collection and delivery of letters, etc., on that day;' and in consequence of the recommendation of that committee, the postal establishment was on 1st September placed on its ancient footing, with some modifications.

CONVEYANCES IN AND FROM EDINBURGH.

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, almost the only mode of travelling in Scotland was on foot or horseback. Litters were used only by ladies of rank, or for carrying the sick or dead. Although in England private carriages had

[1] Northumberland Household Book, p. 448.

in 1601 become so common, that a bill was introduced in parliament 'to restrain their excessive use,' yet the first coach seen in Scotland, with the exceptions above mentioned, was probably that of the queen of James VI. The diary of Robert Birrel records, that after the king's departure to England, 'on 30th May, 1603, her Majesty came to Sanct Geill's kirk, weill convoyit with coches, hirself and the prince in her awin coche, quhilk came with hir out of Denmark, and the English gentlewomen in the rest of the coches.' James himself made his first journey to London on horseback, perhaps because he was in the condition of Henry IV. of France, who, it is said, wrote to one of his ministers, 'I cannot come to see you to-day, because my wife is using the coach.' Coaches and six were first introduced into England in 1619 by the upstart Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.[1] The Earl of Northumberland was so much offended at this instance of Villiers' vanity, that he ordered eight horses to be put to his own carriage. When Charles I. visited Scotland in 1633, there were in his retinue sixteen coaches. By the end of the century, coaches and chariots had become nearly universal among the Scottish nobility, though it was long before they descended to the landed gentry, and still longer before they were used by citizens and merchants. The magistrates of Edinburgh having for many years previous to 1684, incurred more expense for coach hires than would have maintained two coaches and four horses, the town council, by way of economy, ordered a carriage from London, and four grey horses for their use.[2] When the members of the Scottish Parliament and the chief citizens of Edinburgh went eight miles from the city, in the year 1700, to welcome the king's commissioner, there were in the procession nearly forty coaches, and the number of gentlemen on horseback amounted to about 1,200.

The art of Coach-making was first set up in Edinburgh in 1696, but was not followed by tradesmen regularly bred to the business till about the beginning of the last century. At first the business consisted only in repairing coaches that had been brought by the nobility and gentry from London and Paris; in the latter city the most elegant carriages in Europe were constructed. About the year 1740 a few clumsy carriages were begun to be built in Edinburgh, but by 1783 the art of coach-making was brought to such perfection in the city, that carriages and coaches were constructed as elegantly in it as any where in Europe, and made stronger and cheaper. Many were yearly exported to the West Indies, Petersburgh, and the cities on the Baltic; and in that year a coachmaker in the city received an order from Paris for 1,000 'crane-necked carriages,' to be executed in three years. At that period triple the number of merchants, physicians, surgeons, etc., kept their own carriages than ever did at any former period; as also, several Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh, and professors in the University. The number of four-wheeled carriages in the city, paying duty, increased from 396, in the year 1763, to 1,427 in 1790. Their number since has decreased, two

[1] Northumberland Hand Book, p. 448. [2] Coun. Reg. v. 31, p. 41.

wheeled carriages being now more common. There are about 20 coach and harness makers in the city, who employ some hundreds of men in their establishments.

Sedan Chairs were introduced into Britain by Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in the year 1620. Previous to the North and South bridges being erected, they were more convenient in the city than hackney coaches, as they could enter lanes and alleys inaccessible to them. The chairmen, who were all Highlanders, were in 1738 put under regulations by the town council. At that period the use of one of these chairs for a whole day, with two chairmen, was 4s., and for a whole week 20s. In 1753 there were ninety of these chairs in the city. In 1778 their number had increased to 188, besides 50 private chairs. These hackney chairs could be had at a moment's warning, either by night or day, at moderate fares. Their number, as the city extended, gradually decreased; the distance from one quarter to another being sooner gone over by hackney coaches, they were preferred; and sedan chairs are now almost superseded by the numerous different descriptions of hackney vehicles plying through the city.

The first mention to be found of Hackney Coaches in Edinburgh is in the year 1673, when twenty appear to have plied in the city. These coaches were under no control, till the magistrates in 1747 put them under certain regulations, and at same time issued a table of rates or fares to be charged, for their use. The following are a few of the charges contained in that table: The highest fare for a coach to any part of the city was one shilling.[1] From Edinburgh to Leith, three shillings. For the first hour's attendance after six o'clock, P.M., sixpence; and for every hour after seven o'clock, one shilling. For a coach, not exceeding two miles, going and returning in one day, six shillings; and exceeding six miles, twelve shillings. For a coach with four horses, not exceeding eight miles, going and returning in one day, fifteen shillings; not exceeding ten miles, eighteen shillings. For a coach with six horses, not exceeding ten miles, twenty shillings; exceeding twelve miles, twenty-four shillings. Previous to the North and South bridges being erected, the city of Edinburgh was very ill adapted for the use of coaches; except in the High street they were of no use whatever, the lanes and alleys being so narrow and steep that they would not admit them. From the south and west quarters of the city there was no access for carriages to the High street but by St. Mary wynd, and the principal egress from the city to the north was by Leith wynd. It might have been owing to these circumstances that hackney coaches, instead of increasing, decreased; for in 1752 they had dwindled down to fourteen, and in 1778 there were no more than nine entered hackney coaches in the city. In 1778 there was only one coach-stance in the city, on which they made their appearance between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and about two o'clock in the afternoon it was generally deserted; when once put up, five shillings was the charge for putting the horses again to the coach, however short the distance. In 1783 the number of these coaches in the city was more than tripled; 'they were of the handsome

[1] Wodrow's Hist. v. 2, p. 52.

description, and had the best horses without exception, in Europe.' In 1790 many elegant hackney chariots plied through the city, one of which cost one hundred guineas, and the horses eighty guineas; a large sum at that period. As the city extended, hackney coaches gradually increased, and now (1850) the number of coaches, gigs, minibuses, omnibuses, etc. that ply through the city and suburbs, amount to upwards of 200.

There are at present nine coach-stances in the city, besides the different railway-stances; from these there were no less than 5,140 drives, and from each of these, previous to July 1850, the charges differed according to the extent of the drive. These numerous charges often led to disputes with coach-drivers, and although bound in all cases of contention to produce their regulations, yet they seldom were forthcoming, and when produced, few had either time or patience to examine them. To remedy this and other defects, Councillor Wemyss submitted a scheme to the council, by which he proposed to introduce a uniform fare, not exceeding one shilling, to any distance within the parliamentary boundaries of the city. Although strenuous opposition was given to this scheme by the coach proprietors, the council gave it a fair trial during the months of July and August, 1850, and then after due consideration, agreed, that instead of the parliamentary boundaries, a fare of one shilling should be charged on going a mile and a half from each cab-stance, and for every half mile or part of a mile beyond that, an additional fare of sixpence. Tables of fares from the different railway stances have not yet been framed, but are ordered to be drawn out.

The period of the establishment of a Stage Coach between Edinburgh and London, a distance of about 400 miles, cannot be exactly ascertained. About the year 1686 it was customary for persons desirous of making the journey to club for the use of a conveyance. Thus, Sir William Sabbald, his Majesty's physician, relates, that in 1686 'he was forced to come by sea, for he could not ride by reason that the fluxion had fallen upon his arm, and he could not get *company to come in a coach*.' People long after that period usually made their wills previous to setting out upon a London journey, and had prayers offered up for them in the churches, as having gone a long and dangerous journey. In 1717 a coach ran about once in three weeks between Edinburgh and London. The London engraver of the Diplomata Scotiæ writes in 1723 to the editor, 'Is there not a coach that goes to London?' About that period it was a common practice to invite passengers by advertisements in the newspapers to avail themselves of a coach returning to London: thus on Thursday, 9th May, 1734, it was announced in the *Caledonian Mercury* that 'A coach will set out towards the end of the week for London, or any other place on the road, to be performed in nine days, or three days sooner than any coach that travels the road, for which purpose eighty stout horses are stationed at proper distances. Or you may have a by-coach at any time, upon acquainting Alexander Forsyth, opposite to the Duke of Queensberry's lodgings in Cowgate. Ladies and gentlemen will be carried to their entire satisfaction.' The *Edinburgh Courant* of 22nd August,

1745, contains an advertisement, 'That there is a coach and six good able horses to set out for Newcastle, York, and London, or any part on the road, against the 28th or 29th of this instant.' On the 27th of that month that advertisement is repeated, with the further intelligence, 'that the coach is all taken up but one seat.' In 1763 there was but one stage coach a month to London, and it required twelve or sixteen days to perform the journey. In 1783 there were fifteen weekly, that performed the journey in four days in summer, and five in winter; and in 1786 two of these stage coaches, (which set out daily,) reached London in sixty hours, by the same road that required twelve or sixteen days in 1763. In 1815 passengers by the stage coaches, leaving Edinburgh at 5 o'clock, A. M., slept at Newcastle the first night, at York the second, and reached London only on the afternoon of the fourth day. In 1820 nineteen coaches left the city weekly for London. In 1830 their number was increased to twenty-seven, which performed the journey in forty-five hours. Their number in 1837 was increased to thirty-two, and in 1838 the journey was performed in thirty-two hours. Part of the several lines of railways then forming between the city and London, having been from time to time completed and opened, facilitated the conveyance between the two cities; but a direct line of railway having in 1848 been opened from Edinburgh to London, railway trains leave the city for London twice a-day, and perform the journey in 14 hours, but express trains in a shorter period; so that no stage coaches now run between the two cities.

Although it be recorded[1] that in 1610 one Henry Anderson, an inhabitant of Stralsund in Pomerania, offered to bring from that country coaches and waggons, with horses to draw and servants to attend them, provided he obtained an exclusive privilege of conveying persons between Edinburgh and Leith. To that effect a monopoly was granted him for fifteen years by royal patent, yet it is doubtful if ever Anderson carried his patent into effect. But in the year 1660 the town council licenced[2] one William Woodcock to establish a coach between Edinburgh and Leith, the whole fare to be one shilling, or fourpence for each passenger. This is among the first authentic notices we have of public coaches plying between the city and Leith. In 1702 a monopoly for nine years of keeping four coaches to run between Edinburgh and Leith was conferred on Robert Miller by the magistrates, and they in 1722 bestowed a similar exclusive privilege for twenty-one years[3] on a company which undertook to provide coaches capable of holding six persons each, the fares for each passenger to be threepence in summer and fourpence in winter. At the end of five years this company having represented that they were losers by the undertaking, the magistrates in consequence gave permission to raise the summer fares to fourpence, and the winter fares to sixpence; besides, a public subscription was set on foot to defray a loss which the speculators had sus-

[1] Privy Seal Record, B, 79, p. 225; M.S. General Register office, Edinburgh.
[2] Coun. Reg. v. 20, p. 185.
[3] Coun. Reg. v. 37, p. 214; v. 49, p. 211; v. 51, pp. 306, 395.

tained by the burning of their stables. The undertaking, however, proving unprofitable, was soon thereafter abandoned. In 1763 there were but two stage coaches to Leith; they started every hour from eight o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, and although each was provided with a coachman, postillion, and three horses, they consumed a full hour on the road. At this period a celebrated physician one day overtook the coach while walking to Leith, when the coachman kindly offered him a ride: the doctor replied, 'I return you many thanks for your kindness; but my business being pressing, I have not time to wait on your coach.' The communication between Leith and Edinburgh was much facilitated by the formation of 'Leith Walk,' but that public thoroughfare was long allowed to remain in a rude and incommodious state, almost impassable in wet weather, or in the winter season; it is now, however, (1850) a splendid road, and on both sides so covered with buildings that it seems rather an extensive street than a road. Numerous coaches and omnibuses ply constantly between the city and Leith; the charge for each passenger is threepence inside, and twopence outside.

The first attempt was made in the year 1678 to establish a stage coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow. In that year the magistrates of Glasgow, and one William Hoome, merchant in Edinburgh, entered into a contract, by which it was agreed, 'that the said William Hoome have in readiness an sufficient strong coach and sax able horses to run betwixt Edinbro' and Glasgow, to be drawn by sax able horses, to leave Edinbro' ilk Monday morning, and return again (God willing) ilk Saturday night;' the burgesses of Glasgow had a preference to the coach. As the undertaking was arduous, and could not be completed without assistance, the said magistrates agreed to give Hoome 200 merks a year for five years, the latter agreeing to run the coach for that period whether passengers came forward or not, in consideration of his having actually received two years' premium in advance. It would appear even with this pecuniary aid the speculation proved unprofitable, and was speedily abandoned. In 1749 a coach ran between Edinburgh and Glasgow twice a week; at the rougher ascents the passengers were called on to dismount. In 1766 'two machines' set out every day from Edinburgh to Glasgow, the one at six in the morning and the other at eight. In 1780 the number of coaches was increased to three, in 1785 to five, in 1810 to six, in 1830 to nine, and in 1838 to ten. In 1842, when the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway was opened, a few of the coaches tried for some years to compete with that mode of conveyance, but were obliged to give up, and no coach now plies between the two chief cities of Scotland.

In 1768 the journey between the two cities occupied ten and a half, and sometimes twelve hours. In 1790 the time was reduced to seven hours and a half, and in 1799 to six hours. About this period the idea of a water communication between Edinburgh and Glasgow was entertained, and various lines were surveyed by eminent engineers for the purpose of carrying this desirable measure into effect. After much opposition, it was not

till the year 1818 that 'The Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal' was commenced by a joint-stock company, under the authority of two acts of parliament. It was finished in 1822, at an expense of nearly £400,000. This canal, which is five feet deep, forty feet wide at the surface, and contracted to twenty-two feet at the bottom, commences at the basin called Port-Hopetoun, at the south end of the Lothian road, and joins the Forth and Clyde canal at Port-Dounie, near Falkirk, at lock 16, after a course of thirty-one and a half miles. Since the opening of the canal, streets and squares have rapidly risen in the neighbourhood of Port-Hopetoun.

One great object of this canal was to facilitate the conveyance of coals to the city from the coal-fields near Falkirk; and it has had the effect of diminishing the price of this necessary article fully one-third. When first opened, the boats took twelve and fourteen hours to ply between Edinburgh and Glasgow, hence their passengers were not numerous; but upon a railway being projected between the two cities, 'swift boats' were put on the canal, that performed the journey in about seven hours, which greatly increased the number of passengers. It is a matter of regret that the income from this canal, since its opening, has been far from realizing the expectations of its projectors, and their prospects even rendered still more gloomy by the formation of the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway, in opposing which in parliament the canal company is said to have expended upwards of £20,000.

Notwithstanding the opening of the canal, the number of coaches running between the cities increased. In 1834 there were ten started daily from Edinburgh. One of these coaches performed the journey in three and a half hours, but the others took about four hours.

In 1838 an act of parliament was passed for making the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway, by a joint-stock company with a capital stock of £900,000.

It commenced originally in Edinburgh at the Hay-market, west end of Maitland street, but the trains now start from the terminus beneath the North bridge, and, passing Winchburgh, Linlithgow, Falkirk, etc., terminate at the head of Queen street, Glasgow. From the engine establishment at Cowlairs there is a tunnel to the terminus at Queen street. The incline is about 2,000 yards. From the head of this incline to the terminus at Edinburgh, the ruling gradient is one in 880, the distance forty-nine and a half miles. Notwithstanding the opening of this railway, coaches for some years continued to run between the two cities, but the proprietors finding it impossible to compete with the railway company, gave them up. When the railway was first opened, the trains took about three hours to run between the two cities; but the ground is now gone over by ordinary trains in about two hours, and by the mail trains in little more than one hour. In 1848 a new line of railway was opened between Edinburgh and Glasgow by the Caledonian Railway company, but being about eight miles longer than the original line, the trains require more time to perform the journey.

The Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway company lately entered into an arrangement with the Canal company as to the conveyance of passengers between Edinburgh and Glasgow, by which all the passage boats plying on the canal were discontinued.

The first stage coach established from Edinburgh after those above described, was one to DALKEITH, about the year 1783, by one Dunn, who had then opened 'magnificent hotels' in the New town. When first started, it ran twice a-day; in 1790 four times; in 1810 six times; and in 1830 ten times daily.

In 1825 application was made to parliament for its sanction to form a railway from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, but the bill was rejected; however, the projectors were afterwards more fortunate. The work was commenced in 1827, and in 1831 the railway was opened. The line commenced at St. Leonard's, on the south side of the city, and extended to the South Esk, near Dalkeith, and Newbattle to Dalhousie Mains, eight and a fourth miles. It was carried through a tunnel under the Southern king's parks and the wells of Weary, beneath the basaltic ridge of Arthur's Seat known as Samson's ribs, overhanging the footpath to Duddingstone. The tunnel is of solid masonry, 572 yards in length, and cost £11,578. This railway was carried into the town of Dalkeith in November, 1838, and the Duke of Buccleuch carried it through and behind the town at his own expense, and constructed a stupendous viaduct over the South Esk to his coal-pits at Cowden. The prospects of the subscribers were not at first very flattering, but the railway had not been long opened till an item of income, not originally contemplated, came into action in the transmission of passengers along the line. In 1833 a branch was formed to Fisherrow and its harbour by an inclined plane, and another to Leith harbour, passing the south side of Portobello, and through the irrigated lands, formerly the Figgat whins, near the shore. The motive power of these railways was horses, till 1847, when they were amalgamated with the North British railway, and the power became locomotive. Notwithstanding the facilities by the railway for the conveyance of passengers to Dalkeith, coaches and omnibuses still continue to ply to that town on the common road, almost every hour during the whole day, at the same fares as the railway trains.

In 1767 mail and stage coaches left Edinburgh for Leith, Glasgow, London, Dalkeith, Musselburgh, Queensferry, and Haddington, daily; to Stirling twice a-week; and to Perth thrice a-week. In 1810, coaches, in addition to those above mentioned, left the city for Aberdeen, Carlisle, Dumfries, Linlithgow, Newcastle, and Prestonpans, daily; to Kelso four times a-week; to Dunse, Hawick, Inverness, Lanark, and Peebles, twice a-week. In 1834 there were seventy-five mail and stage coaches left Edinburgh daily; and six three times a-week, for different places. But since that date the number of mail and stage coaches leaving the city have, on account of the opening of the different lines of railways, been gradually reduced, so that their number does not now (1850) exceed twenty.

CHAPTER VII.

Courts—of Session, College of Justice, Exchequer, Justiciary, Commissary, Jury, Admiralty, Teind, Lyon, Sheriff, Justice of Peace: Convention of Royal Burghs: Advocates—their Library—their first Clerks: Writers to the Signet—their Library: Solicitors before the supreme and inferior courts; Parliament House: Register House.

Court of Session. Previous to any courts of law being established in Scotland, the king and his council were the supreme judges in civil causes, and litigants were obliged to follow his Majesty and his court in all journeyings through the country, which proved very inconvenient as well as expensive. In 1426 a court was instituted by parliament[1] denominated *The Sessions*. Its judges consisted of the Chancellor and certain members of the Legislature, who were nominated by the king, and served by rotation; they only assembled three times in the year, at such places as the king pleased to appoint, and sat forty days each time. So numerous were its judges that it required seven years to go over them, consequently they were neither able to acquire a competent knowledge of the law, nor experience in its practice, in the course of their short sittings. The judges of this court had no salary, nor any fees except 'the kingis unlaw of their awin court, the quhilk sall be fourtie shillinges un-forgiven, to be divided betwixt them, and the Clerk of the Register, by evenly portions.'[2] This court having been found inconvenient, its jurisdiction was taken away and vested in The Daily Council, so named from its sitting daily. This court was constituted by act of parliament,[3] on 11th March, 1503, which provides, 'Because there hes bene greate confusion of Summoundes, at ilk Session, sa that leasure nor space at a time of the zeir, micht not have bene had for the ending of them; and therefore, puir folkes hes bene delayed, and deferred fra zeir to zeir, throw the quhilk they wanted justice. Therefore for eschewing of the said confusion, that there be ane councell chosen be the kingis Hienesse, quhilk sall sit continually in Edinburgh, or quhair the king makis residence, or quhair it pleasis him, to decide all maner of Summoundes in civil maters, complaintes and causes dailie, as they sall happen to occurre, and sall have the samin power, as the Lordes of Session. And quhen they sall beginne, and in quhat place, sall be notified to the people, be open proclaimation at the kingis pleasure.' This court, which was also defective in its constitution, their being no quorum named, nor any compulsion on the judges to attend, continued only for about thirty years, when its jurisdiction was taken away, and vested in the *Court of Session* in 1532, by act of parliament,[4] which provides, 'Because our Soveraine

[1] James I., parl. 4, cap. 65. [2] James II., parl. 14, cap. 63.
[3] James IV., parl. 4, cap. 58.
[4] James V., parl. 5, cap. 36, *et. seq.* By mistake in the printed copies of the acts it is called 1537

Lordis maist desirous to have ane permanent ordour of Justice, for the universall weill of all his Leiges: and therefore tendis to institute ane College of cunning and wise men, baith of Spiritual and Temporal Estaite, for doing and administration of justice in all civil actions: and therefore thinkis to be chosen certaine persones maist convenient, and qualified therefore, to the number of fourteene persones, halfe Spiritual, halfe Temporal, with ane President: The quhilkis persones sall be authorised in this present parliament, to sit and decide upon all actions civil, and nane utheris to have vote with them, unto the time the said College may be institute at mair leasure.' Its sittings were regulated by the following act of parliament: 'That all the lordes sall enter in the Tolbuith and Councell-house at aucht houres in the morning dailie, and sall sit quhil eleven houres be stricken, and alsoone as the Lordes be entred in the Tolbuith, that ane maisser ische the Councell-house, and himselfe sall stande at the dure, and let na man enter. And gif ony lord or uther man cummis to the dure, and desiris intresse, that he advertise the lordes thereof. And gif they have ony mater, they will propone that silence be had quhil they have done, and then to remoove.'

In terms of the act above narrated, this court consisted of fourteen ordinary judges, seven of whom were laymen and seven clergymen, with a president who required to be 'an prelate constitute in dignitie.'[1] The great object of this court was to remove the means of oppression out of the hands of the aristocracy; but as it was provided that the lord chancellor had a right to preside and vote when he thought proper, and the king had also power of adding to their number certain lords of his council, under the title of extraordinary lords, on any question of importance coming before them, (these had no salary, nor were they obliged to attend but at their own pleasure, or to gratify the wishes of the court or the king by their influence or votes,) a privilege which neither the king nor his council failed to exercise when he or they had a purpose to serve, it was therefore evident that the subject was only freed from one grievance to be exposed to the possibility of another.

This pernicious part of its constitution was not abrogated till the accession of the House of Hanover.[2] The judges were at first chosen by the Scottish parliament, but were afterwards appointed by the crown. Churchmen were excluded from a situation so foreign to their habits, by an act passed in 1584,[3] which declares, 'That none of them presently being in that function or that sall be admitted theirto, in time cumming, sall in ony wais accept, use, or administrat ony place of judicature, in quhat-sumever civil or criminal causes, nocht to be of the Colledge of Justice, Commissioners, Advocates, Court Clerks, or Notaris in ony matter (the making of testaments only excepted) under the paine of deprivation fra their benefices, livings, and function.' Although that act was afterward rescinded, no clergyman has since been admitted on the bench. The last ecclesiastic who held the office

[1] The Abbot of Cambuskenneth was the first president of this court.
[2] Geo. I., parl. 20, cap. 19. [3] James VI., parl. 8, cap. 133.

of an ordinary Lord of Session, was Robert Pont, minister of the parish of St. Cuthbert's.

Although the greatest care was taken both by his Majesty and parliament to establish this court on an honourable, just, and equitable foundation, for the relief of the oppressed, yet it had been little more than fifty years in existence before the ends of justice were impeded by the unjustifiable interference of courtiers, and by suitors administrating bribes to the judges, their wives, and servants. To provide against such injustice, the Legislature interfered, and passed the following act[1] in the year 1579. 'Forsameikle as it is heavilie murmured be divers Lieges of this Realme; that our Soveraine Lord electis and chusis zoung men, without gravitie, knawledge, and experience, not havand sufficient living of their awin, upon the session, and that sum of them be themselves, their wives, or servands, takis buddes, bribes, guddes and geir, swa that justice in effect is coft and sauld. For remeid quhairof, the Kingis majestie, with advice of the three Estaites of this present Parliament, statutis and ordainis, that nane of the Lordis of Session alreddie received, or to be received, nouther be themselves, or be their wives or servands, take in ony times cumming bud, bribes, gudes, or gear, fra quhat-sum-ever person or persons presently havand or that hereafter sall happen to have ony actions or causes persewed before them, outher fra the persewer or defender, under the paine of confiscation of all their movabil guddes, that dois in the contrair, the ane halfe thereof to be applyed to our Soveraine Lord, and the uther halfe to the reveiler and tryer of the saidis bud-takeris. And farther decernis and ordainis the saidis Bud-takeris, to be displaced and deprived *simpliciter* of their offices, quhilk they beare in the Colledge of Justice, and to be declared infamous, and als to be punished in their persones at the kingis majestie's will,' and by the said act, it was provided, when a vacancy on the bench occurred, that the king should thereafter present and nominate thereto 'ane man that fearis God, of gude literature, practick, judgement and understanding of the lawes, of gude fame, havand sufficient living of his awin, and quha can make gude expedition and despatch of matters.'

In 1598 the judges appear to have been a very different class of men from those above referred to, for in that year the majority of them exhibited a spirit of independence worthy of the greatest praise. The subject of quarrel was a judgment pronounced in favour of the celebrated minister of the Church, Mr. Robert Bruce, who had been deprived of his stipend by the king. Bruce sued the crown before this court, and obtained a decree in his favour. James VI. appealed, came to the court in person, pleaded his own cause with great violence, and commanded the judges to give their vote against Bruce. The president, Sir Alexander Seton, then rose; 'My Liege,' said he, 'it is my part to speak first in this court, of which your highness has made me head. You are our king; we, your subjects, bound and ready to

[1] James VI., parl. 6, cap. 93.

obey you from the heart and with all devotion, to serve you with our lives and substance: but this is a matter of law, in which we are sworn to do justice according to our conscience and the statutes of the realm. Your Majesty may, indeed, command us to the contrary; in which case I and every honest man on this bench, will either vote according to conscience, or resign and not vote at all.' Another of the judges, Lord Newbattle, then rose, and observed, 'that it had been spoken in the city to his Majesty's great slander, and theirs, who were his judges, that they dared not do justice to all classes, but were compelled to vote as the king commanded; a foul imputation, to which the lie this day should be given, for they would now deliver an unanimous opinion against the crown." For this brave and dignified conduct James was unprepared, and he proceeded to reason long and earnestly with the judges; but persuasions, arguments, taunts, and threats, were unavailing. The judges, with only one dissentient voice, pronounced their decision in favour of Bruce.

This court continued with little alteration from the time of its constitution till the year 1808, a period of 276 years, but since then great alterations have taken place, both in its form and details of business. The court was held at its first formation in the *Outer House* or Hall of the Parliament House, where the whole fifteen judges sat as one court; one of their number by weekly rotation, under the title of *Lord Ordinary*, took charge of preparing causes till they became ripe for the judgment of the whole court, of whom ten required to be present before they could proceed to business, which number was afterwards reduced to nine. But, from the increase of business, having become unable to undertake the number of causes that came before them, the court was in the above year divided into two divisions; the Lord President presided in the *first* of seven ordinary judges; and the Lord Justice Clerk in the *second* of six ordinary judges; and these two divisions in popular phraseology are termed the *Inner House*, on account of their meeting being held in inner apartments leading from the *Outer House*, in which one judge belonging to each division sat as Lord Ordinary. These two divisions form distinct courts, and have the same powers and privileges. By subsequent acts of parliament, the five junior ordinary judges were relieved from attendance in the Inner House, and appointed to act as Lords Ordinary in the Outer House, for the preparation of causes, each sitting singly, and the Lord President and three of the senior ordinary judges now form what is termed the *Inner House* of the *First Division* of the court, and the Lord Justice Clerk and the remaining three senior ordinary judges form the *Inner House* of the *Second Division*. All causes, with a few exceptions, come before one or other of these ordinaries. In the first instance, the records are made up before him, and under his superintendence the cause is prepared for decision; it is then argued, and in general decided by him, but can be appealed into the Inner House of one or other of the divisions, but always to that division to whose ordinary the cause was primarily carried. The judgment of the division is final, subject only to an appeal to the House of Lords.

There is no appeal from one division to the other, nor from one division to the whole court. But when the judges of either division are equally divided in opinion, the cause may be judged by the Inner House Judges of both divisions, or by the whole court, and the judges of either division may request the opinion of the other division, or even of the permanent ordinaries, upon questions stated in writing; in which case judgment is given according to the opinion of the whole court. The last appointed judge is occupied during the period of the session in what is termed the *Bill Chamber*, or in those proceedings of the nature of injunctions or stay of process, which requires the more summary interposition of the court. During vacation, the other judges who are not included in the commission of the court of justiciary, undertake this duty in rotation.

This being the supreme civil court of Scotland, is a court both of law and equity, possessing large discretionary powers. The business competent before it, comprises all that in England occupies the Court of Chancery, the Vice-chancellor, and the Master-of-the-Rolls, the Court of Queen's Bench, and of Common Pleas and Exchequer, the Court of Admiralty (with the exception of prize cases,) the Court of Doctors' Commons, and the Court of Bankruptcy.[1] The business before the court has been greatly increased of late by having had the duties of the Jury, Admiralty, Justiciary, Exchequer, and the greater part of the duties of the Commissary Court, by recent statutes, transferred to it.

In 1838 great alterations were made in the duties of the Lords Ordinary, and in the establishment and duties of the clerks and officers of court; in many departments the number of clerks were reduced, certain fees payable to them abolished, and in lieu thereof salaries assigned them.

Recently the forms before the Court of Session have been much simplified, and by the excellent device of causing parties litigating to say at once all they have to state on the subject at an early state of the suit, no cause can now be long protracted. It does not consist with the nature of this work to enter more minutely into detail of the forms and procedure of this court; it may, however, be proper to state, that its jurisdiction is exclusive as regards all questions of real property, and as to all other questions is subject only to this limitation, that no case under twenty-five pounds value can be brought before it in the first instance. This court hears and decides appeals from inferior courts, and its own decisions may be brought under review of the House of Lords, the supreme judicature of Great Britain.

The number of causes instituted and decided in the Court of Session between the 1st day of January, 1846, and the first day of January, 1847, were as follows: *Outer House:* Causes for the first time enrolled, 1,385; decrees in absence, 483; final judgments in litigated cases, 615; causes ready for debate, 87; causes *ad avozandum*, 17. *Inner House, First Division:* Number of reclaiming notes presented, 194; incidental and summary appli-

[1] Evidence of G. J. Bell, Esq., advocate, before the select committee of the House of Commons, on supreme courts of judicature in Scotland, in 1840.

cations passed as matter of form, 591; ditto followed by litigation, 26; number of final judgments without a jury, 130; causes tried by jury, 25; causes ready for judgment, 104. *Second Division:* Number of reclaiming notes presented, 75; incidental and summary applications passed as matter of form, 281; ditto, followed by litigation, 48; number of final judgments without a jury, 91; causes tried by jury, 7; causes ready for judgment, 28.[1] At the opening of the winter session of 1849, the number of cases before the First Division as stated in the printed rolls, were: ordinary actions, 152; summary causes, 47. Total, 199. Second Division: ordinary actions, 39; summary, 17. Total, 56. From the Outer House debate rolls: the number of actions before the Lords Ordinary was 249. Before Lord Cunningham, 24; Lord Murray, 3; Lord Ivory, 37; Lord Wood, 118; and Lord Robertson, 67.

In 1748 the salary of the Lord President was £1,000; the Lord Justice Clerk's, £500; and each of the ordinary Lords £500. At present (1850) the Lord President has a salary of £44,800; the Lord Justice Clerk, £4,500; and each of the ordinary Lords £3,000. Although the salaries of these judges have greatly increased, they now, as before stated, perform the duties of the whole of the supreme courts without any additional salary, whereas formerly each court had its respective judges, who received salaries.

The judges take the title of Lord both in their private and official capacity, and when sitting on the bench have purple robes trimmed with crimson velvet.

The College of Justice, of which the Court of Session forms the leading part, having been erected into a body corporate by James V., consists not only of the judges and their clerks, but also of the Faculty of Advocates and their first clerks, Writers to the Signet, Solicitors, Clerks of Session, Extractors, and some others. These individuals were at one time endowed with many valuable privileges. They still are exempt from the payment of ministers' stipend, poor-rates, the impost on wine, services within burgh, and generally from all assessments, public burdens, and contributions whatever imposed on the other citizens of Edinburgh; an immunity originally conceded by the magistrates in order to induce the permanent sitting of the court in the city.

Court of Exchequer. A Court of Exchequer was erected in England by William the Conqueror, who in 1066 succeeded to the English throne, but at what period it was erected in Scotland is not known. It seems, however, to have been formed after the model of that in England, the constitution and plan of both courts being nearly the same. It is named from the French word *Exchequer*, a chequered cloth, with which the table at which the judges sat was covered. This court was formerly composed of four judges called *Barons*, the one who sat as president had the title of Lord Chief Baron, but it has of late undergone a very great change. Although it still retains a separate jurisdiction,

[1] Return by the Lord President under the Act 1, William IV., cap. 69.

its judicial business is now performed by those Lords of session in rotation, who are not justiciary judges, two acting together sit as barons of exchequer, and discharge the business brought before the court, one of whom has authority to act in absence of the other. These two judges doing duty in this court for the time, may in writing require the opinion of the other judges liable to serve in rotation, on difficult points. This court has four terms a-year, and determines revenue causes, and all matters wherein the crown is concerned; the cases being brought before it by the Solicitor of taxes, customs, excise, stamps, etc. The practice of this judicature is entirely in the English form, decided by a jury of twelve, and it was long the only court in Scotland where matters of civil right were tried in this manner. The judges have an extensive authority with respect to property falling to the crown by reason of bastardy, escheat, or otherwise, which they have the power of granting gratuitously to those claiming to be next of kin. There is an officer attached to this court, with the title of King's Remembrancer for Scotland, whose duty consists in securing all fines payable to the king, found treasure, and property falling to the crown as *ultimus hæres*.

High Court of Justiciary. This is the oldest supreme court of the kingdom. The Justiciar, as the supreme law officer of Scotland, had power to judge in all matters civil and criminal, but on the erection of the Court of Session his power of judging in civil matters ceased. Originally the Justiciar held yearly two justice courts or aires at Edinburgh and Peebles, to which all freeholders were warned by proclamation, and were bound to attend the whole time the court sat, and thereafter to accompany him or his deputies till received by the next sheriff: these courts being itinerant, were, in the year 1587, permanently fixed at Edinburgh. The constitution of this court was, in the year 1672, changed and modelled into the form it still retains. It now consists of five Lords of the Court of Session, specially commissioned by the Queen; a Lord Justice General, and Lord Justice Clerk; the former of whom being merely nominal, was generally held by a nobleman of the first rank, but the office is now conjoined with that of the Lord President of the Court of Session, and the salary has ceased; the latter, from being originally an inferior officer, soon advanced to considerable power and dignity, and in 1663 was declared one of the judges of the court by act of the privy council, and he, in absence of the Lord Justice General, presides. The Crown may, by special commission, appoint any of the Lords of Session to act on circuits, and in cases certified from the circuits in which they have acted, and may at any time accept of the resignation of a judge in respect to his duties in the court of justiciary, provided he be forthwith appointed to perform some of the other duties to which the judges are liable. When the judges sit in judgment they are arrayed in scarlet robes, that of the Lord Justice Clerk being faced with ermine, and those of the others with white satin. During the recess of the Court of Session, circuit courts are held in spring and autumn by the judges of this court in different parts of the kingdom, and four times a-year in

Glasgow; when there, to facilitate business in the increased population of Lanark and Renfrew shires, the two judges hold separate courts. It requires the presence of three of the judges to form the High Court of Justiciary, which sits in Edinburgh as occasion requires for despatch of business, embracing there the criminal department of the three Lothians, with such cases as, from their importance or other reasons, are brought to the capital for trial, but one judge can hold a circuit court. The cases are all tried by a jury of fifteen, and the prosecutions are carried on in name of the Lord Advocate,[1] for her Majesty's interest, as public prosecutor, and conducted in court by his lordship and deputes, the solicitor-general and the law agent for the crown. A majority of the jury either acquits or condemns the delinquent, unanimity in opinion, as by English law, not being required. The jurisdiction of the court itself in criminal cases is supreme, and from their sentence there lies no appeal, and its jurisdiction extends to all criminal cases, except high treason, which is tried by a special commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, acting in the English form, on the finding of a grand jury; in which commission there must be three judges of the Court of Justiciary. By the jurisdiction act, a power of judging in appeals from inferior courts, when the subject in dispute does not exceed £12, was conferred on the circuit courts; the process is summary, and the decision final.

Commissary Court. This court was instituted by Queen Mary in 1563, in place of the jurisdiction exercised by the Bishop's officials before the Reformation. When instituted, it consisted of four commissaries or judges, before whom all consistorial causes were judged of, and its jurisdiction in these extended over all Scotland, but their jurisdiction in testamentary causes, etc., extended only over the three counties of East, West, and Mid Lothian. All inferior commissary courts which existed previous to 1823 were abolished, and their jurisdiction transferred to the sheriffs of counties, who now act as commissaries in their respective sheriffdoms. In that year the jurisdiction which the Edinburgh commissaries possessed within their own peculiar district was restricted to the county of Edinburgh, and transferred to the sheriff of that county; and by that act all actions of divorce, separations *a mensa et thoro*, and of declarators of marriage, legitimacy, and bastardy, were declared only competent before the Court of Session, which, previous to the passing of that act, had no jurisdiction in such cases, except of judging in them by appeal.

Jury Court. This court was opened at Edinburgh on 22nd January, 1816, by Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, Lords

[1] The Lord Advocate is an important functionary. In his official capacity he performs the functions both of public prosecutor and of grand jury; he does not require to name his informer on seizing any suspected party. At any period previous to trial he can give liberty to an accused person, and even after trial can interfere to avert capital punishment. In the national affairs of Scotland he is the confidential counsel of the crown, and the conservation of the peace of the whole country is watched by him. As his functious are numerous, he has a number of deputies, to whom he delegates a portion of his power.

Meadowbank and Pitmilly. When first instituted, the Lord Chief Commissioner, and four of the ordinary judges of the Court of Session, were the exclusive judges; but the business before it has merged into that of the Court of Session, and the office of the Lord Chief Commissioner being now abolished, any of the judges may direct issues of fact to be tried by an assize consisting of twelve men, who must be unanimous in their verdict; but the heads of the divisions generally try such issues, in which they are assisted by the Lords Ordinary before and after session. Issues are tried by jury, not only in Edinburgh, but also at the principal circuit towns throughout Scotland. Distinct offices for jury case proceedings were previous to 1837, kept in the General Register House, and separate clerks from those of the Court of Session took charge of these proceedings; but since that year the greater part of the court business has been transferred to the clerks of the Court of Session. Advocates or writers to the signet were only competent to act as jury clerks.

High Court of Admiralty. This court which is now abolished, consisted after the Union, of a judge appointed by the Lord Vice-Admiral of Scotland, and functionaries of inferior jurisdiction appointed by that judge; in civil cases its decisions were subject to review of the Court of Session. The whole criminal business competent before this court has now been transferred to the Court of Session, and the sheriffs within their respective jurisdictions have had the civil powers formerly held by it conferred upon them. The magistrates of Edinburgh have, as before mentioned,[1] an admiralty jurisdiction over the county of the city, and to the mid-waters of the Frith of Forth.

Teind Court. Shortly after the Reformation, numerous commissions were appointed for planting churches, modifying stipends, etc., but all these powers were by special statute, in the year 1707, transferred to the Court of Session, under certain restrictions. Previous to 1839 the judges of both divisions of the Court of Session united, formed the judges of the Teind Court, designated by the name of 'The Commissioners of Plantations of Kirks, and valuation of Teinds;' but since that year the judges of the Inner House, and the Lord Ordinary on Teinds, have constituted the Commission of Teinds, five being a quorum; these, in cases of difficulty may take the opinion of the whole court. The Teind Court is peculiar to Scotland. The greater part of the business brought before it consists of processes of modification, locality, sale, or valuation of Teinds, and other matters touching on ecclesiastical polity. The clergy of the Established church have not of themselves power to exact any of the unexhausted teinds or tithes, which were all commuted by an act of Charles I., but must apply to this court for a warrant to that effect. When a stipend is once fixed it cannot be increased till twenty years elapse; if an increase be wanted, a new application to the court is necessary, but if the teinds in the parish be exhausted, the stipend can receive no farther augmentation from that source.

[1] Vide B. ii, p. 253.

The teinds being already exhausted in many parishes, the duties of the court have been much lessened, and from sitting once a-week, it now only sits once a-fortnight. The Teind Court confirms the decrees of the heritors and church courts, relative to the disjunction or coalition of parishes, or the removal of churches and glebes from one part of the country to another. The judges are considered when sitting in the commission court, not as judges of the Session, but as forming a Commission of Parliament, and have therefore in that character distinct clerks, macers, and officers, but they are allowed no additional salary for performing its duties. Their proceedings are subject to the review of the House of Lords.

Lyon Court. The Lord Lyon King-at-arms was, previous to the Union, an officer of high rank and great antiquity, and the office was, and still is, generally enjoyed by a Scottish nobleman. His office is analogous to that of the Earl Marshal, or Garter King-at-arms in England. Although it may be said to be a judicature which now exists only by name, yet it still holds a place in the national establishments. The Lord Lyon receives his name from the armorial bearings of the Scottish kings, a lion rampant, which he carries upon his robes. He was anciently employed to carry public messages to foreign States, to denounce war and proclaim peace, to publish proclamations, and to assist at all ceremonies, some of which duties he still performs. He rode before the king at processions, and in the House of Parliament sat on a stool by himself at a corner of the throne, where he administered the oath to the King and to the nobility, while his deputies swore in the inferior members. He was anciently installed into his office by a coronation, and the last time that ceremony was performed, was at the induction of Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo. The ceremony took place in the palace of Holyrood on 27th July, 1681, when the crown was put on his head by the Duke of Albany and York, (afterwards the unfortunate James VII.) his Majesty's commissioner.[1] He is still

[1] The solemnities performed on that occasion may not be unacceptable to the reader, as they never will take place again.

"The chair of state was placed upon a throne of two steps in height, under the royal canopy, in the chamber of presence; and the imperial crown, sceptre, and sword of state, on a table before the throne, the table being covered with purple velvet, fringed with gold; his majesty's high commissioner was then conveyed by the officers of state, and the nobility, to the throne, when he sat down in the chair of state, the nobility standing on each side. Then Sir Alexander Erskine was introduced in this manner: The king's six trumpeters in their coats, two and two sounding. The six pursuivants at arms in their coats, two and two. The six heralds in their robes, two and two; the last five bearing the lord Lyon's regalia, thus: the eldest his crown, the second his robe, the third his surcoat, the fourth his collar of gold and medal pendant, the said collar being composed of three rows; and the fifth his batoon. Mr Robert Innes, lyon-depute, having his patent under the great seal. The master of ceremonies. The lord Lyon, supported by two baronets, namely, Sir William Sharp of Scotscraig, and Sir John Maitland, attended with six macers on either side, bearing their silver maces. Then having three several times done homage to his majesty's high commissioner, namely, at the door, in the middle of the chamber, and before the throne; those who carried the patent and regalia drew

authorised to execute the writs of the supreme courts, so far as Scotland is concerned. He is also the supreme judge in armorial bearings. In the execution of these functions he has the assistance of, and control over, a large body of messengers-at-arms and

near to the chair of state; the rest of the heralds and pursuivants retiring to the windows, and the trumpeters to a place allotted for them. The master of ceremonies brought the lord Lyon to his majesty's high commissioner, and he, kneeling down before him on a velvet cushion, was dubbed knight with the sword of state. The master of ceremonies called for the patent under the great seal, and gave it to one of the clerks of the privy-council, who read it aloud. He then delivered it to his royal highness, and thereafter to the lord Lyon, to whom he explained the king's pleasure, his duty, and the importance of the honour conferred upon him by so gracious a master. His royal highness caused the lord Lyon swear the oath of allegiance, and take the declaration, the same being read by one of the clerks of the privy-council. The master of ceremonies then took the surcoat of arms, and gave it to his royal highness, who put it on the lord Lyon, saying, 'I do vest you with this coat and robe of your office during all the days of your lifetime, which you shall wear on all honourable occasions, keeping the same free from all spot of treason, villany, and disgrace.' The master of ceremonies took the crown, and delivered the same to his royal highness, who placed it on the lord Lyon's head, saying, 'In the name of his most sacred majesty the king, I crown you, Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, bart., Lyon-King-at-Arms, throughout all the kingdom of Scotland, and the isles, colonies, and dependencies thereunto belonging, with all the powers, privileges, liberties, honours, and dignities, belonging to that office.' The master of ceremonies gave the batoon to his royal highness, who delivered it to the lord Lyon, saying, 'I deliver to you this batoon of your office, in token of that command and regal authority which his majesty gives you over all who bear his majesty's arms under you, in this kingdom of Scotland.' The master of ceremonies then gave the collar to his royal highness, who put it about the lord Lyon's neck, saying, 'This royal token, and badge of your master's favour, I give you, to be worn by you all the days of your life, in token of your precedency before all others of under degree and quality, in consequence of your good and faithful services done, and to be done.' Then his royal highness blessed the lord Lyon, and administered the oath in the terms following: 'I shall defend the Catholic faith to the uttermost of my power. I shall be leal and true, secret and serviceable, to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to all Estates, *that is to say*, to Emperors, Kings, Princes, Archdukes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, Lords or Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Ladies, Widows, and Maidens of good fame, and shall forward their lawful business, upon their expense; and, what ambassage or message I take in hand to do, I shall do the same truly, without adding to or taking from; I shall forbear all open vices, common bordells, common hazard, and common drinking in taverns.' 'I shall fortify and defend the privileges of the noble office of arms with all my power, and shall never reveal any man's secrets, treason excepted.' 'I shall observe and keep all the forenamed points. So help me God, and by my part of Paradise.' Then one of the heralds, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed out of a window, 'Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Bart., Lyon-King-at-arms, throughout all the kingdom of Scotland, and the isles and dependencies thereunto belonging, with all the honours and privileges that to this office appertain.' His royal highness, taking the lord Lyon by both hands, raised him, who, laying aside his crown, gave his royal highness his humble thanks, and then proclaimed, 'A largess of the most high and mighty monarch, Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.' Then by sound of trumpets, all the heralds and pursuivants proclaimed the same words out of the windows. The lord Lyon in his robes, collar, crown, and batoon of command in his hand, was attended to the chamber from whence he came, in the same order as before, the heralds and pursuivants proclaiming round the court in their return, a Largess, *ut supra*." [1]

[1] Arnot's Hist. p. 502.

other officials, among whom are six heralds and six pursuivants. The Scottish Lyon Office now charges the same fees for patents of arms as those charged by the College of Arms in England, namely: £52, 10s. for arms without supporters, and £84 with supporters; but if the patent be granted as a *favour*, £115, 10s. is the price. The Lord Lyon receives a share of the fees to the amount of £700 a-year, and altogether his office may produce £1,300 annually.

Sheriff Court. The judge of this court is an officer of great antiquity, and anciently enjoyed an extensive jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. He revised the decrees of the Baron courts within his district. He mustered the military companies of militia, whose exercises were known by the name of 'Weapon-shawings,' etc. The office was, prior to 1748, hereditary, and generally held by one of the most powerful families of the district, transmissible by descent, and transferrable by sale or legal attachment, but by the statute[1] commonly called 'the Jurisdiction Act.' This and all other hereditary offices were abolished or annexed to the crown, and, since the passing of that act, sheriffs have been appointed by the crown in every county, and hold their offices *ad vitam aut culpam*. The person receiving the appointment must be an advocate of three years' standing at least, and in practice. On appointment they must remain in attendance on the Court of Session, except the sheriffs of the shires of Edinburgh and Lanark. A sheriff is entitled to appoint one or more substitutes, who are, as he himself is, paid by the crown, but for whom he is responsible; however, when once a salaried substitute is appointed, he cannot be removed without the written consent of the Lords President and Justice Clerk, and he, on the death of the principal sheriff, continues to hold office without any new appointment. By act of Geo. IV., cap. 29, the *Sheriff Depute* may be addressed by the title of *Sheriff*, without the term *depute* being added. The office of High Sheriff is in combination with the office of Lord-Lieutenant of the country, but he has no civil or criminal jurisdiction.

Sheriffs have a jurisdiction in all cases of civil rights, except those relating to landed property; and since the High Court of Admiralty was abolished, they have had the jurisdiction and powers formerly competent to that court, in all cases except criminal, conferred on them, where the defender is amenable to their jurisdiction; and since 1823 they have acted as commissaries within their respective jurisdictions, and in 1838 certain actions, such as *cessio bonorum*, and in 1841, sequestrations, etc. which were, previous to these dates, only competent before the Court of Session, have been transferred to the Sheriff courts. Their decrees, in all cases except criminal, are subject to be reviewed by the Court of Session. The criminal jurisdiction of sheriffs was anciently very extensive, comprehending all crimes excepting those denominated the four pleas of the crown. Within the last seventy years sundry crimes inferring capital punishment, such as aggravated thefts, have been tried and prosecuted

[1] 20, Geo. II., cap. 23, sec. 29.

to conviction before sheriffs, but smaller crimes inferring punishment by imprisonment are now only tried by them. It would, however, be a great saving to the country were the sheriff's powers extended to crimes inferring punishment beyond seas.

The sheriff is the returning officer of all members of Parliament, both for his own county and for any burgh within it, as also for any district attached to it. He executes the several writs and processes issuing from the King's Chancery and Exchequer, gives infeftments to the heirs of the king's vassals as his ordinary bailie, and executes writs of extent under Exchequer processes. It is his duty to summon a jury each year, between the 4th and 20th February, to strike the fiars of grain in his county. He issues writs for summoning juries for trials before the Court of Justiciary, and besides the above, many other duties devolve on him not connected with court business.

The sheriff of Edinburgh has a salary of £800, his substitute in Edinburgh £400, and his substitute at Leith has also a salary of £400. Sheriffs and their substitutes have besides their salaries certain fees for taking proofs on commission from the supreme courts, and for examinations of bankrupts, but these rarely exceed one-fifth of their salary.

The ordinary Sheriff Court is held in the Sheriff Court rooms, County buildings, every Wednesday, and a Sheriff Court for Leith district is also held every Wednesday in the Sheriff Court rooms, Constitution street.

A most extensive jurisdiction was conferred on sheriffs by Parliament[1] for the trial of small debt cases, not exceeding in amount £100 Scots, (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling.) The procedure in these cases is by hearing the parties themselves, or some of their family, *viva voce*, without written pleadings, and without the assistance of law agents. All civil cases, and prosecutions for statutary penalties are competent to these courts for any debt or demand not exceeding the above sum.

The Small Debt Sheriff Court is held at Edinburgh within the Sheriff Court rooms every Friday at ten o'clock, and for the Leith district every Wednesday at ten o'clock, within the Sheriff Court rooms there. Similar courts are also held by the sheriff of Edinburgh occasionally at Dalkeith and Mid-Calder.

The Justice of Peace Court was instituted by authority of Parliament in the year 1609. Its powers were at first limited, but by subsequent acts the justices were empowered to judge in riots and breaches of the peace; to regulate highways, bridges, and ferries; to punish all vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and vagrants; to judge upon transgressors of the game laws, and frauds against the revenue; besides many other branches of jurisdiction. They are also empowered to hold a court, commonly called *The Small Debt Court*, and judge in civil cases not above five pounds sterling. This court is held weekly by the justices of Edinburghshire, in the County Hall, and at intervals in the different villages of the county. The parties themselves state their case,

[1] Geo. IV., parl. vi, cap. 48. Ibid. parl. x. cap. 55.

and the expenses of a suit are provided not to exceed five shillings. The justices attend in rotation.

Convention Court of Royal Burghs. Previous to the institution of this court, the King's chamberlain, who was an officer of great dignity and extensive jurisdiction, had the superintendence of all the burghs in Scotland, and went in circuits from burgh to burgh, wherein he respectively held courts of justice for the purpose of reviewing the decrees of the magistrates, of hearing complaints against them for mismanagement, and for the punishment of crimes committed therein, whether by the magistrates or burgers.

This court was constituted in the reign of James III., and, by Act of Parliament[1] passed in 1487, it was ordained that 'in time to cum certain commissaries of all burrows baith south and north conveene and gadder togedder anis ilk year in the burgh of Inverkeithing in the county of Fife, to treat of affairs concerning the burghs, under the penalty of five pounds Scots for each omission.' However, it does not appear that they ever met in that burgh, nor that any meeting was ever held earlier than 1552, in which year the court met at Edinburgh, and regulated the elections of magistrates and the town council of the several burghs. Since that period its constitution has been greatly altered, not only by Acts of Parliament, but also by its own decrees.

The convention at present meets annually at Edinburgh, and consists of two deputes from each burgh, of which the lord provost, though not a member, is perpetual president, and the city clerks act as the clerks of court. The powers of this court chiefly respect the establishment of regulations connected with trade and commerce, and it has been in the practice of examining the conduct of magistrates in their administration of the burgh revenue, and to give sanction, upon particular occasions, to the common council of burghs to alienate part of the burgh property. As the royal burghs pay a sixth part of the sum imposed as a land tax upon the counties of Scotland, the convention is empowered to consider the state of trade and revenue in the individual burghs, and to assess them in their respective proportions.

Advocates. Previous to Advocates pleading at the bar, it would appear that parties themselves came forward and pleaded their own cause, the same as practised in the small debt courts at present; a privilege which litigants before the Court of Session still enjoy. The learned society of Advocates is composed of lawyers or council at the Scottish bar. Its constitution is more ancient than its records throw any light upon; so early as 1429 an Act[2] was passed ordaining, 'That advocates and forespeakers in temporal courtes, and alswa the parties that they pleade for, gif they be present, in all causes that they pleade, in the beginning or he be heard in the cause, he sall sweare that the cause be trowis, is gud and leill, that he sall pleade. And gif the principal partie be absent, the advocate sall sweare in the saule of him, after as is conteined in thir meters.'

[1] James III., parl. 14, cap. 3. [2] James I., parl. 9, cap. 125.

'Illud juretur, quod lis sibi justa videtur,
Et si quæretur verum, non inficietur;
Nil promittetur, nec falsa probatio detur,
Vt lis tradetur, dilatio nulla petetur.'

The Court of Session having been established in 1532, shortly after its constitution an Act[1] was passed ordaining 'That there be ane number of advocates and procuratoures chosen, and to be chosen, to the number of ten persones, that sall be called general procuratoures of the councel, of best name, knawledge, and experience, admitted to procure in all actiones, of quhom the names followis; they ar to say (here eight names are mentioned); and gif ony uthers cunning men will desirē to be admitted to the office of advocation and procuration, they sall be received with advise of the saides lordes for compleitting of the said number; and that thir procuratoures foresaides, procure for everie man for their wages. bot gif they have reasonable excuse.'

The small number licenced in the above Act, was, it would appear, more owing to a want of properly qualified persons to perform the duties, than a want of business. To supply the deficiency, the judges themselves often descended from the bench and pleaded as advocates at the bar. Fifty years after the Court of Session was established, an Act of sederunt was passed, rendering it obligatory on a young lawyer to take the assistance of an experienced advocate in important and difficult cases. Advocates for a long period after the institution of the court, not only pleaded the causes of their clients, but also acted as agents, and in consequence of the easy terms on which they were then admitted, the profession fell into contempt, and in 1610 '*the name and estimation of an advocate having become vile*,' the faculty took measures to get the conditions and qualifications of admission changed, and to the judicious regulations then made must be ascribed their present high character for honour and learning. At one period none but those of rank and noble ancestry were permitted to enter the society, but that invidious principle has been for many years done away with, and the profession is now open to young men of talent, whatever their parentage may happen to be. Though the society has no charter of incorporation, their affairs are presided over by a dean or deacon, and managed by a treasurer and court selected from their number. They can plead in all courts of the kingdom without any written authority, their gown being, as it is said, their mandate, and all their legitimate proceedings are binding on their employers. The independence of spirit manifested by the faculty on some occasions incurred the displeasure of the sovereign and the court. In 1674 they maintained and defended the opinion, that litigants had a right to appeal from the decisions of the Sessions to Parliament. The judges opposed them, and King Charles took the part of the court. The altercation assumed a serious aspect. Many of the advocates withdrew their attendance from court, and the business

[1] James V., parl. 5, cap. 64.

of the country was to a considerable extent suspended. The king adopted summary measures, and banished all the refractory members twelve miles from the city, till they should acknowledge the supremacy of the court. In 1702 they voted in favour of the Duke of Hamilton's protest against Queen Anne's first parliament, and were in consequence prosecuted and reprimanded. Every candidate for membership is examined on the Roman and Scottish law. He must also publish and defend a thesis, and when admitted must pay a fee of £100 towards the common fund, and a like sum towards the Advocates' library. From this body the bench is supplied with judges, and the sheriffs of the different counties are nominated from it. They also enjoy exclusively a number of Government offices and other dignities, and their body is one of the most influential in the metropolis. Each advocate has the privilege of appointing a clerk who is *ex officio* a member of the College of Justice, and entitled, after paying certain fees and being found qualified, to act as an agent before the supreme courts. Fifty years after the Court of Session was established, the number of advocates was 54; in 1762 the number on the roll was 210; in 1794, 206; and at present (1850) 431; but many of them do not practise at the bar, and merely enjoy the title. The society has a fund for their widows on a very liberal scale.

The Library of the Faculty of Advocates is by far the most extensive in Scotland; it adjoins that of the writers to the signet, and is connected with the buildings which contain the court rooms. The principal edifice is of modern erection, in the Grecian style of architecture, and extends westward from the north-west corner of the Parliament House in front of the Lawnmarket; but the present buildings of this extensive library are only a small portion of an intended splendid erection, which is designed to face George the Fourth's bridge.

This extensive library was proposed by Sir George M'Kenzie in 1680, who was then Dean of Faculty, and his suggestion was carried into execution in 1682, on a small scale, by a fund which had been formed out of the fines of members. When this library was founded, the Faculty advertised that they wished to purchase rare books, and in consequence collected a number of volumes. In 1695 the collection was considerably increased by a valuable donation from William, Duke of Queensberry, consisting of the library of his deceased son, Lord George Douglas, and from several large accessions, and a constant accumulation, this library has become the largest and most valuable in Scotland. The number of printed volumes is upwards of 160,000, besides nearly 2,000 manuscripts, many of which are of considerable value. Among other curious books shown to visitors may be mentioned a manuscript Bible of St. Jerome's translation, supposed to have been written in the eleventh century, and which is known to have been used as the conventional copy of the Scriptures in the Abbey of Dunfermline; a copy of the first printed Bible, in two volumes, from the press of Faust and Guttenberg; the original Solemn League and Covenant drawn up in 1580; and among many valuable manuscripts will be found those of Wodrow the historian,

and the chartularies of many of the ancient religious houses. These manuscripts are all preserved in a fire-proof room.

The funds are derived chiefly from fees paid by advocates on their becoming members, and admit of about £1,000 a-year being disbursed in purchasing useful and rare works. Members can borrow twenty-five volumes at one time, which they can retain for twelve months, and are allowed to lend any or all of that number to friends; and persons having a respectable appearance are admitted into the library without any introduction, and allowed to survey the books, and read and write in the apartments, so that this splendid library may be said to be open for every lawful purpose to the perusal of the public.

The establishment is under the care of five curators and three assistants, appointed by the Faculty; and among those who have enjoyed the office of principal librarian may be mentioned Thomas Ruddiman, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and David Irving, LL.D.

Advocates' First Clerks. This is probably the oldest body of agents before the Court of Session. Advocates themselves originally conducted the causes which they pleaded, in which they were assisted by their clerks, who gradually assumed the privilege of acting as agents for themselves, and virtually did so for a long period. It was not till the year 1754 that they were recognised as such by the Court of Session, when an act of sederunt, confirming the privileges so long assumed by them without authority, was passed by that court. They are appointed by a letter from an advocate, and if found qualified after certain examinations, their names, upon paying certain fees, are enrolled in the list of agents. The number of members of the society on the roll at present (1850) is 64; and there are besides 27 advocates' first clerks not members of the society.

Writers to the Signet. This respectable legal body is one of the most ancient in Scotland. They are mentioned as an existing society in the act constituting the Court of Session, in the year 1532. They were originally and literally clerks in the secretary of state's office, their business being to record and issue writs passing the Signet, on which various proceedings took place. As the number of these writs increased, the members of the society became more numerous, and a practice began of preparing writs out of the secretary's office, and although that custom in course of time became general, no change took place in the constitution of the society, the members of which were still amenable to the authority of the Deputy-keeper and Commissioners of the Signet. Long after Advocates' first Clerks were recognised as solicitors, writers to the signet not only excluded themselves, but were excluded by the courts from acting as agents However, being tempted by the increasing emoluments of law agency, they began to practise in that capacity, and their interference in such matters, although originally merely tolerated, was at length acknowledged by the court, and they became as a body, a constituent part of the College of Justice. Their fees in the year 1672, were taxed by the Act of Regulations.

The members still receive their commission from the keepers of the Signet, and in virtue thereof, are authorised to practise before all the supreme courts as well as to act as conveyancers. They have besides the exclusive privilege of preparing and signing all signatures presented to her Majesty, or passed by the Barons of Exchequer for charters or grants from the crown, bills for certain summonses, for hornings, captions, and many other writs issued in the Queen's name, and passing under the Signet. The office of Keeper of the Signet was formerly very lucrative, but now it is not so much so, and the duties are performed by a deputy and clerks. The affairs of the society are managed by office-bearers, and the members have a Professor of Conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh. Members before being admitted must, previous to serving an apprenticeship of five years, have attended the University for five sessions, and they require likewise, during or after their apprenticeship, to have attended the lectures of the Professors of Civil law, Scottish law, and Conveyancing. They are also before admission, strictly examined on the principles of law, and the forms and practice of the courts. The members of this body are associated in supporting a fund for their widows, similar to that of the clergy, which received the sanction of Parliament in 1803, by which act their capital must be £20,000 for every hundred members. The number of members on the roll at present (1850) is 730. This respectable body has a valuable Library; the structure in which it is deposited is of Grecian architecture, and adjoins the Parliament House on the north, and stretches westward, and fronts the Parliament Square and Lawnmarket. It consists chiefly of two spacious rooms on different floors. The upper one, which was acquired some years ago from the Faculty of Advocates is considered the most elegant apartment in Scotland. It is 132 feet long and 39 broad. The ceiling is supported by a range of twelve Corinthian pillars on each side, 18½ feet high. In the centre there is a dome or cupola, on which are painted the nine muses and groups of historians, philosophers, and poets, while galleries are carried along the two sides of the hall. This splendid apartment was used as a sort of drawing-room by George IV., at the banquet given to him in 1822, by the citizens of Edinburgh, in the Parliament House, on the occasion of his visit to Scotland.

This Library was founded about the middle of the last century and contains upwards of 60,000 volumes. It is particularly rich in British and Irish history, antiquities, topography, and biography. It is under the charge of a body of curators, and conducted on very liberal principles. The funds are derived entirely from the contributions of the members of the society.

Solicitors before the Supreme Courts. Previous to the Reformation, the only agents before the court were advocates' clerks, and young gentlemen preparing for the bar, who made themselves acquainted with the forms of court, by relieving the practising advocates of the formal part of their labours; but after that period, persons acted as agents who were in neither of these situations, probably advocates' clerks out of employment, and

young gentlemen who, as above stated, had assisted advocates, but could not attain to that honour, for by some means they must have made themselves acquainted with the business of the court. These must either have fallen under the censure of the court, or those who considered themselves exclusively entitled to act as agents, must have envied their increasing practice, and procured an Act of Parliament, to have them removed as intruders, which appears from the following act passed in 1675, namely: "In respect, several persons, being neither Advocates, nor Advocates' servants, do take upon them, under the name of Agents, to meddle and negociate in processes, who are found to be of no use, but troublesome to the lieges: That hereafter all these Agents, be debarred the house, and not permitted to negociate or manage processes, and recommend to the Lords of Session to see the same punctually observed."

Notwithstanding, by the introduction of written pleadings, and the gradual increase of business, these agents again crept into practise before the court, and were permitted to perform the duties of an agent, in the face of the above act, till the year 1755, when they were publicly acknowledged as agents by act of sederunt, which laid down rules for their regulation; these rules were altered and improved by another act in 1772, and in 1797, they were incorporated by Royal Charter under the title of "Solicitors before the Supreme Courts of Session, High Court of Justiciary, and Commission of Teinds." Intrants do not require to serve an apprenticeship, but are admitted, upon being, on a remit from the court, examined by members of the society, and found qualified. The number of members on the roll at present (1850) is 107. Fifty-one Procurators or Solicitors who practised before the late Court of Admirality, were by Act William IV., parl. 1, cap. 69, sec. 28, constituted solicitors in the Supreme Courts.

Solicitors at Law. In consequence of the want of records, the history of this body is involved in some obscurity, but it is supposed to have existed as early as the establishment of inferior Courts in Edinburgh. The members of this society have the privilege of practising before the Sheriff, Commissary, and City Courts. In 1707, a regular act of the Commissaries conferred upon them the exclusive privilege of practising before their court. Although the body existed as a society and had records long previous to that year, yet it was not till then, they entered into articles of agreement for the regulation of the society, and for raising a fund for the support of poor members and widows. The same privilege of practising before the city courts was conferred on them by the magistrates of Edinburgh, by an act of Council or Seal of Cause, on 6th March, 1765.

In the same year the Sheriff-Depute of the County passed an act of court regulating the mode of their entry as practitioners in his court. In the year 1780, they obtained a royal charter of incorporation, ratifying and confirming their exclusive privileges of practising before the above courts, Intrants must serve an apprenticeship, and undergo a private examination before the society, after which they are remitted to the Judge for a public

examination. When the Admiralty Court was abolished, they were authorised to conduct maritime causes before the Court of Session; and when the greater part of the jurisdiction of the Commissary Court was transferred to the Court of Session, they were allowed to conduct Commissary causes before that court. Certain actions, such as *cessio bonorum*, sequestrations, etc., which were originally only competent before the Court of Session, having been on 31st December, 1838, made competent before the Sheriff Courts, the Court of Session procurators were then privileged to practise as agents before the Sheriff Courts in these proceedings; but were limited to charge only Sheriff Court fees. The number of members on the roll at present (1850) is 42.

The Parliament House, in which the Supreme Courts of law are held, is an ancient building, although externally it appears to have been recently erected. There being no place but the Tolbooth previous to 1631, for parliament meeting, the town council in compliance with a royal mandate, proposed to the citizens to erect a building for that purpose, and they having come forward and subscribed liberally, the *Parliament House* was that year founded upon the site of the manse of St. Giles's church. The building having been nine years in erecting, was not finished till 1640. It appears by the treasurer's books to have cost £11,600 sterling, of which sum, £4,666 was raised by subscription, and the remainder advanced by the city. The only part of the building that now remains in its ancient form, is the great Hall where the Scottish Parliament, previous to the Union, met. At that period there was beneath the great window, at the south end, a high throne for the Sovereign. Round the sides of the Hall were wooden seats for accommodating the bishops and nobility, and before these were forms for the representatives of counties and burghs;[1] in the middle of the Hall was a long table for the use of the Lord-Clerk-Register and his assistants, at the top of the table was placed the regalia, and at the foot was the bar of the house; further north, on the outside of a wooden partition, was a pulpit to accommodate the minister who preached a sermon at the opening of Parliament, and behind that partition, there was a small gallery where the public heard the debates of the house. After the Union, all these erections were cleared away, and the Hall occupied by the Court of Session, except the small gallery which stood for a considerable time after that event, and was used to accommodate the band of musicians which performed on his majesty's birth-day, while the magistrates entertained the nobility and gentry with wine and sweatmeats. In 1775, the north end of the Hall was partitioned off for shops and booksellers' stalls, but all these erections have been long since swept away, leaving the Hall a splendid promenade, where gentlemen of the legal profession daily meet during Session, to transact business and attend their cases depending before the court. It

[1] The Scottish Parliament consisted only of one house, composed anciently of the three estates, lords spiritual and temporal, and barons and commissioners for the burghs; but after the Revolution the lords spiritual were excluded from a seat in Parliament.

REGISTER HOUSE, THEATRE ROYAL, WATERLOO PLACE,
AND NELSON'S MONUMENT.

is often so crowded, that the scene of bustle and apparent confusion astonishes strangers on their first entrance. The building is 133 feet long, by 98 feet broad at its widest part, and 60 feet at its narrowest; though 60 feet high in its rear, it is on account of the inequality of the ground, only 40 feet high along both its eastern and northern fronts; these fronts were erected in 1808, and consist of an arcade below, and open galleries above, with pillars supporting a continuous cornice. The Hall extends 122 feet in length, and 40 in breadth, and has a beautiful oaken floor and roof, the latter arched and supported by abutments, with gilded knobs. On the south end is a large and beautiful window of stained glass, on which is depicted a female figure of Justice, with her sword and balance, amid radianted clouds. There are in the Hall four marble statues, one by Roubilliac of Lord President Forbes in his judicial robes, executed at the expense of the Faculty of Advocates, another by Chantrey of the first Lord Melville standing upon a pedestal; one also by Chantrey of Lord President Blair, and one of Lord Chief Baron Dundas of Arniston. In this Hall was held the banquet given by the corporation of the city to George IV., on his visit to Scotland in 1822. Leading from the Hall are the court rooms, in which the first and second divisions of the Court of Session are held; there are also entrances from it, leading to the Libraries of the Advocates and Writers to the Signet.

Register House. Previous to its erection, the Earl of Morton, when Lord Register, obtained in 1765 from George III. a grant of £12,000 sterling out of the money arising from the sales of the forfeited estates in Scotland, to assist the building, which sum lay at interest till 1774, when the House was founded at the east end of Princes street, to front southward along the North bridge. The ceremony of laying the foundation stone was performed under a discharge of artillery in presence of the judges of the Courts of Session and Exchequer, and a great multitude of gentlemen from the country, and respectable citizens. A brass plate with a suitable inscription was put into the foundation stone, also specimens of the different current coins in a glass vase hermetically sealed. At this period only one-half of the building was erected, the original plan by Robert Adam not being completed till 1822. When finished, a balance of £17,273 remained unpaid of the amount that had been borrowed to assist in its erection, and owing to the alterations that had in the interim been made in law proceedings, the fees from which this debt was to have been liquidated having been diminished, no probable means were left of discharging it from the source originally intended, more especially as the Lord-Clerk-Register's salary was thrown on that fund; Parliament therefore authorised the above balance to be paid out of the sum of £20,711, 14s. 1d., placed in consequence of a litigation at the credit of the directors of Chancery.[1] The edifice is a chaste specimen of Grecian architecture, and combines the utmost interior accommodation for its

[1] Victoria, parl. 11, cap. 21.

purpose. It stands forty feet back from the line of Princes street, and is screened by an enclosed parapet divided in the middle by a double flight of stairs, alterations on which are at present (September, 1850) being made to accommodate an equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington; by these the stair has been improved, and the parapet removed nearer the building, which has widened the thoroughfare. The entire building is square, 200 feet on each side, with a small quadrangular court in the centre, surmounted by a dome 50 feet diameter; within the dome stands a marble statue of George III. by the Hon. Mrs. Damer. On the first and second floors there are nearly a hundred small arched apartments leading off from long corridors. These small rooms are occupied by clerks, and other officials connected with the supreme courts. The great hall or library where the more ancient records are deposited, is in the centre of the building, lined with books all over its walls, and balconied all round at mid-elevation with a railed gallery; it is 50 feet in diameter, and 80 feet high, lighted from the top by a window 15 feet in diameter; and its roof is elegantly ornamented with stucco work. From this hall communications lead off into 23 subordinate apartments, which are all used for the preservation of documents. Each corner of this edifice is surmounted by a turret projecting a little from the rest of the building, having clock and wind-dials on the exterior sides, and a cupola and vane on the top.

The whole establishment is under the immediate management of the depute-clerk-register.

[Erratum. Page 334, line 18, read, "the Lord President has a salary of £4,800," instead of "£44,800.]

CHAPTER VIII.

Hospitals, Societies, Clubs, Associations, Banking companies, Gas companies, Water company, Royal company of Archers, etc.

HOSPITALS.

Trinity Hospital is the oldest charitable institution in the city, and was an appendage of Trinity College church, founded in 1642. The original edifice was situated on the east side of Leith wynd, and was founded and amply endowed by Mary of Gueldres, consort of James II., for the reception of thirteen poor persons; but what became of these beadsmen at the Reformation does not appear, for the hospital was then stripped of its revenues, which, with those of other religious houses and charitable institutions, were appropriated to other purposes. But John, Earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, having obtained a gift of Trinity

College church and buildings connected therewith, bestowed them upon Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, then provost of Edinburgh; who, on 10th November, 1567, generously conveyed them to the magistrates for an hospital for the poor. This gift having been only reversionary, the town council on 26th April, 1585, agreed to pay Robert Pont, the provost of Trinity College church, for his right thereto, 300 merks Scots, (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling) and an annuity of £180 Scots (£15 sterling) during his lifetime. This transaction was ratified by James VI. in 1587.

The original building, having become ruinous and unfit for a residence, was demolished, and the magistrates and council, as empowered by James VI., repaired and partly rebuilt the ancient residence of the provost and prebends of Trinity College church, and fitted it up as an hospital. This edifice was a fine specimen of the architecture and monastic internal accommodations of the age in which it was erected, and was the only existing relict of that century to be found, previous to its demolition, in the city. The number at first admitted was only five men and two women. In the year 1700 the number of inmates had increased to 54; but in 1797 that number had decreased to 40 men and women, besides 26 out-pensioners, who annually received six pounds sterling each. It being however found, that the funds of the hospital could not support so many, their number was reduced, and has since been regulated by the income of the hospital, which consists of three valuable farms in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, of houses, feu duties, etc. The benefit of the institution is restricted to burgesses of Edinburgh, their widows, and their sons and daughters above fifty years of age. Several private presentations are vested in public bodies, as well as in some of the most ancient and noble families in Scotland; this privilege is in some instances unlimited as to being burgesses, in others it is confined to persons of particular names; the principal of these are, Wilson, Brown, Keith, Davidson, Crooks, Alexander, Fraser, Leslie, and Wightman. When admitted, they assign to the hospital all property they may then possess, and come under an obligation, if they afterwards shall succeed to any, to reimburse to the hospital the sums expended on their account. The donor of £350 to the hospital, and his heirs, may present to any person qualified as above, and the donor of £450 and his heirs, may present any person unmarried, not under fifty years of age.

The ancient building before referred to, with the garden attached to it, were in 1846, sold by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, who are the sole governors of the Hospital, to the North British Railway Company, for £6,000, and was then demolished to make way for that Railway; previous to its demolition, the inmates were comfortably lodged, each had a separate room, and were supplied with roast or boiled meat every day for dinner; had money allowed them for clothes, and were furnished with bed and bed-clothes; each had likewise a small sum allowed weekly for pocket money. In the Hospital, there was a small library, and the inmates were attended by a chaplain to say prayers. There were in the Hospital when sold, 42 inmates,

and about 80 out-pensioners, who each received annually six pounds sterling. There are at present (16th September, 1850) on the Hospital roll 40 persons; of these, 18 who were formerly resident in the House, receive £26 per annum each. The others who have been since elected, are allowed to retain whatever property they may possess, and are only paid £20 per annum. These allowances are paid weekly, monthly, or quarterly, in advance, at the discretion of the Treasurer, who is instructed to watch over their conduct, and by all means to promote the comfort of each individual. They are prohibited from contracting debt, and their allowances are strictly alimentary. On the out-pensioners' roll, there are at present 59 individuals, who receive six pounds each per annum, paid quarterly in advance. The Governors fill up all vacancies on the roll, twice a year, in the months of February and August. The annual average revenue of the hospital, for five years preceding 31st October, 1849, was £2,472 14s. 8d. No steps have yet been taken for the erection of a new hospital, but the price of the old one is reserved as a building fund. When the Governors in 1845, took into consideration the erection of a new hospital, it was agreed to suspend operations, till the issue of a process of Locality, depending before the Court of Session, in which the Governors are defenders, was ascertained; as the decision, if unfavourable, might have a very material effect upon the funds of the institution; at same time, they entered into an agreement with the Governors of James Gillespie's Hospital, to receive on certain terms as temporary boarders, such presentees to Trinity Hospital as might decline to accept of the money allowance above mentioned; however, it now appears that that arrangement was unnecessary, for all who have been since elected have preferred and cheerfully accepted of the money allowance, without expressing even a wish for the erection of a new hospital, home, "sweet home," and their "ain fireside," having more attractions, with their pecuniary allowance, than all the comforts they could anticipate to enjoy within the walls of an hospital. It therefore becomes a matter of serious consideration for the Governors, whether to finally adopt the money allowance or erect an hospital. If a new hospital was erected upon the same expensive scale as those *princely edifices*, that have recently been built as *charitable institutions*, it would exhaust a great portion of the hospital funds; whereas, if that intention was finally abandoned, the number on the roll might be greatly augmented; and it is our own opinion, as well as that of others, that the greater number of them would enjoy much more comfort and happiness by the money allowance, than they could do within the walls of an hospital.

Heriot's Hospital. George Heriot, the founder of this magnificent edifice was born in the year 1563, and followed the occupation of his father, who was a goldsmith in Edinburgh. He commenced business in 1580, and on 14th January, 1586, he married a daughter of Simon Marjoribanks, merchant in Edinburgh; the dowry he got with her, and the outfit received from his father, amounted to £214, 11s. 8d. sterling. On 27th July,

1597, he was appointed by writ of the privy council, dated at Dunfermline, goldsmith to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James VI.; whose account in the space of ten years amounted to £40,000. Shortly afterwards he was appointed goldsmith and jeweller to her consort the king, with a right of all profits and emoluments of that lucrative office. On the death of Queen Elizabeth, and his Majesty's accession to the English throne, George followed his master to London, where, by assiduous application to business he became both eminent and rich. Having become a widower, he came to Edinburgh, and in 1608 married Alison, daughter of James Primrose, a branch of the noble House of Roseberry, and clerk to the privy council, with whom he got a dowry of 5,000 merks Scots, (£277, 15s. 6½d. sterling) in consideration whereof he laid out 25,000 merks Scots (£1,386, 17s. 8½d. sterling) in the purchasing of a jointure to her. In 1612 he was deprived of that lady by her dying in childbed.

After a life spent in honourable and successful industry, he died at London on 12th February, 1624, at the age of sixty-one, without legitimate issue, leaving a fortune of about £50,000, which he had disposed of by will, executed the previous year, wherein he provided for his two illegitimate daughters, and remembered all his relations, with many friends and servants, both in England and Scotland; the residue he left in trust to the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh, to found and endow an hospital 'for the mainetenance, reliefe, and bringing upp and education of poore fatherlesse boyes, freemen's sonnes of the towne of Edinburgh,' and appointed certain trustees to see the will executed, among whom was Dr. Balcanqual, dean of Rochester.

When the accounts were settled between his executors and the governors of the hospital, the exact sum received, after deducting legacies, bad debts, and composition for debts resting by the crown, amounted to £23,625, 10s. 3½d. sterling.[1]

The foundation stone of this magnificent fabric was laid on 1st July, 1628, in the middle of a piece of ground on the south side of the Grassmarket, consisting of eight and one-half acres, purchased by them for 7,650 merks Scots (£425 sterling.) It is said to have been built from a plan of the celebrated architect Inigo Jones, whom James VI. brought from Denmark.

Operations were for some time suspended during the national disturbances which followed the execution of Charles I., but were resumed in 1642, and prosecuted till 1650, at which period the whole was nearly finished, when it was converted into an infirmary for the sick and wounded soldiers of Oliver Cromwell, who took possession of the city after the battle of Dunbar. It continued to be used for that purpose till 15th March, 1658, when a committee of the governors waited on General Monk, (then commander of the English army,) and not only offered to fit up a house with all conveniences for their reception, but to keep it in repair, and grant additional salaries to the medical atten-

[1] Extract decree of the Court of Session, Brown and others against the Governors, 20th Nov. 1766. It may be observed that money at that period bore 10 per cent. interest.

dants. These terms having been accepted, the soldiers were removed to a new infirmary in Canongate, and on 11th April, 1659, the hospital was opened for the reception of the sons of burgesses, when 30 boys were admitted, and in August thereafter they were increased to 40; in 1661 to 52; in 1753 to 130; in 1763 to 140; and they now average from 180 to 200. The edifice was not entirely finished till 1660. The expense of the whole fabric, including internal fittings, is said to have amounted to upwards of £30,000 sterling. The building is three stories in height in the centre and four stories at the corners, and has two hundred windows, all ornamented, but not uniform. Over the gateway of this edifice, which is on the north side, fronting the Grassmarket, is a tower projecting from the main line, surmounted by a small dome and lantern. On the south side opposite the entrance is the chapel, a fine apartment, 61 feet long by 22 in breadth, neatly fitted up, which is approached by a vestibule, and which externally resembles a turret, surmounted by a small spire. It has an elegant pulpit, a richly adorned cieling, and beautiful oaken carvings. The boys when admitted must have attained the age of seven, and be under ten, and generally quit the hospital shortly after completing their fourteenth year. They are taught English, French, classics, writing, arithmetic and mathematics, book-keeping and geography, vocal music, dancing, calisthenics, and practical mechanics. Those who manifest talent, and prove upon examination of the governors to be 'hopeful scholars,' and have a desire for the learned professions, are qualified to enter the University of Edinburgh, with an allowance for four years of £30 annually. There are also given from the funds ten other bursaries of £20 each for four years to aid boys of superior talents unconnected with the hospital. These are generally conferred on the boys who have earned the highest honours in the High school of Edinburgh.

The boys on entering the hospital are comfortably lodged and fed, wear a uniform dress, and on leaving are liberally provided with clothes and suitable books; such of them as become apprentices receive ten pounds annually for five years, besides five pounds at the expiry of their apprenticeship, as a reward of good behaviour. The annual revenue of the hospital, which in 1776 only amounted to £1,966, was in 1839, £15,412.

The original entrance was by a lane from the Grassmarket, but it is now changed to the south side, on the road to Lauriston, where there is a gateway surmounted by a beautiful porter-lodge, built in a style imitative of the hospital. The park which surrounds the edifice is planted with shrubs, and ornamented by a handsome inner stone wall, by way of a sunk fence, and surrounded by a balustrade. The management of the institution is vested in the Corporation, and the established Clergy of the city—in all, fifty one in number.

George Heriot's work-shop was situated in a close near the west end of St. Giles's church, and although only seven feet square, it was there where the founder of this Hospital laid the foundation of his splendid fortune. It is said that his Majesty

James VI. sometimes condescended to call at this small shop and see "Gingling Geordie." [1] That shop was only cleared away in 1809, at which time there were found in it the bellows and forge which had been used by Heriot in the course of his business.

In 1836, the governors obtained an Act of Parliament,[2] empowering them to found and erect, from the surplus revenues, free schools within the city, for educating, 1st, The children in poor circumstances of deceased Burgesses and Freemen; 2nd, The children of Burgesses and Freemen who are unable to provide for their support; and 3rd, The children of poor citizens and inhabitants of Edinburgh, but only whilst residing within the royalty. They were also empowered "to allow to any of the boys, in the course of their education at such schools, being sons of Burgesses and Freemen, such uniform fixed sum of money in lieu and place of maintenance, and such uniform fixed sum for apprentice fee, after their education at the said schools is completed, as shall be determined." There are already seven juvenile and three infant schools erected in the city, attended by about 3,000 boys and girls. The former of these are situated in Heriot Bridge, Old Assembly Close, Borthwick's Close, Cowgate-Port, High School Yard, Brown's Square, West Rose Street, and the latter in the Old Assembly Close, High School-Yard, and West Rose Street. In the seven juvenile schools, there are Sabbath evening classes.

Merchant Maiden Hospital. This institution was founded in the year 1695, by voluntary contributions, to which the members of the Merchant Company were the most considerable contributors. Mary Erskine, relict of James Hair, druggist in Edinburgh, purchased and bestowed on this institution the original hospital and garden situated in Bristo Street, for which she paid 12,000 merks Scots, (£666 13s. 4d. sterling). Besides this gift, she gave considerable donations. The contributors established the hospital by the name of "The Maiden Hospital, founded by the company of merchants of Edinburgh, and Mary Erskine," for the maintenance and education of "the children or grand-children, daughters of such who are or were of the order and calling of Merchants, Burgesses of Edinburgh, or ministers thereof and suburbs, or have been governors of, or benefactors to the hospital." On 26th November, the contributors held their first meeting, and agreed to certain rules for the good government of the institution; these were principally extracted from the constitution of Heriot's Hospital, and were afterwards ratified by the Town Council. The governors of this institution, consisting of five members of the Town Council, the Master, and three Assistants of the Merchant Company, three of the Clergy of the city and suburbs, the earl of Mar, and nine persons elected by the

[1] The reader may form an idea of George Heriot's position in the household of James VI., after the removal of the court to London, from the picture drawn of him as 'Gingling Geordie,' by Sir Walter Scott, in the 'Fortunes of Nigel.'

[2] William IV., parls. 6 and 7; cap. 25.

Merchant Company, in all, twenty-two in number, were incorporated in the year 1707, by Act of Parliament, and their regulations were then confirmed.

The original building in Bristo Street having become unsuitable for its object, the governors purchased three acres of ground adjoining to the Meadows, and in 1816, laid the foundation stone of the present edifice, which is in the Grecian style of architecture, 180 feet long, and 60 wide, and has a portico in front supported by four handsome pillars, the design of which is taken from the Ionic temple on the Ilyssus. It was completed in 1818, at an expense of £12,250 sterling, including internal fittings. The girls are admitted from seven to eleven years of age, and are not retained above seventeen. They are taught the English and French languages, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, music, dancing, drawing, and needlework. They are respectably clothed, have excellent diet, and receive £9 6s. 8d. on leaving the hospital.

By excellent management and fortunate purchases of landed property, the funds have been greatly increased; Peterhead was purchased by the Governors, which comprehends the lands as well as the superiority of the burgh of that name. There are generally from 90 to 100 girls maintained in the hospital, and there are at present (September, 1850) 97 girls on the roll. Its annual income was, in the year ending October, 1849, £5,114, 7s. 4d., but the expenditure that year was £5,856, 19s. 10½d.; which shows that £742, 12s. 4½d. was laid out more than the revenue: there is, however, an item in that year's expenditure of £1,116, 4s. 1d. laid out on drainage, etc., on estates situated in the shires of Aberdeen and Roxburgh, belonging to the hospital, which will not again occur.

Hospital's Net Stock, 1st October, 1848, -	£62,589	9	11¾
Do. do. 1st October, 1849, -	64,085	16	11½
Increase,	£1,496	6	11¾

Trades' Maiden Hospital. This institution was commenced in 1704, by the Freemen of the Incorporations of Edinburgh, and Mrs. Mary Erskine, the same widow lady who assisted in forming the Merchant Maiden Hospital. The Governors are the Deacons of the Incorporations, two councillors, two persons of the name of Erskine, the president of the society of Barbers, and nine persons elected by the other governors, in all 28; who were in 1707, incorporated by Act of Parliament. Those eligible for admission are "the children or grand-children of the craftsmen, which failing, any others presented by the incorporations," the girls being children belonging to one of the incorporations of the city, and the Society of Barbers. When admitted, they must be seven years of age, and under eleven, and are not retained after the age of seventeen. They are instructed in English, French, music, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, sewing, and laundry work. On leaving the hospital, £5 11s., and a

Bible are given to each of them. About 50 girls are maintained in the hospital, which is a plain building, situated on the south side of Argyle Square.

George Watson's Hospital. Its founder, George Watson, who was born at Edinburgh about the year 1650, was descended from a family who had long been merchants in the city. Having served an apprenticeship to a merchant in Edinburgh, he went to Holland, and returned in 1676, when he entered, as clerk and book-keeper, the establishment of Sir James Dick, a wealthy merchant, then provost of the city. In 1695, he was appointed accountant of the Bank of Scotland, which had just then been established; soon thereafter he became Receiver of the City's impost on Ale, Treasurer to the Merchant Maiden Hospital, and to the Society for propagating Christian knowledge. He died in 1723 a bachelor, bequeathing the sum of £12,000 sterling, for the endowment of an Hospital for the maintenance and instruction of the male children and grand-children of decayed merchants in Edinburgh. That sum having accumulated in the year 1738, to £20,000, the hospital was then founded, and opened in June, 1741, at an expense of about £5,000. It stands on the south side of the city, on a piece of ground purchased by the governors from Heriot's Hospital, lying between that institution and the Meadows, and extending to about seven and a half acres, for which £19 2s. 9d., of annual feu duty is paid, and double that sum in lieu of an entry every twenty years. The building is of an oblong shape, with extensive and commodious internal accommodations, and presents to the north a handsome front, the central part of which is higher than the two end parts. It is decorated with a small spire surmounted by the figure of a ship, the emblem of traffic, by which the founder became enriched. Boys are admitted into it about seven, and under ten, and remain till fifteen years of age. They are respectably clothed, have excellent diet, and are instructed in the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages, in writing, drawing, arithmetic, book-keeping, mathematics, geography, singing, and dancing. On leaving the hospital, each boy is presented with £7, to provide himself with clothes, and receives £50 as an apprentice fee, by instalments of £10 yearly, and on attaining the age of 25, receives a farther sum of £50, if unmarried, on procuring certificates of good behaviour. 'Such as are found to have an extraordinary genius for letters,' and prefer an academical education, receive £20 *per annum* for four years, to support them at the University, and £17 a year, during the two succeeding years. The hospital is under the management of the minister of the Old Church, five members of the Town Council, the Master, Treasurer, and twelve Assistants of the Merchant Company. The property of this hospital consists of landed estates, money lent on bond, and invested in stock, yielding a gross annual revenue of about £5,000. The public burdens and repairs amount to about £800; the fees and salaries, and incidental charges, to about £900. The payment for apprentice fees, allowances to boys attending the University, and bounties to boys on attaining

25 years of age, amount to about £1,500. The number of boys maintained in the hospital averages about 85.

Orphan's Hospital. This institution originated in 1727 by the active benevolence of Mr Andrew Gardner, merchant in Edinburgh, by whose strenuous exertions a house was hired in 1733, and 30 orphans admitted into it. The great success attending this establishment at the outset, induced the patrons on 28th June, 1734, to found an hospital west of Trinity College Church; and being greatly assisted by subscriptions, and contributions from societies, and collections at church doors, as well as by gratuitous labour from mechanics, the children were the following year removed to the new building. In 1739 the accession to the funds was so considerable, as to maintain and educate 74 orphans. In 1742, the directors received a charter of incorporation from George II., appointing most of the great Officers of State in Scotland, and the heads of the different Societies in Edinburgh, members of the corporation.

In 1781, the edifice was completed, and in 1783, it was ornamented with a spire, furnished with a clock and two bells. Although considerable additions were made to this building in 1812, yet by the increase of the city its situation became unhealthy and crowded with buildings; the managers therefore purchased about six acres of land of the Dean grounds, in the neighbourhood of the city, on which they on 17th June, 1831, founded a very handsome edifice, and finished it in 1833, at an expense of about £16,000, which is calculated to contain about 200 children. The children when admitted, must be of the age of seven, and not above ten years; they are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. From 90 to 100 boys and girls are maintained in the institution, which is not local, but national; orphan children of both sexes, from any part of the country, being admitted to its benefits. This hospital originated in, and still almost solely depends for the increase of its usefulness on the charity of the public. Its erection having, as before stated, cost about £16,000, that sum laid out at five per cent. would yield an annual income of £800, so that the 100 children maintained in the hospital, cost each £8 for lodgings alone, a sum almost adequate to maintain them in board and lodgings.

John Watson's Hospital. John Watson, a writer to the signet in Edinburgh, in July 1759 executed a deed bequeathing the residue of his fortune to certain trustees, to be by them applied 'to such pious and charitable uses within the city of Edinburgh as they shall think proper.' These trustees, who were the late Lord Milton and Mr. John Mackenzie, writer to the signet, by a deed executed by them in 1764, destined the residue arising from Mr. Watson's property to 'the pious and charitable purpose of preventing child murder,' by the erecting of a Foundling Hospital; and assigned the management of the funds to the Principal Keeper, Deputy-keeper, and Commissioners of the Writers to the Signet.

The funds, which in 1781 amounted only to £4,721, 5s. 6d., having by the judicious management of the trustees accumulated

to upwards of £90,000, it was considered that the utility of erecting such an hospital being at least problematical, an Act of Parliament was in the year 1822 obtained for altering the destination of this large fund, and empowering the trustees to establish and endow 'An hospital for the maintenance and education therein of destitute children, and bringing them up to be useful members of society, as also for assisting in their outfit in life such of them as may be thought to deserve and require such aid.' The edifice, situated near the north end of the Dean bridge, was founded in 1825, and finished in 1828. It is an extensive building in the Grecian style of architecture, and has excellent internal accommodation. There are at present (1850) 66 boys and 43 girls maintained in it. The boys receive a good commercial education, and are also taught French, Latin, mathematics, drawing, singing, etc. The girls are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, French, drawing, music, (pianoforte and singing) as well as needle-work, and other useful branches of education. When admitted, they must have completed their fifth year, and be under the eighth year of their age, and are not retained after the age of fourteen. By the care and attention of the trustees the funds, including the ground and buildings, amounted in 1843 to £132,800.

Gillespie's Hospital. James Gillespie of Spylaw, merchant and tobacconist in Edinburgh, having no near relations, bequeathed by will, dated 1796, £12,000, besides considerable landed property, to found and endow an hospital for the aliment and maintenance of indigent old men and women not under 55 years of age, who have sunk from wealth or competence to destitution; as also a charitable school for educating poor boys. The management is vested in the Master, Treasurer, and twelve Assistants of the Merchant Company, five members of the Town Council, and the Ministers of St. Stephen's and Tolbooth churches. These governors were on 19th April, 1801, incorporated by royal charter, and the hospital was same year founded, and opened the following year. Nearly fifty inmates of both sexes are generally maintained in it, who are comfortably lodged and fed. To provide themselves with apparel, the males are allowed £2 18s., and the females £1 10s. annually. Family worship is performed twice a-day, and the chaplain delivers a sermon every Sunday. Those entitled to be admitted are, the servants of the founder, persons of his name belonging to Edinburgh and its suburbs; failing these, persons from Leith, Newhaven, and other parts of Mid-Lothian; whom all failing, persons from any part of Scotland; all of whom must, before being admitted, be above the age of fifty-five. The right of admission to the school, which was opened in 1803, is poverty, place of residence unlimited; from 150 to 200 boys are here instructed in English, writing, and arithmetic. None are admitted under the age of six, nor above that of twelve; they are entitled to remain three years. The hospital and school are delightfully situated on the south-west suburb of the city. The hospital is of an oblong form, built in imitation of the ancient Gothic, and is open daily for the inspection of the public.

The property vested in the governors for the support of this hospital and free school consists chiefly of landed estates, yielding a gross annual revenue of about £1,500. At present there are 46 inmates in the hospital. 14 males and 32 females, and 175 boys on the roll of the Free school.

While so many children are amply provided for, in the numerous charitable institutions connected with the city, it is to be regretted that there are not more than two institutions in it that provide a comfortable home for a few, out of the numerous class of respectable and deserving individuals belonging to Edinburgh, who have spent the greater part, if not their whole lifetime, in it; and after discharging the various duties of respectable situations, are doomed, from adverse circumstances, over which many of them had no control, to bear the infirmities of old age, combined with the ills of poverty and neglect; too proud to beg, too humble to be recognised. Although there be at present 46 inmates in Gillespie's Hospital, there is room for above 20 more, and it is not for the want of numerous appplications for admission that these vacancies are not filled up, but for the want of the means of providing for their maintenance.

For many years past, it has been a matter of deep regret to the Governors, that while they have applications, to the number often of seventy, from well certified individuals, both as to their moral character and poverty, (the necessary qualifications for admission,) that at their half-yearly elections of inmates, two, and sometimes only one, can be admitted out of so many applicants, and these frequently claimed by a Gillespie, which name has a preference over all other classes. Those, therefore, who contemplate a deed of charity, could not bestow a greater blessing upon their fellow-citizens, than enable the Governors of this Hospital to extend its charity to a greater number of deserving individuals belonging to the city.

The expense, on an average of years, for food and clothing to the inmates of the Hospital, is £15, 10s. 6d., subject, of course, to vary, according to the price of provisions.

Gauvin's Hospital. Louis Gauvin, a teacher of the French language in the city, and afterwards a farmer at Duddingston, died in 1825, leaving the greater part of his estate for the erection and endowment of "an hospital, for the relief, maintenance, and education of the sons of respectable but poor teachers, the sons of poor but honest farmers; whom failing, the sons of repectable master printers, or booksellers, and the sons of respectable servants in the agricultural line." The management is vested in certain individuals, nominated by the founder, and in the Provost of the City, the Principal, and Professor of Humanity in the University, the Rector of the High School, the ministers of Duddingston, Liberton, and Newton, the Proprietor of the estate of Niddry, and the Factor of the Marquis of Abercorn. Mr. Gauvin's settlement was explained and modified, and the governnors incorporated in 1827 by an act of parliament.

The edifice, which resembles a large elegant villa, was opened in 1833. Although situated in Duddingston, it may be viewed as

one of the charities of the city. Upwards of twenty boys are maintained in it and instructed in the ordinary branches of education, and also in Latin, Greek, French, and Mathematics. They are admissable between 6 and 8 years of age, and not retained after 14.

Donaldson's Hospital. James Donaldson, printer, and long proprietor of the Edinburgh Advertiser newspaper, who died at Edinburgh in 1830, by his will, dated 4th July, 1828, bequeathed the greater part of his fortune, amounting to about £200,000 to certain trustees, for the purpose of erecting and endowing an hospital, to be called "Donaldson's Hospital," for the maintenance of poor boys and girls, after the plan of the Edinburgh Orphan's Hospital, and John Watson's Institution. The surviving trustees, by deed of constitution, dated 22nd November, 1844, vested the management of the institution in the Lord Justice General, Lord Clerk Register, Lord Advocate, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Principal of the University, the senior minister of the established church in Edinburgh, the two ministers of St. Cuthbert's parish, the Preses of the College of Physicians, the Treasurer and Secretary of the Bank of Scotland, *ex officiis;* in the said trustees themselves, John Irvine, and Walter Cook, Writers to the Signet, during life, and in thirteen other gentlemen, three of whom retire annually by rotation, their successors being appointed by the remaining managers.

This princely [1] edifice occupies a conspicuous position at the west end of the city, the structure is square, in the Elizabethan style of architecture, from an admirable design by M. H. Playfair, and will be this year (1850) completed. It can accommodate 300 children, but provision has been made in the plans for such additions to the building, as will afford accommodation to 100 more, which the Governors anticipate the funds will in course of time be able to maintain. A certain number of deaf and dumb children are to be admitted to the hospital. Those eligible for admission are declared to be, 1st, "Poor children of the name of Donaldson or Marshall, (the name of the founder's mother) as directed by the said James Donaldson himself in his last will and testament, if appearing to the governors to be deserving; 2nd, Such poor children as shall appear to be in the most destitute circumstances, and the most deserving of admission." None are to be received whose parents are able to maintain them. Those admitted are to be clothed and maintained in the hospital, and taught such useful branches of education as may be considered

[1] This Hospital has more the appearance of a Royal Palace than a building for the reception of children maintained on the bounty of its founder, whose parents are in the humbler walks of life. We may here remark generally of the recently erected splendid Hospitals, on which such large sums of money have been expended, that children who are maintained by charity are not entitled to reside in palaces. They could be as comfortably accommodated in plain but neat buildings, and the large sums of money expended on useless outward decorations on many of these edifices, which add nothing to their internal comfort, but merely to their outward show, would have been much more beneficially laid out in the extension of the several charities to a greater number of individuals.

suitable to their age, sex, and station. The age of admission is from 6 till 9, and leave at 14, and they are to receive during their apprenticeship such assistance as the Governors may think proper.

Stewart's Hospital. Mr. Daniel Stewart of the Exchequer died in 1814, and left the residue of his fortune, after the payment of certain legacies, and the erection and endowment of a Free school in his native parish of Logierait, to certain Trustees, to be applied in the building and endowment of an hospital for the maintenance and education of boys, the children of honest and industrious parents, whose circumstances in life do not enable them suitably to support and educate their children at other schools. This residue, which amounted to about £13,000, besides some house-property in the old town of Edinburgh, with judicious management has accumulated to above £90,000. The Trustees some time ago, purchased a piece of ground on the Queensferry road, part of the estate of Dean, on which to erect an hospital. The building was founded in the immediate rear of the Dean church, and is now in course of erection. Poor boys of the name of Stewart and Macfarlane, residing within the city of Edinburgh and suburbs, are to have a preference, and, failing them, any other poor boys residing within the same district. The present trustees are Adam Longmore, John Burn Murdoch, and James Renton.

Chalmers's Hospital. George Chalmers, plumber in Edinburgh, who died on 10th March, 1836, bequeathed the greater part of his fortune, estimated to exceed £30,000, for the erection and endowment of an hospital "*for the sick and hurt*," and vested the management in the Dean and Faculty of Advocates. The sum bequeathed, was, by the Trustees, vested in Government securities, and must now have accumulated to a large amount. The trustees therefore ought to proceed immediately in the erection of the hospital, which would be of great benefit to the city, and it would be of paramount advantage in carrying out the intentions of Mr. Chalmers, if the managers of the Royal infirmary, who are about to extend their buildings, could prevail on the Trustees of the bequest, to unite with them in the erection of an hospital.

Fettes' Endowment. Sir William Fettes, Bart., of Comely Bank, who was born in 1750, and died on 27th May, 1836, left the greater part of his fortune to certain Trustees, to form an endowment for the maintenance, education, and outfit of young people whose parents had fallen into adverse circumstances. If these Trustees, instead of appropriating this endowment to the erection of an educational institution, of which there are already abundance in the city, would bring a bill into Parliament to alter the will of the founder, and apply the money to the building of an hospital for the aged and destitute, they would confer a much greater benefit on their fellow-citizens, than carrying out the intentions of the founder.

Besides those charitable institutions above mentioned, many respectable citizens and others connected with Edinburgh, have, from time to time, left considerable sums of money to be appro-

priated to charitable purposes within the city and suburbs, of which the following are worthy of notice: namely, HORN'S MORTIFICATION. Captain Horn left in trust to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, £3,500 of South Sea Annuities, the interest of which was requested by him to be paid as follows: The annual interest of £1,500 to poor labourers in the city. The annual interest of £1,000 to poor labourers of the parish of Nether Liberton; and the annual interest of £1,000, being the residue of the £3,500, to poor labourers belonging to the West Port, Bristo, and Potterrow. In 1753, the management of this fund opened to the Magistrates, upon the death of Captain Horn's widow, who had life-rented it; and in 1755, the produce, amounting to £3,794, 9s. 8d., was applied to the use of the city of Edinburgh, and charged upon the Ale and Beer duty. The free produce of this fund annually, while the corporation was solvent, was £185, distributed amongst 32 labourers within the city, 22 labourers within the parish of Liberton, and 22 belonging to Portsburgh, Potterrow, and Bristo. There was also placed under the management of the Magistrates, the sum of £10,000, 3 per cent bank annuities, by DR. BELL OF MADRAS, for certain purposes which were before explained, as also how they sold out and disposed of the sum realized.[1] The Magistrates of Edinburgh had further, a considerable sum of money left under their control by the settlement of DR. ROBERT JOHNSTON of London, dated 30th September, 1639, which was disposed of as follows: namely, £1000 was given to clothe the boys of Heriot's Hospital; £1000 to be employed in setting the poor to work; and £1000 for the support of bursars at the university of Edinburgh, and the balance of the bequest, amounting to 18,000 merks, (£1000 sterling) was paid to the treasurer of Trinity Hospital, and it was with that sum and other funds the governors purchased the estate of Deans, which is still in their possession. THOMSON'S MORTIFICATION. Mr. Joseph Thomson of Morton-hall of Eildon, by his settlement, dated 11th June, 1724, conveyed to certain trustees his whole fortune, with some trifling exceptions, as a perpetual fund, the interest thereof to be applied in selling a limited quantity of oat-meal to poor house-holders of Edinburgh, at tenpence per peck, when the price should exceed one shilling per peck. The guardians ex officiis of this charity, are the Deputy keepers of the signet, all the other trustees having declined to act. CRAIGCROOK'S MORTIFICATION. James Strachan, writer in Edinburgh, left about the beginning of last century, his estate of Craigcrook in the vicinity of the city, in trust to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, for assisting old men and women, not under sixty years of age, who have been reduced in their circumstances, and for orphans not above twelve. The income of this estate is now upwards of £300 per annum.

SOCIETIES. The Royal Society, instituted in 1718, is the first literary society of which we have an account. The object of this society was the improvement of its members in classical learning without meddling with the affairs of Church or State. Highland Society of Scotland; its objects are for promoting improvements

[1] Vide, B. i, p.236.

in the Highlands of Scotland; agricultural improvements in all its branches, giving encouragement to useful inventions, etc. The Celtic Society, for promoting the general use of the ancient Highland dress in the Highlands of Scotland, and the encouragement of education in that part of the country, by distributing prizes among its schools. St. Fillan's Highland Society has an annual fête at St. Fillans, Perthshire, at which there are gymnastic exhibitions, games, and prize shooting; the Edinburgh Society for the suppression of intemperance; the Society for the support of Gælic schools; the General Assembly's Committee Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts; the Edinburgh Society for promoting the religious interests of Scottish settlers in British North America; the Society for propagating Christian knowledge; the Society for propagating religious knowledge among the poor; the Edinburgh gratis Sabbath School Society; the Sabbath School Union Society for Scotland; the Ministers' Widow's Fund; the Friendly Society of Dissenting Ministers; Schoolmaster's Society for relief of their widows and children; the Edinburgh Ethical Society, for the study of the practical application of Phrenology; the Edinburgh Society for the diffusion of information on capital punishments; the Plinean Society for encouragement of the study of natural history, antiquities, and physical sciences in general; Society for the sons of the clergy, instituted for the benefit of the children of the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland; associated Society of the university of Edinburgh; Society for the relief of the destitute sick; Society for the suppression of begging; the Westerian natural history Society; Society for the relief of poor married women of respectable character, when in child-bed.

The names of many of the Societies in Edinburgh, indicate the objects for which they were instituted, such as the Edinburgh Bible Society; the Scottish Bible; the Edinburgh auxiliary; Naval and Military; the Scottish missionary; the Edinburgh auxiliary to the Irish Evangelical; the Edinburgh Religious Tract; the Edinburgh and Leith Seamen's Friendly; the Baptist Home Missionary for Scotland; the Edinburgh Auxiliary to the London Missionary; the Edinburgh City Mission; the Episcopal fund; the Caledonian Gardeners; the Grand Lodge of the Free-Masons of Scotland's Society; the Society of Arts; the Juridicial; the Scottish law; the Church law; the Jurisprudence; the Royal Medical; the Royal Physical; the Hunterian Medical; Medico-Chirurgical; the Anatomical; the Philalethic; the Philosophical; the Adelpho-Theological; the Phrenological; the Edinburgh Harmonist; the St. Cecilia; the Burgess's Golfing; the Bruntfield Links Golfing; the Duddingston Curling; the Harveian; the Speculative; the Forensic; Caledonian Horticultural; Edinburgh School of Arts Friendly Society; the Infant School Society; the Classical; the Antiquarian; the Obstetrical; the Geological; the Dialectic; the Diagnostic; the Eclectic; the Edinburgh Morayshire charitable; Edinburgh Society of Teachers; Building Societies; besides numerous other societies and funds connected with particular professions and institutions.

Associations in and connected with Edinburgh, namely: The Young Men's, for promoting the interests of the Church of Scotland; the Ladies', in aid of the Society for the support of Gælic schools; the Edinburgh, in aid of the Moravian Missions; the Edinburgh University for Missions; the Protestant, for promoting voluntary principles; the Northern Islands, of Edinburgh, for promoting charitable purposes in reference to natives of Orkney and Shetland, residing in Edinburgh and Leith; the Edinburgh Caithness, for rendering assistance to the natives of the county of Caithness, residing in or near Edinburgh; the Edinburgh, for illustrating local antiquities; the Association for the promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland. Some of the Associations of Edinburgh are sufficiently described by their names, such as, the Church of England Missionary: the Voluntary church; Edinburgh City Eldership; Edinburgh Philosophical; Edinburgh Amateur Musical; the Zoological Gardens Association, etc.

Clubs. Most of the public Clubs of Edinburgh are sufficiently described by their titles, such as Duddingston Curling, Edinburgh Curling, Merchiston Curling, and the Grand Caledonian Curling Clubs; the last of these meets annually in Edinburgh; the Thistle Golf, the Bruntsfield Links Golf, Bruntsfield Links Cricket, the Edinburgh Chess, the Edinburgh Quoiting, the Edinburgh royal naval, the Edinburgh academical, the Royal Northern Yacht, the Celtic, the Aberdeen, and the Skating clubs; the Six Feet club was instituted chiefly with a view to the practice and encouragement of gymnastic exercises and games, the members, who must be all six feet, have an annual fête and dinner, they are also constituted a guard of honour to the hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland; the Highland club has an annual fête at which there are gymnastic exhibitions, games, and prize shooting; the Bannatyne club was instituted by a number of gentlemen possessed with the species of bibliomania displayed by the Roxburgh club of London; it derived its name from George Bannatyne, merchant in Edinburgh, a collector of rare works and manuscripts, who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century.

Libraries. Besides the two large public libraries before mentioned, there are in Edinburgh the following: namely, the College, founded in 1580; the Edinburgh subscription, instituted in 1794; the Edinburgh select subscription, instituted in 1800; the Edinburgh Mechanics' subscription, instituted in 1825; the Edinburgh Southern district subscription, instituted in 1816; the Edinburgh subscription and circulating select, besides a great number of others connected with churches, schools, societies, etc.

Insurance Companies. Insurance rests on the principle of averaging the amount of loss to individuals arising from any known description of casualty, by extending the risk over a large amount of property or number of individuals. There were till lately only three kinds of insurance, namely, Fire, Life, and Marine; but now there are many other schemes added to these,

such as guarantee assurance for fidelity in situations of trust, assurance against accidents by railway, insurance against accidental death in whatever way it may happen, insurance against theft, etc.

Fire Insurance. The advantages of protection against the risk of ruin by fire are too evident to require to be recommended. A single fire may reduce an opulent merchant or manufacturer to beggary in the course of a few hours, whereas, for a trifling sum annually paid to an insurance company, complete indemnification can be procured.

Life Assurance is constituted on three different plans, namely, Mutual Companies, Proprietary Companies, and Mixed Companies. The first is where all the policy holders are the proprietors, and are mutually responsible for all the advantages they secure or confer, and subject to any loss or deficiency in the funds. The second is where a number of persons form themselves into a company, and raise a capital as a guarantee for the payment of all contracts or policies which they may effect. When these companies confer great advantages they cannot be expected to realize very great profits. The third principle partakes of both elements; the proprietors subscribe a capital, relieve the insured from all loss and responsibility, take one portion of the profits to pay the interest of the capital, and give the assured at certain intervals, the remainder.

Marine Assurance is a contract by which the assurer undertakes in consideration of a premium to indemnify the person assured against those perils to which ships and goods are exposed in the course of their voyage from one place to another. There is a greater degree of risk in marine insurance than in any other, and therefore it ought and does yield in general a higher return. However, these companies have been very unfortunate of late, and many have been ruined by being connected with them. There is none at present in Edinburgh, and only one in Leith, namely, The Edinburgh and Leith Marine Insurance Company.

Extensive fires having as before stated,[1] occured in Edinburgh about the beginning of the last century, a meeting of the citizens was called in 1720, and a large portion of those possessed of heritable property formed themselves into a society for the protection of loss by fire, under the designation of "The Friendly Fire Insurance Company," the partners paying a certain per centage on the value of the subjects insured. These payments formed at first the capital stock of the Company. The success of the society more than met the expectations of the original projectors, and in the year 1767, the capital having greatly increased, it was resolved to change the nature of the business formerly transacted, and insure all descriptions of property, not only in Edinburgh, but all over Scotland, in the same way as practised by Fire Insurance Companies at the present day. The society at its commencement obtained a seal of cause from the magistrates of Edinburgh, which was afterwards recognised by act of Parlia-

[1] Vide B. 1, p. 180.

ment, and the business carried on under a Royal Charter. Such was the success attending the operations of this company that the usual annual dividend amounted to 70 per cent, and the stock sold at 30 times the purchase of that dividend. This was the first Fire Insurance company established in Edinburgh, or rather in Scotland. Its great success induced other Fire Insurance Companies to be formed, and since 1805, the following Fire and Life Insurance Companies have been instituted in the city, namely, the Caledonian Fire and Life, the Hercules Fire, the North British Fire and Life, the Scottish Union Fire and Life, the National Fire and Life, the Scottish Widows' Fund, the Standard Life Assurance, the Edinburgh Life Assurance, Life Association of Scotland, Mercantile Life Association, Scottish Provident Institution, United Deposit Assurance Bank, British Guarantee Society, Insurance Company of Scotland, Ministers' Widows' Fund, besides many others connected with societies.

AGENCIES. The Sun Fire Insurance Company established a branch in Edinburgh so early as 1783, which was the first and only Fire Insurance Agency in Scotland at that period. At present, however, every London and provincial Insurance Company in England and Scotland, have, with a very few exceptions, an agent in Edinburgh, some of them have two, others three, so that there are at present upwards of fifty agents in Edinburgh, acting for Insurance institutions.

The railway speculations that lately rushed over the Island like a runaway locomotive, in the formation of grand junctions, centrals, atmospheric bubbles, and other phantom railways, being now exhausted, the propensities of those men however, that then lived by their wits and inventive faculties, cannot remain dormant, but must have some outlet, and they seem to have fixed upon Assurance Companies as the next newest resource for their inventive genius. The great number of Assurance schemes that have lately sprung into existence, is universally acknowledged to be one half, or rather two thirds too many, consequently, such superabundance of companies leads to ruinous competition; each tries to outstrip the other, by offering advantages never either heard or dreamed of before, and the large profits held out in many cases, will only be realized on paper, unless the Directors possess the secret of the transmutation of metals.

BANKING COMPANIES.

Previous to the year 1695, there were no banks in Scotland, the whole banking business being conducted by a few rich merchants or tradesmen, exchanging or lending money at a high rate of per centage. These had booths either in the Parliament close, (now, square) or in and about the dark corners of the West Bow, among whom was George Heriot, the founder of Heriot's Hospital.

There are in Scotland at present five chartered banks, besides a great number of unchartered banking companies. The former of these have all their head establishments in Edinburgh. Chartered banks confer no privilege in regard either to the issue of

notes, or any other department of business. Freedom, economy, and security are the characteristics of the Scottish system of banking, and no bank in Scotland enjoys a monopoly to the prejudice of the others.

Bank of Scotland. This bank was projected in the year 1695, by John Holland, a native of England, assisted by eleven Scottish gentlemen, and constituted by an act of the Scottish Parliament. The persons subscribing, are declared to be one body corporate and politic, by the name of 'The Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland,' with perpetual succession, and it has been regulated by subsequent acts of the Legislature.

The original capital was £1,200,000, Scots, or £100,000, sterling, of which at first only ten per cent, or £10,000, sterling, was called up and employed, till the year 1720; such was the poverty of the country, that not more than £30,000 was called up for a considerable time after being instituted, and a large portion even of that sum was advanced by natives of England, Holland, and Hamburgh. The last act of Parliament authorises the capital to be raised to £1,500,000, sterling, of which £1,000,000 has been called for, and paid up. Shortly after its commencement, notes payable to bearer on demand of the value of £5, £10, £20, £50, and £100 were issued, but one pound notes were not issued till 1704; these are all still current, except the £50 notes, which long since ceased to be issued. About the end of last century, and the beginning of the present, notes bearing a smaller value than one pound were frequently circulated, but they are now prohibited. It is not lawful to the company to follow any other commerce, traffic, or trade, except the trade of banking, borrowing money of interest, and negotiating Bills of Exchange. In 1707, the Bank first received money on deposit, for which no interest was given; and in 1729, money on current accounts was received on the treasurer's bond, or bill, and allowed interest thereon at 5 per cent; the same year the cash credit system was commenced. The credit generally proceeds upon a bond granted by a principal and two securities, taken bound conjunctly and severally, and is operated on as a current account. In 1730, this Bank was brought into such difficulties by the Royal Bank (which was established in 1727,) purchasing its notes wherever they could be found, that a clause was introduced into them, making them payable at the option of the issuer, at the end of six months, with a sum equal to the legal interest from the demand to that time; but that clause was, in 1765, prohibited by act of Parliament. In 1752, the system of exchanging notes commenced with this Bank and the Royal Bank, under certain rules that were agreed on, and subsequently the system became general with all the Banks; under which all their mutual claims arising out of the possession of notes, drafts, or cheques, are settled at short intervals. In Edinburgh, the exchanges are adjusted twice a-week, and the balance paid in Exchequer bills; 400 of which, each at the value of £1000, are kept by the Banks, in proportions corresponding to the estimated amount of their circulation, including that of the provincial establishments which they represent. The amount of notes

exchanged per annum by the Banks in Scotland, is supposed not to be under £100,000,000 delivered, and as many received. This Bank alone delivers upwards of £10,000,000, and receives in exchange as many. In 1760, the value of exchange between Edinburgh and London was very high, which caused a great drain for specie from Scotland, not in the way of trade, but to make profit by drawing the value of it, at high exchange; in that year the Bank brought from London by waggons upwards of £100,000 of silver, at a cost of £4, 10s. per cent; £1, 6s. having been paid for expenses, and £3, 4s. per cent for exchange. The cost of bringing specie from London, in 1699, ran from £8 to £9 per cent. This Bank generally gets from London from £10,000 to £15,000 of silver, per annum; much silver coin being required for manufacturing districts. The cost of getting silver from London to Leith, by sea, is 10s. 6d. per cent, including insurance. In 1762, notes payable to order by the treasurer for deposits, began to be used as a regular branch of business. Until that year bills were generally drawn at 60 days and used for loans from the Banks, and not paid for months or years after they became due; but at that date they began to be discounted at various currencies, and payment was made at maturity, as at present. In 1696, agents were appointed in London, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Montrose, for delivering and paying money in form of inland exchange, but these agencies were given up after a short trial; the expenses of the offices far exceeding the advantage. In 1731, another attempt was made, and agents appointed at Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee, but, after a trial of two years, were discontinued. Branches were again established, in 1774, in Dumfries and Kelso, and shortly after were followed by appointments in Kilmarnock, Inverness, Ayr, Stirling, Aberdeen. The Bank has at present 31 Branches in the principal provincial towns in Scotland, which yield the partners considerable profits. Each Branch is inspected periodically, or as the business requires; the books are balanced and checked on these occasions, the loans specially examined; and the whole results are reported to the Bank by the inspector. The stock of the Bank is allowed to be transferred, or conveyed to others, or retained by the Bank in any sum or parcel. It may be conveyed by latter will, and, if specially mentioned, without the expense of confirmation. Previous to a transfer being made, the proposal is notified to the Bank, which has, by common law, a right of retention of the stock, in case of the seller being indebted to the Corporation. The stock cannot be arrested, but dividends may, and the holder's right may be adjudged.

The business of the Bank is managed by a Governor, Deputy Governor, and twelve ordinary and extraordinary Directors, (seven of whom are a quorum,) who are elected by the general meeting of proprietors, held yearly, on the last Tuesday of March, by each proprietor giving in a list of persons for whom he or she intends to vote; each proprietor has a vote for every £250 he has paid in, but no proprietor is entitled to more than 20 votes. The qualification for Governor is £2,000, sterling, of stock; for Deputy Gov-

ernor, £1,500; for Directors, £750; but the qualification of the latter will be £1,000 when the whole capital of £1,500,000 is called up. The company consisted, in Dec., 1849, of 647 partners, who receive a dividend of seven per cent, in the months of April and October, on the amount of their stock, which is now selling (30th Oct, 1850) at a premium of £78 per £100 share. The amount of notes authorised by law to be issued by the Bank is £300,488, and the average amount of notes in circulation during thirteen periods of four weeks, from 4th December, 1848, to 4th November, 1849, was £315,458, and of coins held £145,087.

In 1700, the office of the Bank, then situated in the Parliament Square, was burned, the cash, bank notes, books, and papers, were saved, but the premises and furniture destroyed. The office is now situated at the head of the Earthen Mound. There is a stone wall on the north side, on the south side a small curtained dome rises from the centre, and in the front are four projections. A range of Corinthian pilasters decorates the second floor, and over the door, in the recess formed by the projection, is a Venetian window, ornamented with two columns of the Corinthian order, and surmounted with the arms of the Bank. From its situation, it forms no inconsiderable addition to the architectural ornaments of the city. It was erected at an expense of about £75,000.

Royal Bank of Scotland. This Bank was established on 31st May, 1727. It originated in a subscription of £111,347, 19s, 11d. of the stock of the Equivalent Company, an association which arose under an act of Parliament,[1] by which £10,000 was set aside as a yearly fund, payable to the proprietors of certain public debts in Scotland at the time of the Union, amounting to £248,550, 0s. 9½d.[2] These subscribers were authorized by charter from George II. to exercise the power of banking, and become the original proprietors of the Bank. By their charter, they were empowered to *lend money on pledges* of any kind whatever, of any goods or other effects, and to sell any goods which should be really and *bona fide* pledged for money advanced thereon, and which should not be redeemed at the time agreed on, but were prohibited from trading with the stock of the company, in buying and selling wares of any kind. By a second charter granted them in 1738, their stock was raised to £150,000, and subsequently to £2,000,000, sterling, all of which has been paid up. A dividend of five per cent is paid in the months of January and July. The stock is presently (30th Oct., 1850) selling at £32, 10s. premium per £100 share. The business of this Bank is managed by a Governor, Depute Governor, and Directors, who must individually hold a certain amount of stock. The company consists of 975 partners, who have six Branches in the principal provincial towns in Scotland. This Bank is authorised by law to issue its notes to the amount of £183,000, and the average amount of them in circulation during the thirteen periods of four

[1] Geo. I., parl. 5, cap. 20.

[2] By 13 and 14 Vict., cap. 64, this annuity is authorised to be redeemed, and payment made of the principal debt.

weeks, from 4th Dec., 1848, to 4th Nov., 1849, was £178,,754 and of coin held during that period, £74,610. The banking office was long situated in the High street, but is now in a recess on the east side of St. Andrew square.

The British Linen Company. This Bank is one of the three which possess full corporate privileges. It was established by charter in 1746, when all Scotland still continued much agitated by the effects of the then recent rebellion, and it was considered to be of great importance to direct the attention of the people towards trading and manufacturing enterprize.

Representations were made to Government by the Dukes of Argyll and Queensberry, who afterwards became Governors of the company, and by many other patriotic noblemen and gentlemen, that by affording the support of a public company to the linen manufacture, it might be rendered the great staple manufacture of Scotland, and that extensive employment might thus be provided for the industrious population; advantageous markets for the produce of their labours being easily accessible in England and the colonies, then chiefly supplied with linens from Germany.

A crown charter was accordingly granted by king George II., creating the company a corporation, and giving them among other privileges full power not only to manufacture and deal in linen fabrics on their own account, but also to do every thing that may conduce to promoting and carrying on the linen manufacture.

For some time after their institution, the company engaged to a considerable extent in the importation of flax from the Netherlands, the manufacture of yarns and linens, and the linen trade, having warehouses both in Edinburgh and London.

But on its becoming apparent that the company would better promote the objects of their institution by enlarging the issue of their notes to traders and manufacturers than by being traders and manufacturers themselves, they gradually withdrew from mercantile and manufacturing operations, which were finally closed in 1763, and they have ever since confined their attention to the discounting of bills, advances on accounts, and other banking transactions, in support of the general business of Scotland.

By the extension of their Branch agencies in all directions, and the beneficial employment of that portion of the inactive and formerly scanty money capital of Scotland, which has been deposited with the company, they have been the means of contributing very materially to the encouragement of useful industry in many different counties and remote districts, and to the progress both in commercial and agricultural improvement by which this country is now so much distinguished. The business of the company is managed by a Governor, Depute Gevernor, and Directors, in the same way as the other Banks before mentioned.

The original capital of the company was £100,000, which has been progressively increased, under three additional charters. By the last charter, granted by her present Majesty, in 1849, all the company's former privileges, authorities, and rights, were ratified and confirmed, and power was given to the company to increase the amount of their capital stock to any sum not exceeding

£1,500,000, for the purpose of carrying on the business of Banking as hitherto accustomed, and this additional stock was authorized to be raised in such way and manner as the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Directors of the company, with the approbation of a court of Proprietors, should judge safe and beneficial to the corporation and to the public.

The amount of capital stock created under these four charters is now altogether £1,000,000, which at the present market-price is worth nearly £2,000,000, sterling.

The number of proprietors of the Company exceeds 300, but this Bank, along with the Bank of Scotland and Royal Bank, are, like the Bank of England, specially exempted, by a late act of Parliament, from making any returns of the number and names of their proprietors to the Stamp office.

The average amount of issue allocated to the Company by the same act is £438,024, being the largest free circulation of bank notes allowed to any of the Scotch banks. The average amount in bank notes in circulation during the thirteen periods of 4 weeks, from 4th Dec., 1848, to 4th Nov., 1849, was £408,717, and of coin held, £127,847. A dividend on the paid up capital of 8 per cent is paid the partners in the months of June and December, and the price of the stock at present (30th Oct. 1850) is £199 per £100 share.

When the Company's office was situated in Tweedle's court, foot of High street, William Begbie, the bank porter, was suddenly set upon, a few paces from the Bank, stabbed to the heart, and robbed of £5000, as before mentioned.[1]

The Company's office is in St Andrew square, and is in the course of being much enlarged and improved.

The Commercial Bank of Scotland was established on 25th March, 1810, by a number of merchants and others, and is similarly managed as the Banks before described. This Bank met at first with some annoyance from the opposition of the old Banks refusing to take its notes, but that was soon overcome, and the partners have been since their commencement very successful. The capital of the company is £3,000,000, of which £600,000 has been paid up, on which a dividend of 7 per cent is paid in the months of January and July, and the Bank stock is presently (30th Oct., 1850) selling at a premium of £74 per £100 share. The company consists of 576 partners, who have 53 Branches in the principal provincial towns in Scotland. The amount of notes authorised by law to be circulated by this Bank is £374,880; the average amount of its notes in circulation during the thirteen periods of four weeks, from 4th Dec., 1848, to 4th Nov., 1849, was £402,744, and of coin held, £113,708. The company had their original place of business in Picardy Place, but they afterwards removed to premises in the High street, and a few years ago again removed to a handsome edifice in George street, erected by them. The building is of the Greek and Roman architecture, by David Rhind, adorned with a Corinthian portico. The tympanum of the pediment is from the chisel of Alexander

[1] Vide B. i, p. 224.

Handyside Ritchie, representing commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing enterprize.

The National Bank of Scotland. This Company was instituted on 21st March, 1825, and obtained a charter in 1831. Its nominal capital is £5,000,000, sterling, of which £1,000,000 has been paid up. The business is conducted like the other banking companies before mentioned. A dividend of 6½ per cent is paid in the months of January and July, on the paid up capital. The Bank stock is presently (30th Oct., 1850) selling at a premium of £5 3s. per £10 paid up of the £50 share. The Company consists of 1426 partners, who have 39 Branches in the principal provincial towns of Scotland. The amount of notes authorized by law to be circulated by the Bank is £297,024; the average amount of its notes in circulation during the thirteen periods of four weeks, from 4th Dec., 1848, to 4th Nov , 1849, was £286,491; and of coin held, £50,993. The office of the Bank is situated in St. Andrew's square.

The Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank. This Bank commenced business on 2nd June, 1839, with a capital of £500,000, divided into 100,000 shares of £5 each. Its capital is now £1,000,000. The Bank was projected on the principle of affording to the industrious middle classes an opportunity of participating in the profits of banking. Its affairs are managed in the same manner as those formerly mentioned.

The Company consists of 1590 partners, who are, in the months of February and August, paid a dividend of 6 per cent on the respective amounts of stock held by them, and the stock is presently (30th Oct., 1850) selling at a discount of 17s. per £5 share. They have 20 Branches in the principal provincial towns in Scotland. The amount of notes authorized by law to be circulated by the Bank is £136,657; the average amount of its notes in circulation during the thirteen periods of four weeks, from 4th Dec., 1848, to 4th Nov., 1849, was £129,824, and of coin held, £33,855. The office of the Bank is situated in 29 George street.

For long previous to the year 1830, there was a number of private Banks in Edinburgh who did a considerable amount of business, but only two of them were Banks of issue. All these have now (1850) ceased to exist, with the exception of Alexander Allan & Company, 40 Princes street, who still transact a little banking business. Sir William Forbes & Company, who were long popular bankers in Edinburgh, in 1838, formed a coalition with the Glasgow Union Banking Company, and they have head offices both in Edinburgh and Glasgow; the former in the premises in the Parliament square, long occupied by Sir William Forbes & Company, previous to uniting with the Union. Besides the establishments of the city Banking Companies, the following provincial Banks have Branches in Edinburgh: City of Glasgow Bank, 12 South Hanover street; Western Bank of Scotland, 12 St. Andrew square; Clydesdale Banking Company; Royal Exchange; and most of the provincial Banks have agents in Edinburgh, who transact business for them, these agencies are generally conducted by other Banking establishments in the city.

Exchange Bank of Scotland. Exchange Banks were first instituted in the year 1845, during the mania of Railway speculation. A few of these Banks at that time sprang up in Glasgow, and it was fortunate for Edinburgh that not more than one was formed in it, for the whole of them, without exception, have proved ruinous to those connected with them. Their principal business is, or rather was, lending money over the shares of the capital of Joint Stock Companies, consequently, when the stock of these Companies became so depreciated, these Banks being large holders, lost immense sums; many of the shares held by them did not realize more than a mere per centage of the sums advanced on them. Another source of loss to these Banks, was, when calls were made by the Companies whose shares they held, and had made advances on, they were in many cases either obliged to pay these calls, or allow the shares to be forfeited, and thereby lost the sums advanced on them. It would have been fortunate for most of these Banks if they had adopted the latter alternative, for the greater number of these calls, when paid up, were either partially or wholly swept away by the depreciation of the stock of the Companies of which they formed a part.

The Exchange Bank of Scotland was instituted at Edinburgh in 1845, with a capital of £700,000, divided into £100 shares, of which one-half has been paid up, and in the end of 1846 the Company was incorporated by royal charter. Although not successful, it has, by judicious management, been much more fortunate than some of its contemporaries. Its stock is presently (Oct. 1850) selling at £37, 10s. per share discount, whereas the whole paid up capital of some of the Glasgow Banks has been swept away, and additional calls made on the partners to pay up losses.

The Edinburgh Savings Bank was established on 5th February, 1836, at a public meeting, in which the following gentlemen took part: Sir James Spittal, Lord Provost, in the Chair; Sir James Gibson Craig, Rev. Dr. David Dickson, Dr. Peddie, Sir T. D. Lauder, John S. More, Esq., Advocate, Alexander Cruikshank, Esq., Robert Thomson, Esq., John Learmonth, Esq., and Andrew Murray, Jun., Esq. Advocate. These gentlemen's exertions were the chief means of procuring the extension of the English Savings Bank Acts to Scotland.

This Bank is under most excellent management. About one hundred gentlemen of high standing and character act gratuitously as its trustees and managers. The officers are carefully selected, and consist of an actuary, an accountant, two cashiers, three book-keepers, and three clerks, all of whom require to find ample security for their intromissions. The Rules are duly sanctioned in terms of the Savings Bank Acts, 9 Geo. IV., cap. 92: 3 Will. IV., cap. 14: 5 and 6 Will. IV., cap. 57: and 7 and 8 Vict., cap. 83.

The Bank's funds are invested in Government security in the Bank of England, and bear interest at the rate of £3, 5s. per cent. The interest allowed to Depositors is £2, 17s. 9d. per cent., the surplus being retained to meet the expenses of management. The Bank receives sums so low as 1s., to the extent of £30 in one

year, and £150 in all. Charitable and Provident Institutions can deposit £100 per annum, but the amount deposited cannot at any time exceed £300; but Friendly Societies are allowed to deposit to any extent.

The following statement exhibits the result of last year's transactions:

Balance due to 25,027 Depositors at 20th Nov., 1848,		£275,380	17 4
Received in year to 20th Nov., 1849,	£126,753 7 7		
Paid in do. do.	125,055 2 10		
Increase on the year, - - -		1,698	4 9
Interest added to Depositors' Accounts, -		7,856	8 3
Balance due to 25,955 Depositors at 20th Nov., 1849,		£284,935	10 4

Immediate and deferred Government Annuities, not exceeding £30 a year, may be purchased through this institution, by those whose incomes do not exceed £150 a-year. Number of Annuities payable at Edinburgh, 349; amount, £5,572, 19s. 6d.

Edinburgh Water Company. It is difficult to conceive how the inhabitants of Edinburgh were supplied with water previous to the year 1674; for although in 1621 an Act of Parliament[1] was passed, empowering the magistrates to bring water to the city from a distance, it does not appear that any measures were adopted by them for that purpose till the former year,[2] when they employed Peter Bruschi, a German plumber residing at Newcastle, and paid him £2,950 for laying down a leaden pipe, three inches in diameter, from Comiston, a fountain about four miles distant from the city, to a reservoir on the Castle hill, from which it was conveyed by pipes to ten public wells,[3] situated in different quarters of the city. This three inch pipe was soon found inadequate to the demand of the inhabitants, but no other was substituted till the year 1722, when a four and a half inch pipe in diameter was laid down, and fed with the water from additional springs; but that caliber having soon been found, from the increase of the inhabitants, insufficient to supply the demand, a cast-iron pipe of five inches diameter was added in 1787. The supply still having been found insufficient, a cast-iron pipe of seven inches diameter was laid down in 1790, from springs in the lands of Swanston, and additional springs three miles farther south than Comiston were also taken in. Even that additional supply having been, about the beginning of the present century, found totally inadequate to the increasing demands of the inhabitants, it was, in the year 1810, proposed that new and more copious springs should be searched for and brought into the city. After much careful and scientific examination, two large springs at Crawly and Glencorse, in the parishes of Glencorse, Pennicuick and Currie, about eight miles distant from the city, were pitched upon. To defray the expense of bringing the water from such a distance, it was proposed by a large body of the most influential

[1] James IV., parl. 23. Unprinted Act, No. 6. [2] Records of Privy Council, No. 3, p. 167. 3rd Sept., 1647. [3] Maitland's Hist. pp. 205, 206.

citizens to form a joint stock company for the purpose of raising the necessary capital. A Company was accordingly formed, by the name of 'The Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company,' and was, on 2nd July, 1819, incorporated by Act of Parliament,[1] and empowered to raise a capital of £135,000, in shares of £25 each; at same time the magistrates transferred to the Company their right to all springs, aqueducts, reservoirs, pipes, and every thing relative to the supply and distribution of the water in the city, vested in them by previous Acts of Parliament, in consideration of receiving £30,000 of stock in the New Water Company, and the power of nominating three of their number directors. On 26th May, 1826, the Company obtained another Act,[2] enabling them to acquire the property of other springs for increasing the supply of water, and empowering them to carry their pipes to the town and port of Leith, and raise their capital to £253,000 by £25 shares. Accordingly the springs of Crawley and Glencorse, formerly pitched on, were brought into the city, and a fountain-head at these springs was formed, which is 60 feet long and 30 feet wide over walls, with an arched roof, containing a stone cistern 45 feet long, 15 wide, and 6 feet deep.

On 1st August, 1843, the Company obtained a new Act of Parliament [3] for enabling them to bring in an additional supply of water from springs in the lands of Listonshiels, Bavelaw, and the Black springs situated on the north side of the Pentland Hills. This new supply of water has been available for some years, and generally yields 900 gallons per minute. To enable the Company to defray the expense of these new works they were authorised to borrow the sum of £20,000, in addition to the sums authorised to be raised by former Acts of Parliament.

There were only two reservoirs previous to 1847, one in Heriot's Green of a circular form, 40 feet in diameter, and containing a cistern 30 feet in diameter, and 10 feet 2 inches deep, and the other, as before stated, on the Castle hill, containing a cistern 43 feet long, 28 wide, and 7 feet 6 inches deep; the former served the Old Town, and the latter the New Town, with water. It having been found that additional reservoirs were necessary to collect an adequate supply of water to satisfy the wants of the increased population of the city, the Company on 9th July, 1847, obtained another Act of Parliament [4] for more effectually supplying the city with water during the dry season of the year; by which they are empowered to extend their pipes to the parishes of Canongate and St. Cuthberts, and the town of Duddingstone, and to form two additional reservoirs, enlarge the old one on the Castle hill, and execute other work for the more effectually supplying the city with water. These two reservoirs have accordingly been formed, namely, the *Clubbie Dean*, in the parishes of Currie and Collinton, for the purpose of regulating the supply of water in Edinburgh from Listonshiels, Bavelaw, and Black springs, and the *Forduff;* the former of these is already completed,

[1] 59 Geo. III., cap. 116.
[2] 5 and 6 Will. IV., cap. 33.
[3] 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 89.
[4] 10 and 11 Vict., cap. 232.

and the latter is so far advanced as to insure its being finished by the month of May next year. The old reservoir on the Castle hill has been removed to make room for a much larger one, which is now building, and is expected to be completed about the beginning of next year.[1] On the completion of the whole works, the quantity of water then in store will form an adequate supply to the citizens for four months, so that the supply will be abundant at all seasons in the year, and such a scarcity of water as has this summer occurred is not expected again to happen. When the works are finished there will be supplied to the city per minute:

From Listonshiels, Bavelaw, and Black Springs, -	900	Gallons.
From Crawley, - - - - -	406	do.
From Swanston and Comiston, - - -	71	do.
In all,	1,377	Gallons.

In the year 1842 the supply from all sources was only 500 gallons per minute.

The shareholders of the Company, by the Acts of Parliament above mentioned, are limited to a dividend of 6½ per cent. on their paid up capital, as long as no other company for the supply of water should be established within the limits of the Act, and the dividend can never exceed 7½ per cent. The Company, for the use of the water in private houses, or other premises within the bounds of the city, cannot charge more than tenpence per pound on the real rent of the houses, as assessed for the police tax, and if without the bounds of the city, tenpence upon four-fifths of the actual rent or annual value of the premises. Neither shops nor warehouses can be assessed more than £1, 5s. per cent. on the real rent as assessed by the police tax, which can in no case be calculated on a higher rent than £120.

The whole private houses, shops, and warehouses in the city and suburbs, as also in Leith, to which the Company's pipes extend, have now, with a very few exceptions, water pipes in the premises. This arrangement has of course ruined the business of the *Water Cadies*, at one time a numerous and very useful class of individuals, who carried the water on their backs in small barrels to those who had no pipes within their premises.

Edinburgh Gas-Light Company. The first accounts of the City of Edinburgh being lighted in winter was in 1544, as before mentioned;[2] but the bowets or lanterns then used having been found of little use, as they only made "darkness visible," the town council, in 1684, ordered that a lantern and candle should be hung out at the first floor of every house from 20th of October to the first of March, and to burn from five till ten o'clock in the evening, under the penalty of five merks Scots. A considerable time after this, Edinburgh was lighted with crystal oil lamps placed at intervals along the streets;

[1] For the old coins and other antiquities found in digging the foundation of this Reservoir, vide p. 294. [2] Coun. Reg., v. xxxi, p. 91.

and although this was at the time considered, as it doubtless was, a very great improvement, yet it can bear no comparison with the present brilliant mode of lighting the streets. The citizens, however, who knew no better method of casting light on their streets, were contented with having a few more crystal globes added annually to their number as the city extended; and previous to the introduction of gas, Edinburgh was better lighted than any other town in Scotland. The application of gas extracted from coal for lighting streets and manufactories, having been attended with much success in other places, a few of the influential citizens of Edinburgh had many meetings and communings with the magistrates and town council on the subject of lighting the town with gas; and after surmounting serious obstacles, thrown out as to the impracticability of doing so, a prospectus for the formation of a joint stock company was issued in the month of March, 1816, limiting the capital to £20,000, but the speculation being considered a very uncertain one, and the principle of gas-lighting then quite in its infancy, there was much difficulty in getting subscribers to come forward. An association was, however, at length formed, under the title of THE EDINBURGH GAS-LIGHT COMPANY, and was early in 1818 incorporated by act of Parliament. On 20th April, that year, the necessary preparations having been previously made, the company commenced to light such shops as had taken branches from the pipes in the principal streets. The theatre was lighted with gas on 3rd December, 1818; and now, not only the whole streets, but also the whole shops, and the greater number of the private dwelling-houses in the city and suburbs are lighted with gas. In 1826 an oil gas company was formed in the city, which expended upwards of £70,000 on their works, pipes, etc.; but it having been found that the cost of oil-gas was much greater than that of coal-gas, without any perceptible difference in the brilliancy and purity of the light, the demand for oil-gas ceased, and the Oil-gas Company, after being defeated in an application for an act of Parliament to enable them to make gas from coal, sold all their works, pipes, aud property to the Edinburgh Gas-Light Company, for about £21,000 of their stock. In 1840 this company was empowered to erect works at Leith, and lay pipes, which they have since done. The company have lighted all the public lamps of the city and suburbs at a price yielding them little or no profit, and at a saving to the public of a very considerable sum per annum when compared with the old mode of lighting with oil. The company never contemplated making the public lamps a source of profit, and they have, at a vast expense, laid many miles of main pipe at the request of the commissioners of police, in roads and places in the suburbs, merely to supply the public lamps, and where there is not the least probability of their procuring any demand for gas; and they gave a supply, at a considerable expense, but free of any charge, to light the city clock of the Tron church.

The capital of the Company has been several times extended,

[1] Vide B. i, p. 69.

and now amounts to £150,000, which is all paid up; on which a dividend at last general meeting was declared of 10 per cent., under deduction of property tax, payable half-yearly, in August and February. The selling price at present of the Company's gas, is six shillings per 1,000 cubic feet.

The Company's premises in Edinburgh, which are very extensive, are situated at north back of Canongate, on which a large chimney was in 1848 erected, 329 feet in height. The only object the directors had in view in its erection was to carry the smoke clear of the city.

Edinburgh and Leith Gas-Light Company. A large and influential body of the citizens of Edinburgh proposed in 1839 to form a new Gas-light Company, and so favourably was the proposition received, that the whole amount of stock was subscribed in course of a few days. The provisional committee that was appointed at first meeting of the subscribers, after mature deliberation, thought that it would be beneficial to the new concern to form a junction with the Leith Gas Company, and after many communings, terms were arranged by the directors, and afterwards approved by the shareholders of both companies. An Act of Parliament was on 23rd March, 1840, obtained, incorporating the new Company, under the title of 'The Edinburgh and Leith Gas Company,' with a capital of £150,000, divided into 6,000 shares of £25 each. The shareholders were numerous and influential, and nearly the whole of them being resident in Edinburgh and Leith, were consumers of gas. This Company have laid pipes throughout the whole bound of the city and suburbs, and ever since its formation, business has been steadily increasing. The works, which are extensive, are situated near the Sands at Leith, only two feet above the level of the sea; and as the Leith branch of the Edinburgh and Dalkeith Railway passes within a few yards of them, a considerable saving is thereby effected in the carriage of coals.

There is paid up of the above capital £100,000, on which a dividend of 6½ per cent. is generally paid in the months of February and August. The present selling price of the gas is 6s. 6d. per 1,000 cubic feet.

Royal Company of Archers. Previous to the invention of gunpowder, archery was practised as a warlike art in most nations of the world, civilized as well as barbarous, and the expertness of archers often decided battles and the fate of empires; but upon fire-arms being introduced, the bow was laid aside, and can now achieve no greater enterprise than to carry off the palm in a contested game.

Both in England and Scotland archery was much practised as a warlike art, and the importance attached to it by both nations is evinced by the anxiety to encourage it in the public statutes. It is generally admitted that the English were more expert archers than the Scotch, and James I., during his captivity in England, having observed that superiority, upon his return to Scotland, immediately procured an Act[1] enjoining all his subjects

[1] Vide B. i, p. 34.

from twelve years of age and upwards, frequently to exercise the bow, and imposed a fine of a wether upon those who either refused or neglected to yield obedience to his command. So anxious was James II. to encourage the use of the bow, that he, in 1457, procured an Act[1] to be passed discouraging the use of the foot-ball and golf, and ordaining of new *bow-butts* to be set up, and a bow-maker was directed to be established in the principal towns of every county. The musters of the archers at this period were called *weapon-shawings*, which Parliament ordained to be made four times in the year; and previous to the invention of fire-arms many other Acts of the legislature were passed to enforce the practice of archery through the country.

The Royal Company of Archers is of very ancient standing: their records having been destroyed by fire about the beginning of the last century, no authentic documents of its constitution are now in existence. James I. having appointed commissioners for enforcing the practice of archery in the different counties, it is said they made choice of a number of the most expert archers from among the better classes, and formed them into a company, as a guard for defending his Majesty's person, but whether the present Royal Company of Archers derived its origin from that circumstance, cannot now be ascertained; however, the Company still claims the privilege of guarding the sovereign's person within six miles of Edinburgh.

Upon the introduction of fire-arms the practice of archery got gradually into decay, till several noblemen in the year 1676 associated themselves into a body for its restoration, and elected as their Captain-General the Marquis of Athol. In 1677 the association was confirmed by the Scottish privy council, and the commissioners of the Treasury gave the Company £20 to purchase a prize to be shot for at their annual meetings of skill. In 1703 Queen Anne erected the Company into a corporate body, by the title of 'The Royal Company of Archers,' and revived and ratified on their behalf the old laws and Acts of Parliament in their favour.[2] This charter was granted after the manner of feudal tenure, and was to be held in feu blanch of her Majesty and her successors, on paying therefor an annual acknowledgement of a pair of barbed arrows. At this time the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie, then Lord Tarbet and Secretary of State, and afterwards Earl of Cromarty, was their Captain-General. About this period the magistrates of Edinburgh gave them a silver arrow as a prize to be annually shot for.

In 1714 the Company had their first public parade, when they marched in procession from the Parliament square to Holyrood, and from thence to Leith, dressed in the elegant uniform of the order. For many years after the Rebellion of 1715 the Company discontinued their annual exhibitions of skill.

Since George the Fourth's visit to Scotland in 1822 the Company has very much revived, and there are to be found among their number some Scottish nobility of the first rank. Besides occasional meetings for the practice of archery, the Company has an

[1] Vide B. 1, p. 35.

[2] Charter in the archives of the Company.

annual muster, and shoot for various prizes which have been gifted to them. The principal are, a sum given annually by her Majesty, called 'The Queen's prize:' the victor always lays out the sum on a piece of plate. Silver arrows, given by the city of Edinburgh, and the towns of Musselburgh, Peebles, Selkirk, and Stirling, are also annually shot for. A new prize was instituted by their Captain-General, the Earl of Hopetoun, in commemoration of his late Majesty's visit to Scotland.

On his Majesty's landing at Leith Pier, the Company attended him as his body-guard to Holyrood Palace; while there, they were stationed on each side of the throne when his Majesty received addresses; and guarded the royal apartments on the days of the Levee and Drawing-room. They surrounded the royal carriage at his Majesty's procession to the Castle, their two senior officers being stationed at each door. Their Captain-General and council had the honour of being introduced to his Majesty in the royal closet on delivering to him a pair of barbed arrows, as the redenda before mentioned by which they held their privileges. During his Majesty's residence in Scotland he presented a gold stick to this Hon. Company, which places them on the same footing as the Hon. Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, whose captain bears as his badge of office an ebony stick with a gold head, with which he is invested by the sovereign.

On her Majesty Queen Victoria visiting Scotland in 1842, this Company intended to have been waiting at Granton Pier on her landing, and formed her body guard; but she having, as before mentioned, landed sooner than expected, they only met her in Howard place, where they drew up, and, as the carriage passed, endeavoured to get close to it; but the dragoons, ignorant of the high honour claimed by the Company, pushed many of the gentlemen aside, and Lord Elcho, their commander, having got inside the guard, was pressed against the carriage by one of the dragoon horses, by which his arrow was broken, and himself somewhat bruised. On her Majesty's procession to the Castle the Company surrounded the royal carriage, and at the Levee held by her in Dalkeith Palace they lined the passages, and rendered very effective service. On her departure from Scotland, a body of this royal company, under the command of Sir John Hope, received her Majesty in Hanover street, while the main body, under the command of Lord Elcho, were at Granton Pier waiting her arrival.

On her Majesty visiting her ancient palace of Holyrood this year, (1850) a detachment of this honourable corps was stationed on the royal landing-place waiting her arrival, headed by his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, their Captain-General, on horseback, in the uniform of the royal corps; these, on her Majesty's landing from the railway carriage, and ascending the royal carriage, immediately surrounded it. One-half of their number, under the command of the Earl of Morton, had previously taken up a position in front of the Palace, with their colours and fine band. During her Majesty's residence in the Palace, the duty of the interior, and the guard of the royal person, were entrusted to this royal company.

At the east end of the public walk called the Meadows, the Company have a neat Hall for their meetings, in which there are some good pictures.

The weapon-shawings, which had been discontinued for many years, were recently revived with all the pomp of former days. At one muster lately, the Company, dressed in their elegant ancient uniform, marched from their Hall by Bristo street, down the High street and Canongate, past Holyrood, to that romantic spot in the Queen's Park, commonly known by the name of the Hunter's Bog. Targets had been there previously placed, and many thousand spectators were collected to view the Company's exhibition of skill of archery. The Queen's prize was shot for, at the usual distance of 180 yards, and after a keen contest of two hours' duration, was gained by John Scott, Esq. of Teviotbank. The Company on their return marched past the Palace, where they returned the salute of the military guard, which turned out to receive them with the usual honours; thence up the Canongate and High street, and down the Mound to the Assembly Rooms, where they deposited their colours, and dined in the afternoon, when they entertained the officers of the North British Staff, and Field-officers of the Royal Scots Greys and Cameronians.

Company of Golfers. The Golf is a game peculiar to Scotland, and has been practised in this country from the most remote antiquity. There is a statute[1] as early as 1457 prohibiting this amusement, that it might not interfere with the more martial exercise of archery, then practised as a warlike art. The institution of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers is lost in antiquity, but the first of a regular series of minutes was signed by president Forbes of Culloden, in the year 1744; at which time the town council gave the Company a silver club, to be played for annually by its members, the victor to append a gold or silver piece to the prize, bearing his name. This game is generally played on either the *Downs* of Edinburgh or Leith, popularly called *Links*, in parties of one, two, or more, on each side. Each party has an extremely hard ball, about the size of a tennis-ball; this they strike with a slender elastic club formed of ash, with a crooked head faced with horn, and lead run in it to make it heavy. The balls, when struck with these clubs, fly to a great distance. There are small holes about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, and he who conveys the ball into these holes in succession, with the fewest strokes, is declared the victor.

[1] James II., parl. 14, cap. 64.

CHAPTER IX.

Theatre Royal. Adelphi Theatre. Royal Academy of Exercises. Scottish Military and Naval Academy. Assembly-Rooms and Music Hall. Zoological Gardens. Royal Botanic Gardens. Experimental Gardens. Antiquarian Museum. Observatory and Astronomical Institution. Short's Popular Observatory.

THEATRE ROYAL. Startling as it may appear in this enlightened age, it is nevertheless a fact that the subjects of plays were originally Scriptural, and were called *Moralities*. Some of these *moral Plays* represented the Nativity of our Saviour,[1] the Massacre of Herod, etc. A dramatic performance entitled, 'Christ's Sufferings,' was, so early as the fourth century, written in Greek by Gregory of Nazianzen, bishop of Constantinople.[2] Such representations were so popular and common, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the actors so numerous, as to be complained of as a nuisance.[3] These holy plays were commonly composed by the chaplain of great houses, and the menials or retainers of the family were the performers, thence they got the appellation of Clerks' Plays.[4] The performers frequently strolled from house to house,[5] particularly at Christmas; to which may be deduced the custom still retained in some parts of the country, among young people of the lower order, of going at that season from house to house in fantastic habits, endeavouring to amuse by repeating bombast speeches, or singing songs, and craving some trifling gratuity. Plays being afterwards composed on profane subjects, were performed in the open air, and frequently exhibited scenes of the grossest indelicacy.

After the Reformation, the licentiousness of the stage was almost as much detested by the stern Reformers as Mass itself, and was anathematized by the clergy in no measured terms. They were, however, compelled by the mandate of James VI., who took much delight in theatrical performances, to drop their censures. The amusements of the stage were suppressed during the civil wars in the reign of Charles I., but were revived at the Restoration of Charles II., with this engaging novelty, that women for the first time appeared on the Scottish stage; female characters[6] having previous to that period been represented by slender youths.

It was not till after the ferment excited by the Union and the confusion attending the rebellion in 1715, had subsided, that any strolling players visited Scotland. Signora Violante was the first who made appearance; she was an Italian, celebrated for feats of strength, posture, and tumbling, not particularly pleasing when performed by men, but when by women, are most repulsive. She visited Edinburgh, first with a few Italians, and afterwards with

[1] Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. i, p. 272. [2] Sancti Gregorii Nazianeni Opera, vol. ii, p. 253. [3] Book of the Universal Kirk, p. 488. [4] Ibid, p. 145. [5] Northumberland Household Book, p. 330. [6] Histriomastyx, p. 879.

a company of English comedians, and fitted up a house at the foot of Carrubber's close, in 1715, as a theatre.[1]

A company of strolling players having, for some time previous to 1727, visited the city annually, the magistrates and presbytery of Edinburgh endeavoured to expel them from their boundaries, but the comedians suspended the magistrates' interdict, by bringing it under review of the court of session, and continued to act notwithstanding the fulminations of the clergy, who represented the play house as the actual temple of the devil, where 'the gentleman in black' frequently appeared, clothed in a corporate substance, and possessed the spectators, whom he held as his worshippers.

For many years previous to 1748, the city was every two or three years visited by itinerant companies of comedians, who occasionally rented Tailors' Hall, in Cowgate. An act of parliament,[2] however, having been passed in the reign of George II., suppressing play-houses, the clergy were by that act placed in a condition to attack the stage more effectually, and they railed from the pulpits against all theatrical entertainments. These railings of the clergy excited a party-spirit, in consequence of which the theatre came to be so much frequented that Tailors' Hall was found insufficient to accommodate the spectators, and in the year above mentioned a new theatre was opened in St. John's street, Canongate, in consequence of which the theatre in Tailors' Hall was soon afterwards deserted. This theatre, after being successful for a number of years, was disposed of to Mr. Lee, an actor of eminence, and at that time the favourite of the city. Lee having got into difficulties was relieved from these by certain judges of the court of session, and other persons of distinction, who, with a view to their own security, obtained from him a deed of conveyance to the property; but the theatre was afterwards carried on with little profit to the proprietors, who, about 1760, found themselves involved in a debt of £900 on account of their connection with it. The Edinburgh theatre having hitherto been carried on contrary to law, under the evasive name of 'A concert of music with a play between the acts,' a clause was inserted in a bill presented to parliament for the extension of the royalty, to have a licensed theatre in Edinburgh. The proprietors of St. John's theatre having obtained the disposal of the patent, gave it over to Mr. Ross, a principal performer in Covent Garden, upon making payment of £1100, being the amount of the debts and expenses incurred; and he, in 1768, founded the present Theatre Royal, situated in Shakspeare Square, nearly opposite the Register office, which was opened in December, 1769, at an expense of nearly £5000. Mr. Ross raised £2500, at 3 per cent interest on sums of £100 each, for which he gave security over the building, wardrobe, and patent; besides a privilege to the shareholders of free admission to the house at all times. These shares were transferable, but could not be called up. The patentee's success not having been equal to his expectations, he let

[1] This house has ever since been occupied as a meeting house by various denominations of Dissenters. [2] Geo. II., parl. 10, c. 28.

the house for three years to Mr. Foot, and it was afterwards conveyed to Messrs. Digges & Bland. It was some time after vested in John Jackson and others, from whom it was, in 1809, purchased by Henry Siddons, who died in 1815. For some time after his death, it was managed for his representatives by his brother-in-law, Mr. Murray, the present manager, who, in 1830, obtained a lease of the premises.

This theatre is one of the plainest, and most common place buildings in the city, and were it not for its colonnade front, erected by Mr. Murray in 1830, it might be mistaken for a granary or barn. The house is small, and does not draw more on an average than from £60 to £70 a-night.

Mr. Murray has managed the theatrical amusements since 1815, with a zeal and energy peculiar to himself, and annually presents the Edinburgh audience with most of the celebrated London performers, in addition to his regular company which is always select.

The Adelphi Theatre stands at the head of Leith Walk, and forms the corner building of Broughton street and Little King street. It was opened in 1700 for equestrian exhibitions, pantomimic entertainments, dancing, etc., but these, not meeting with much encouragement, were given up. Mr. Stephen Kemble afterwards fitted it up as a theatre, but not meeting with the success he anticipated, gave it up, and it was then converted into a place of worship, and was successively occupied by various denominations of Christians. Subsequently Mr. Corri converted it into a ball and concert room, and in 1810, it was again fitted up as a theatre. After being again transformed into a ball room, it was, in 1817, restored to its original use, under the name of the Pantheon; in this state it continued till 1822, when this ill-fated building was again fitted up as a minor theatre for the performance of pieces not protected by the patent of the royal theatre. Mr. Murray, lessee of the theatre royal, has for many years been also the lessee of this theatre, his company acting alternately in each of them.

Royal Academy of Exercises. The original building, better known by the name of the Riding School, was erected by subscription, on a piece of ground on the east side of Nicolson street, that was given to the subscribers by the town council. The school was opened in 1764; and, in 1766, received a royal charter, with a salary of £200 a-year to the master. During the first three years the subscriptions amounted to £2733, 15s. Carousals were annually held for several years after its institution, which were attended by all the beauty and fashion of the time. These sometimes lasted for several days. At the last carousal, Lord Meadowbank carried off the prize, which was a gold medal presented to the victor by the celebrated Duchess of Gordon. The site of the original academy is now occupied by the Hall of the Royal College of Surgeons, and a large and splendid building has been erected for the purpose on the west side of the Lothian road, containing suites of apartments, and superintended by two masters, and governed by 18 directors. The Scottish Military

AND NAVAL ACADEMY rents some of the apartments in this building, which is superintended by ten teachers, in a great variety of departments, and governed by 27 extraordinary and 14 ordinary directors, with chairman and trustees.

ASSEMBLY ROOMS AND MUSIC HALL. In 1710, a regular Assembly was established in a house taken for the purpose, in a lane, or close, in the High street, which went, for many years after the Assemblies were removed from it, under the name of 'The Old Assembly Close:' this house, and the whole lane or close was burnt down by the great fires that took place in the High street in 1824. Till the year 1746, the Assembly was directed by private individuals, when several benevolent gentlemen took it under their direction, with the intention of applying the proceeds to charitable purposes. The apartments originally taken being too small for the increasing population of the city, apartments were taken in Bell's wynd, High street, in which Assemblies were held till 1787, when *the Assembly Rooms*, George street, erected by subscription, were finished. Till 1818, the building externally had no distinguishing feature; but in that year a portico, supported by four Doric columns, was erected, which gave it a more attractive appearance. It has, however, a splendid interior. The principal Ball Room is 92 feet long, 42 feet wide, and 40 feet in height. The Orchestra is in a circular recess at a convenient height. Besides the principal apartments there are a tea room, two card rooms, a grand saloon, 24 feet square, and others of smaller dimensions. Assemblies are held weekly here through the winter, and the rooms are occasionally used for public meetings; they were also used as concert rooms previous to the erection of THE MUSICAL HALL, a plain building immediately behind the Assembly Rooms. Its interior is well adapted for the purpose for which it was built. The Orchestra is elegantly fitted up, and contains a fine organ. It is here where all public concerts are held. Juvenile morning concerts are occasionally held in the Hoptoun Rooms, Queen street, under the patronage of the Lord Provost, the Sheriff of the County, and other distinguished gentlemen.

Prior to 1728, musical entertainments seem to have been respectably conducted in Edinburgh. On the 29th of March, that year, a Musical Society was instituted for the performance of weekly concerts, the members were selected from the nobility and gentry of known taste. When first formed into a society, their concerts were held in St. Mary's Chapel, but it having, from the increase of their number, become too small, they, in 1762, erected a hall at the foot of Niddry street, and dedicated it to *St. Cecilia*. The meetings of the society were denominated '*Gentlemen's Concerts*,' as the band was composed chiefly of gentlemen; however, in course of time, many of these having withdrawn, professional men were invited from abroad to assist in the performances, and latterly the orchestra was almost entirely filled up with professed musicians. St. Cecilia Hall was a favourite resort for nearly seventy years, during which period the Society existed; but the entertainments began gradually to be neglected, and were at last

totally deserted. The hall was disposed of, and for many years used as a Baptist Chapel; but it was, in 1812, purchased by the Grand Lodge of Scotland as a hall for their meetings, and now goes under the name of *Freemasons' Hall.*

After the weekly concerts in St. Cecilia's Hall were given up, subscription concerts were occasionally held in the Assembly Rooms, and at Corri's Rooms, before mentioned.

A grand musical festival was, after numerous arrangements, commenced on Tuesday, the 31st October, 1815, and continued during the remainder of the week. The morning performances were held in the great hall of the Parliament House, and the evening concerts were given in Corri's Rooms. Mr. Yaniewicz was the leader of the instrumental band, which consisted of a combination of talent rarely met with, among whom were Lindley, Dragonetti, Nicholson, Mariotti, Hyde, the Petrides, and others qualified to do justice to the subordinate parts. The principal vocal performers were Madame Marconi, Mrs. Salmon, Messrs. Braham, Smith, etc., besides whom there were between fifty and sixty chorus singers, among whom were a number from London and York, and several of the celebrated Lancashire singers. Long previous to the performance commencing, the Parliament House was daily crowded to excess. The influx of strangers on this occasion was so great, that for weeks before the festival commenced, every hotel and lodging-house in the city was crowded. After paying all expenses, there was a surplus af about £1500, which was distributed among the charities of Edinburgh.

In 1819, another festival upon the same plan was held, and after defraying all expenses, the directors distributed £1300 among the public charities. In 1824, a third was held, but which did not meet with the same support as the former, the clear receipts amounting only to £700; no other festival has since been attempted on the same plan.

Edinburgh Royal Zoological Gardens. A number of the most eminent and public spirited citizens having taken into consideration that an institution of this kind was much wanted among the many attractions of the metropolis, undertook the arduous and responsible duty of organizing the establishment in the capacity of Directors. After many preliminary difficulties, which were gradually and effectually removed, a Zoological Collection was formed in the year 1840, and placed in a piece of ground of nearly six acres, situated in the north-eastern angle of the city, within the toll bar at Claremont street; a situation adapted to the healthful maintenance and favourable display of the animals, as well as the convenience of the public, for whose benefit the arrangements have been solely and exclusively made, the institution being more of a national than local character.

The grounds are very tastefully laid out, with ample promenades diversified by natural and artificial mounds ornamented with flowers, shrubs, and fruit-trees; while gravel walks lead in every direction to the various buildings, dens, and cages, containing the animals.

In these Gardens there are now (1850) a great collection of

specimens of the rarest and most interesting animals, which range throughout the various and most opposite regions of the globe. But the limits of this Work will only enable us to name a few of them. The Elephant, the largest animal of the collection, is very domesticated; he is a fine young male about nine or ten years old, a native of Ceylon, and was brought to this country by the officers of the 78th Highlanders, with whom he was a great favourite, and marched for several years at the head of the regiment on all occasions. On the regiment being again sent out to India, the officers most handsomely presented him to the institution.

There are three Bears in a pit of a circular form, from the centre of which rises a pole seventeen feet in length, having numerous notches, or steps, by which Bruin ascends to the summit. It is a substantial building, surrounded by a handsome circular balustrade, the top of which commands an extensive and beautiful view of the surrounding scenery.

There are numerous specimens of the chattering, leaping, grinning, and mischievous monkey family; the house in which they are confined is elegant and substantial, and very suitable for the comfort and exhibition of its occupants. A Pond is formed about the middle of the ground, where numerous and beautiful specimens of the feathered tribe are located, enjoying, as it were, their natural liberty. The Dog Kennels contain specimens of the Dingo, or native dog of Australia, the Dog of St. Bernards, the English Blood-hound, the Italian Wolf-hound, a splendid English Mastiff, a dog that was born with three legs, two hind and one fore, etc. There are also specimens of the Bison, or American Buffalo, the Tiger, Leopard, the Sun or Bornean Bear, the Brahmin Bull, Zebra, Jackal, Cashmere Goat, Otter, Spotted Hyena, Wolf, Great Grisly Bear, Dromedary, Llama, Axis Deer, Bush Kangaroo, Brown Bears, etc.

The Bird Repository contains many interesting and rare species of foreign birds, as well as numerous kinds of British, the whole presenting a gay and animated appearance; and the incessant cries of Macaws and chattering of Cockatoos afford considerable amusement.

There is also to be seen the skeleton of a Whale, that was first observed off Dunbar, and caught by some fishermen, who towed it along shore until about a mile to the westward of North Berwick harbour. It was purchased solely for scientific purposes. Its head weighed nearly ten tons, and the weight of the entire animal is supposed to have considerably exceeded 200 tons. Its entire length was 83 feet, circumference 52 feet, and the breadth of tail at its broadest part 20 feet. The length of the skeleton is 78 feet, and its weight 28 tons.

Public promenades are frequently held here during the summer months, which are often enlivened by a military band. These Gardens are open to visitors every lawful day; admittance one shilling.

Royal Botanic Garden. A flower garden, situated in the neighbourhood of the palace of Holyrood, with a large collection

of plants, was at one time kept as a botanic garden, and the necessary expenses were defrayed by Sir Andrew Balfour and Sir Robert Sibbald. These plants were removed to a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of Trinity Hospital, which two individuals obtained a lease of from the magistrates, and formed into gardens; which ground, upon the plants being removed. was occupied as a nursery, and went under the name of 'The Physic Gardens,' till every trace of them was extinguished by the formation of the North British Railway.

The next garden was situated in Leith Walk, and contained about five acres of ground. It was formed in 1767, under the superintendence of Dr. John Hope, then Professor of Botany. Upon Mr. Hope's representation, his Majesty George III. granted the sum of £1,330 to assist in its formation, with an annual sum of £69; at the same time the magistrates gave a grant of £25 annually to pay the rent of the ground. Subsequently his Majesty gave a further sum to assist in making improvements, and £50 in addition annually for defraying expenses. This piece of ground continued to be used as a botanic garden till the increase of the buildings in the neighbourhood of Leith Walk having rendered its removal necessary, a piece of ground of about twelve acres was procured on the lands of Inverleith, for the purpose of forming a new garden on an extensive scale. After being surrounded by a high wall, the plants from the old garden were successfully removed, and in 1824 the new garden was opened. A liberal grant from Government was obtained to assist in its formation. The principal stove is 50 feet in length, and heated by steam; the roof is made of cast-iron ornamented. There are besides several hundred feet of small stoves, with suites of green-houses, some of which are truly magnificent. The garden contains a very extensive collection of plants. The class-room for the Professor is a plain but commodious, well lighted apartment.

Last session of Parliament £1,650 was granted for the improvement and extension of the building accommodation of this garden, and it is intended to convert the present class-room into a museum, and to erect to the westward of it a new and enlarged class-room.

During the summer session of the University lectures on Botany are delivered here. In the garden is a small square monument surmounted with an urn, erected by Dr. Hope to the memory of Linnæus, the illustrious naturalist. It was originally erected in the old garden, but was removed to the new; it bears the inscription: 'Linnæo posuit. Jo. Hope, 1779.'

The public are admitted daily, and on Saturdays to the magnificent hot-houses and conservatories. It is also intended that the museum, when erected, be opened to the public under certain conditions.

The Experimental Gardens. These gardens belong to the Caledonian Horticultural Society, which was formed in 1809, and lie contiguous to the Botanic Garden. The Society consists of three classes of members: honorary, ordinary, and corresponding.

The nobility and gentry distinguished for their attention to horticulture, form the first class; the second, the ordinary members, who pay two guineas annually; and the last, the corresponding members, includes the most experienced and professional gardeners in the country. The ground was, in July, 1824, granted to the Society by the Barons of Exchequer for an experimental garden, upon a long and renewable lease. Operations for forming the gardens were in that year commenced, and the ground laid out in compartments of all the different varieties of fruits; there are a range of hot-houses and divisions for the culture of plants, flowers, etc. The garden is supported by a grant of £200 a-year from Government, by the sale of shares at twenty guineas, and an annual payment by members of the Society. The Government grant is to be continued as long as £300 yearly is contributed by the members. The garden is open to shareholders and their friends, and members of the Society, to whom grafts, and seeds of the vegetables cultivated in the garden, are liberally distributed.

Antiquarian Museum. The Society of Antiquaries was first projected in 1780, and formed by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, to whom historical and other antiquities of their native country were interesting. The first meetings were held at the house of the Earl of Buchan, who may be considered its founder. The establishment of an Archæological Museum in the city was among the chief objects of the members after the formation of the Society.

Originally the museum was situated in the Cowgate, in a house purchased by the Society for £1,000, that had formerly been occupied as the Post-office. This sum was raised by liberal contributions from a number of noblemen and gentlemen, and, at same time, many valuable objects of antiquity, original MSS., and books, were presented to the Society. There have since been at different periods numerous presentations to the Society towards the formation of an Antiquarian Museum in Scotland. After some opposition from various literary and learned bodies, a royal charter passed the Great Seal in favour of the association on 5th May, 1783. Among many objects of curiosity to be seen in the museum, which is now situated in 24 George Street, there are a collection of bronze weapons dredged from Duddingston Loch; a great collection of ancient gold, silver, and copper coins of Scotland; a splendid collection of Cyrenian antiquities; some interesting Danish antiquities; a number of curious and valuable Roman and Medieval remains; a large collection of Roman gold, silver, and brass coins, bronzes, medallions, etc. We can only mention a few of the articles of antiquity connected with Scotland, namely: John Knox's pulpit, and Jenny Geddes's stool, before mentioned;[1] the irons with which John Stewart of Kinnachan, in Perthshire, was loaded in Preston gaol after the Rebellion in 1715; the study chair of Sir Walter Scott; large cannon ball, found in sinking a well in the sloping ground immediately south of Edinburgh

[1] Vide B. II, p. 290.

Castle, five feet below the surface; iron press used in striking the Great Seal of Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne; cutting press used in forming the silver, previous to its being struck in the Scottish Mint; a pair of rollers for flattening silver; the engine used in knarling the edges of the coin, and various other instruments used in the old Scottish Mint; the Maiden,[1] Fragments of large bomb-shells found in the bank on the south side of Edinburgh Castle in 1846; half of a cannon ball found, in 1828, lodged in a cleft of the Castle rock, immediately under Queen Mary's apartment; gown of sackcloth, anciently in use in the parish of West Calder as an instrument of discipline; cast of the skull of King Robert the Bruce; Covenanters' banner, borne by the Covenanters at the battle of Bothwell Bridge; piece of sculpture from the barrier gateway of Edinburgh Castle, demolished in 1800, representing a curious assemblage of ancient artillery and weapons of war, (this gate is supposed to have been erected after the celebrated siege in 1572;[2]) dress of one of the old Town-Guard of Edinburgh, and a drum that belonged to that company; besides numerous other equally interesting and curious relics of antiquity, both British and foreign, which the limits of this work will not permit us to enumerate.

Repeated applications having been made to Government for a grant of a suitable building wherein the collection might be deposited for public inspection, the Society have now every reason to expect that such will soon be complied with, when the Museum will be thrown open to the public with the same unrestricted freedom as other national collections. In the meantime, the Museum is open to the public every Tuesday and Friday, without charge, by orders from any of the office-bearers, or Fellows of the Society.

Observatory and Astronomical Institution. The Observatory is situated on the top of the Calton Hill. A scheme for erecting a building of this kind was formed in the year 1736, but was not then carried into execution, the magistrates' attention having been drawn from it by the *Porteous Mob*, before mentioned.[3] The scheme was again revived in 1741, when £100 was given by the Earl of Morton to assist in the erection of an Observatory, to which sum Mr. Maclaurin, Professor of Mathematics, added £300, the proceeds of a course of lectures delivered by him on experimental philosophy; but the death of this eminent man in 1746 put, a second time, a stop to the execution of the scheme.

An attempt was made to erect a building for an Observatory by the famous Mr. James Short, well known for his improvements in the construction of reflecting telescopes, but his death in 1768 gave another interruption to this unfortunate building.

In 1776 the brother of Short, the celebrated optician, came to Edinburgh, and brought along with him all his brother's optical instruments and apparatus, particularly his large reflecting telescope. Mr. Short intended to erect an Observatory on his own

[1] Vide B. I, p. 113. [2] Vide B. I, p. 107. [3] Vide B. I, p. 196-199.

account, and to draw the whole emoluments arising from visitors, but it having been conceived that an Observatory erected unconnected with the town council and University would not be conducive to the purposes of science, an arrangement was therefore entered into with Mr. Short, and a plan for building the Observatory was again brought before the public, at the same time subscriptions were set on foot for defraying the expense.

Mr. Craig, architect, having drawn out a plan of the intended building, the foundation stone was laid by James Stodart, lord provost of the city, on the 25th August, 1776, in presence of the magistrates, and Principal and Professors of the University.

The celebrated architect, Mr. Robert Adam, happening at this time to visit Edinburgh, and seeing the intended Observatory founded upon the top of a hill, conceived the idea of giving the whole the appearance of a fortification, for which its situation was well adapted. A line was accordingly marked out for enclosing the limits of the Observatory within a wall, constructed with buttresses and embrasures, and having Gothic towers at the angles. This plan was greatly promoted by Mr. Short, who in the towers saw excellent accommodation for himself and family. Upon this building was exhausted all the money destined for the Observatory, and it was once more left to its fate. In the meantime, Mr. Short exhibited his large optical instrument to the public.

The building stood in an unfinished state till 1792, when it was completed by the magistrates, but being possessed of no instruments, and provided with no funds for procuring any, it remained in a useless state till 1812, when the Astronomical Institution was founded by a few spirited individuals on 30th May, 1812, and the magistrates granted to the association the ground and buildings on the Calton Hill, formerly destined for the purpose of an Observatory, on condition of their not being applied by the institution to any other purpose. The magistrates at same time formed them into a body corporate, thereby enabling them to hold property, and to enjoy the privileges of a corporation. The property of the institution is held in transferable shares of twenty-five guineas each. A proprietor is at all times entitled to free admission and to introduce a friend, who may also be admitted on a written order. A fine Camera Obscura was placed in the top story of the old building, which forms a chief attraction to casual visitors.

On 25th April, 1818, the New Observatory was founded a little to the east of the former, by Sir George Mackenzie, vice-president, in absence of Professor Playfair. This handsome building is erected in the shape of a cross of 62 feet, with four projecting pediments of 28 feet each, supported by six Doric columns, fronting the four principal points of the compass. In the centre is a dome 13 feet in diameter, under which is a pillar of solid masonry of a conical form, 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 19 feet high, for the astronomical circle. The transit instrument and astronomical clock are placed in piers to the east of the building, and there is a huge pier on the west end for the

mural circle. There is round the central pillar, a small gallery for the accommodation of the observers, who are also accommodated with a room in the northern side of the building. The whole erection is founded on the solid rock.

Short's Popular Observatory.—The large reflecting telescope above mentioned, was some years ago placed in a wooden building erected on the Calton Hill by Miss Short, a relation of the celebrated Mr. Short. This building also contained reflecting telescopes, solar and compound microscopes, camera obscura, lucida, etc. The admittance was one shilling; but on account of some misunderstanding having taken place between Miss Short, now Mrs. Henderson, and the town council, this building was a few weeks ago removed, in virtue of a warrant from the Sheriff by order of the town council.

CHAPTER X.

University—High School—The School of Arts—Edinburgh Academy—Edinburgh Institution—Circus Place School—Scottish Institution—Ladies' Institution—Southern Academy—Normal Institution—Normal School, etc.

University. Popery, and the institutions connected with it, fell at the Reformation in one common ruin. The demolition of those edifices gratified the zeal of the reforming clergy, and the despoiling of their revenues the avarice of the reforming nobles. At this period considerable property and revenues in the city, which had previously been appropriated to the support of religious establishments, were considered by the magistrates and council as a fit fund to be applied to the support of the poor, and the encouragement of piety and learning; they accordingly, so early as 23rd April, 1561, express their opinion, 'That the saidis renttis and emoluments be applyit to mair profitable and godlie usis, sic as for sustanying of ye true ministris of Goddis word, founding and bigging of hospitallis for ye pure, and collegis for leirning and upbringing of the youth, and sic uther godlie works.' In the following year they presented a supplication to Queen Mary, which was favourably received, and, in 1566, her Majesty having granted a charter to the magistrates and council of all these unappropriated lands and revenues, the inhabitants resolved to erect a University. In 1563, a purchase having been made of the kirk of St. Mary-in-the-field from one Pennycuick, its last provost, for £1,000 Scots, as a site for their intended University, steps were now taken by the the citizens to carry their plan into execution; but such opposition was given to the undertaking by the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the ecclesiastics of the see of Aberdeen, that proceedings were retarded for about fourteen years. In 1579, however, a committee was appointed to take steps for founding a College, and in the following

year the building was begun. The same year a collection of books was bequeathed to the intended University by Clement Little, advocate, which was the foundation of the present library. Eight thousand merks Scots, (£444, 8s. 10d. sterling,) which had been bequeathed to assist the erection of a College, by Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, and president of the Court of Session, who died at Dieppe in 1558, were about this time recovered.

On 14th April, 1582, a charter of erection was granted by James VI., ratifying the previous grants of Mary, and confirming the transactions of the magistrates relative to the purchase of the Kirk-of-field; and, in 1583, the College was opened for the reception of students, and the magistrates appointed Robert Rollock of St. Salvator, St. Andrews, professor of humanity; and in the month of October that year he began teaching in the lower hall of Hamilton house, that stood within the precincts of the College grounds, which had originally been a tenement that belonged to the provost and canons of the Kirk-of-field, but had for some time previous to being occupied as a class-room, been the residence of the Earl of Arran. Finding the students indifferently grounded in the ancient languages, he recommended Duncan Nairn as an assistant to prepare the young students for their initiation into a more perfect knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics. A third professor[1] of philosophy being now chosen, Professor Rollock was advanced to the station of principal of the College on 29th of February, 1585.

The magistrates persevered with unwearied diligence in the prosecution of their plan, and in the beginning of the year 1586 the College was enclosed within high walls.

Regents were appointed, and public disputations, with annual laureations of students were held, at one of which James VI., who had returned from England on a visit to his native country, not only honoured the professors with his presence at a public disputation on philosophy, but was so much pleased at the progress which had been made during his thirteen years' absence, that the learned monarch, in token of his approbation, sent the following letter to the town council: 'James R. Trustie and weill beloved, we greit zow weell. Being sufficientlie perswadit of the guid beginning and progresse which ze haiff maid in repairing and building of zowr college, and of zowr commendable resolution constantlie to proceid and persist thairin, till the same sall be perfytlie finished. For zowr better encouragement in a wark so universallie beneficial for our subjects, and of such ornament and reputation for our Citie in perticular, we haiff thocht guid, not only to declair our speciall approbatioun thairof, but lykewayes, as we gave the first being and beginning thairunto, so we haiff thocht it worthie to be honoured with oure name of oure awin impositioun, and the raither becaus of the late cair, which to our great contentment wee ressaved of the guid worth and sufficiencie of the maisters thairof, at thair being with us at

[1] The annual salaries of the professors at this period was 150 merks Scots, or £8, 6s. 8d. sterling,

Stirling: In which regard, these ar to desire zow to order the said college to be callit in all tyme hereafter by the name of *King James's* College, which we intend for ane speciall mark and ane baidge of our favour towards the same.

'So wee doubting not but ze will accordinglie accept thairof, we bid zow heartilie fairweill. From our Court at Paisley, the 25th July, 1617.'

The College was, in compliance with the King's request, named 'King James's College,' which name it still bears. During the King's thirteen years' absence, a public hall, a divinity school, and other apartments had been erected; and by the liberality of King James and private benefactors the College advanced rapidly in importance. In 1621 an Act of Parliament was passed, ratifying the rights of the magistrates and council, 'togidder with the erectione of the said gryit ludging manss and hous of the Kirk-of-field, in ane college for the professioun of theologie, philosophie, and humanitie, etc., in all and sundrie poyntes, passes, heiddes, articles, conditionis, priviledgis, immunities, liberties, and utheris circumstances quhetsomever therein conteinet, after the form and tenor thereof.' By this Act his Majesty, for their farther encouragement, with the advice of his Estates, 'hes of new again given, granted, and disponed to them and their successors, in favour of the said burgh of Edinburgh, patrons of the said colledge, and of the rectors, regentis, bursaris and students within the samen, all liberties, freedoms, immunities and priviledges apperteining to ane free college; and that in as ample form and lairge manner as ony colledge hes or bruikes within this his Majesty's realme; and if need beis, ordains a new charter to be expede under his Heiness Gryit Seale for erecting of the said colledge, with all liberties, privileges, and immunities, quhilk anye college within this realme bruikes, joisses, or to the samen is known to appertine.' In virtue of the rights and privileges thus confirmed, the magistrates and council have appointed and removed professors, increased their number, fixed the departments of instruction to be given by them, and made general regulations for the whole internal discipline of the College.

In 1685 there were eight professors in the College, who were attended by a considerable number of students. Contests of faction disturbed and degraded this institution previous to the Revolution, but since that event it has enjoyed quietness, and been under excellent management.

In 1619 Sir Charles Nisbet, provost of Edinburgh, gave £1,000 Scots, (£83, 6s. 8d. sterling,) toward the maintenance of a professor of divinity. Cromwell even, amidst the turbulence of faction, bestowed an annuity of £200 sterling on it, and William III. also bestowed on it an annuity of £300 sterling, to be paid out of his treasury and bishops' rents of Scotland, to support a professor of theology, and establish twenty bursaries at ten pounds each per annum. After the Revolution, and the accession of the House of Hanover, professors for several additional departments of science were appointed, and in the year 1720 the school of medicine was first founded, and rapidly promoted the prosperity

of the College, which has since risen to such eminence as to rank it amongst the first institutions in Europe. The number of those who graduated in medicine in 1776, was 18; in 1816, 76; in 1836, 123; in 1840, 111; in 1848, 63. An idea of its progress will be best formed from the following statement: in 1585, as above stated the principalship was founded; in 1685, there were professors of humanity, divinity, oriental languages, mathematics, botany, and theory of physic; during the next hundred years professorships were founded of practice of physic, ecclesiastical history, anatomy and surgery, public law, Greek, natural philosophy, moral philosophy and political economy, logic and metaphysics, civil law, chemistry, universal history, Scottish law, midwifery, clinical medicine, rhetoric and belles lettres, natural history, materia medica, and practical astronomy; and there has since been founded professorships of agriculture, clinical surgery, military surgery, medical jurisprudence, conveyancing, pathology, music, biblical criticism and biblical antiquities. The most of the professors have salaries besides fees.

There are 34 foundations for bursaries; their benefit is extended to 80 students, and their aggregate value amounts to £1,172 a-year. There are three of the annual value of £100; six of £30; ten of £20; four between £15 and £20; one of £15; five between £10 and £15; six of £10; forty-two between £5 and £10; and three under £5.

The number of students is generally upwards of 2000. The periods of attendance are six months, from October, for the most of the classes; and three months from May, for five of the medical classes. The corporation of Edinburgh are the patrons of the University, with ten exceptions, namely, seven are vested in the crown, and three jointly in the faculty of advocates, the faculty of writers to the Signet, and the town council. The Lord Provost is, in a titular sense, Lord-rector of the University.

The University having acquired considerable fame, the mean appearance of the original buildings was long a subject of general complaint, but many difficulties presented themselves to the erection of a new edifice: these were partially removed in 1785, by a well-written letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, late Viscount Melville,) "on the proposed improvements of the city, and on the means of accomplishing them." Soon after that period, a subscription for erecting a new structure was set on foot by the magistrates, who having obtained considerable sums, part of the old building was pulled down and the foundation stone of the new College laid, on 16th November, 1789, by Lord Napier, as Grand Master Mason of Scotland.

For some time the building went on rapidly, but was stopped by the sum collected being expended, which although large was far from being adequate for the erection of a building of such magnitude; and for many years it stood in an unfinished state, till Government in 1815 resolved to expend £10,000 a-year on it, till it should be completed. It was accordingly set a second time in progress, and advanced through intermediate years to a finished state in 1834. The exterior of the building is as it was

originally planned by Mr. Adam, with very little alterations, but his interior plan was totally departed from.

The edifice is said to be the largest public building in Scotland, it is four stories in height, and is rectangular in form, the east and west sides being 255 feet in length, and the south and north sides being 358 feet.

It presents its main front to the South Bridge, and forms an entire side respectively of North, West, and South College streets. The entrance is by a splendid portico supported by four large elegant columns of the Doric order, each 26 feet in length, and formed of a single block, over which is placed the following inscription: "*Academia Jacobi* VI., *Scotorum Regis Anno post Christum Natum*, M.D.LXXXII., *Instituta annoque* M.DCC.LXXXIX., *Renovari coepta; Regnante, Georgio III., Principe Munificentissimo; Urbis Edinensis Praefecto, Thoma Elder, Academiæ, Primario Gulielmo Robertson, Architecto, Roberto Adam.*" On passing through the main entrance, a splendid view opens of a continuous range of buildings in a tasteful Grecian style, having an elegant stone balustrade that forms a kind of gallery. At the angles, and on the west side are spacious piazzas. The Library almost entirely occupies the south side of the square, the principal apartment or hall measures 198 feet long by 50 feet in breadth, and its beautiful gilded arched ceiling is more than 50 feet in height. It contains upwards of 70,000 volumes, besides a collection of antiquities, sculpture, and articles of vertu, among which are the original contract of Mary Queen of Scots with the Dauphin of France, a Bohemian protest against the Council of Constance for burning John Huss in the year 1417, with 150 seals of Bohemian and Moravian nobles annexed; a beautiful copy, written on vellum, of Fordun's Scotichronicon, and many other rare books, original manuscripts, and ancient coins. The west end of this elegant hall is decorated with several paintings bequeathed to the University by the late Sir James Erskine of Torry.[1] The only fund for the support of this library is the one pound paid by students at Matriculation, and five pounds given by each professor at his admission. The books are under the care of a librarian and two assistant librarians.

The Museum is situated in the centre of the western side, it contains two large rooms on separate floors, each ninety feet long and about 30 feet wide, besides smaller side apartments. The great lower room is appropriated to conserved large animals and other bulky objects. The great upper room is lighted from the roof by three large lanterns, and from the side by three great windows. A projecting gallery, supported by elegant columns, runs round the whole apartment. Objects of natural history, in splendid glass cases, every where cover the walls of the room. It is said the collection of birds amounts to upwards of 3,000 specimens; these are contained in glass cases in the gallery; and in the middle of the room, the floor of which is of iron and

[1] Admission to see the Library may be obtained *gratis* at the Council Chambers, Royal Exchange.

painted, tables are placed, covered with plate glass, containing fine collections of shells, insects, and corals. The lower external gallery contains a great collection of insects, and a cabinet of minerals for the use of the students of mineralogy. The smaller rooms contain preparations in comparative anatomy; the middle larger apartment is appropriated for minerals. The museum, though of recent origin, ranks already among the best in Scotland.[1] There are also a museum of anatomical preparations, and one connected with Materia Medica. The amount of sums mortified in the hands of the Corporation, for College purposes, is upwards of £13,000, which has been placed by the town council as a charge upon the ale duty, and the College revenue is about £900. The whole funds are under the administration of the town council.

A matriculation ticket must be taken out by every student entering with any professor, for which he pays a fee of one pound, and his name is entered in the *Album*, which is the only legal record of their attendance. The University has become a seat of education not only to the youth in every part of the British dominions, but students have been attracted to it from almost every nation in Europe, and every State in America.

High School. The study of learning at an early period, was universally abandoned to the church, being esteemed unworthy of the warlike chivalrous spirit of the aristocracy. During the long period from the accession of Alexander III. to the death of David II., it would have been difficult to have produced a single instance of a Scottish baron who could sign his name, learning being despised as monkish. Yet there is ample evidence in the cartularies, that Scotland although possessed of no college or university, had schools in the principal towns, which were under the superintendence of the clergy, and wherein the youthful candidates for ecclesiastical preferment were instructed in grammar and logic. In the reign of David I. the schools in Roxburgh were under the care of the monks of Kelso;[2] Perth and Stirling had their schools in 1173, of which the monks of Dunfermline were the directors. Seminaries were also in Ayr, Berwick, and Aberdeen.[3] So early as 1233 the schools of St. Andrews were under the charge of a rector. In 1329, Robert I. gave twenty shillings to support the schools at Montrose.[4] It does not appear when schools were first established in Edinburgh; however, it is evident by the following act of the town council[5] in 1519, that a grammar school under the control of the magistrates was then in the city. On the 10th day of January that year, it was by the council ordained, "That na maner of nychtbor nor indweller within yis burgh put yair bairnes till ony particular scule, within yis toun, bot to the principall grammar Scule of the samyn, to be techeit in ony science, bot allanerlie grace-buke, prymar, and plane donatt, under the payne of ten shillings,

[1] Admission by paying the keeper at the door one shilling.
[2] Cart. of Kelso, pp. 258, 343. [3] Cart. of Aberdeen, pp. 74, 80, 81.
[4] Cart. of Dunfermline, M'Farlane's transcript, p. 579.
[5] Coun. Reg. v. i., p. 2.

Scottish money, to be tane of the nychtbor yat breke or dois in the contrair heirof, and als oft bot favor, to be applit to the master of the said principall scule, for the tyme."

It does not appear that the city had any school-house till the year 1578, when the magistrates entered into a contract with a William Beckerton, mason, to build a school for the sum of £260 Scots, (£21, 13s. 4d , sterling) upon a part of the land that had been, as before stated, bestowed on the city by Queen Mary, which had, previous to the Reformation, belonged to the monastery of Blackfriars.

At this period it had only two teachers, whose emoluments were so trifling that they threatened to give up their charge, unless a reasonable allowance was granted them for their maintenance. The council, as an inducement for them to continue, allowed the masters to charge a fee of three shillings, Scots, (three pence sterling) and the usher two shillings, Scots, per quarter, from freemen's sons, exclusive of the fees paid by scholars, sons of nonfreemen; and as a farther encouragement the magistrates ordained that no person should keep a school within the city or liberties, without their licence. The elementary books at this time were Dunbar's Rudiments, Corderius's Colloquies, Portions of Erasmus, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Sallust, Cæsar, Cicero, and Buchanan's Psalms.

Notwithstanding the great increase of scholars, this building, which could not have been large, continued to be the only school-house under the authority of the magistrates till the foundation stone of a new and commodious edifice was on 24th June, 1777, laid by the late Sir William Forbes, as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, on the site of the former building. This structure, which cost £4000, continued to be used as the High School till the year 1825, when its situation, owing to the extension of the city northward was found far from central, and had sunk in estimation as the town extended.

On 25th July, 1825, the foundation stone of a new and splendid edifice was laid on the Calton Hill, by Viscount Glenorchy, Grand Master Mason of Scotland, in presence of the magistrates of the city, the professors of the University, and many other distinguished individuals. The boys attending the school walked in procession from the old school to witness the ceremony. This fine structure consists of a centre and two wings, connected by corridors; the former only one story, and the latter two; this is accomplished by the nature of the ground on which it is built, admitting of two levels. The main building extends to the length of 270 feet; but, including the Lodges, it measures 400 feet in front. The centre building is a pediment, advanced upon a range of twelve Doric columns; and the end buildings are nearly flat roofed, and of plain architecture. A spacious flight of steps leads up to it from the enclosing wall in front. There is ample accommodation for conducting the various branches of study according to the most approved method of instruction. The large hall is 75 feet by 43, and 33 feet high in the centre; a rector's class room, 38 feet by 38; 4 class rooms for masters, each 38 feet by 28;

rooms for a library, a classical museum, besides other apartments. The play-ground is spacious, extending to nearly two acres, and well inclosed by high walls and strong railing. The expense of the whole building, including the levelling of the ground, cost £34,199, of which a part was raised by subscription, a part by the sale of the old school house, and the remainder, amounting to £22, 973 was defrayed by the city. This splendid strncture was opened in 1829.

The magistrates and council are the sole patrons of this educational establishment, and nominate the teachers, consisting of a rector, and four classical masters, and teachers of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics; a janitor is also appointed by them. The yearly salaries paid out of the city funds are £33, 6s., 8d. to the rector, £20 to each of the four classical masters, and £6, 13s. 4d. to the janitor. No salaries are paid to the teachers of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, etc., whose emoluments are solely derived from fees paid by the scholars. The full course of study is seven years; the scholars, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh years, being under the immediate tuition of the rector. The quarterly fees are, in the rector's class, £1, including Greek, £1, 5s.; in the four junior classes, £1, French and Mathematics, 10s. 6d. each, and writing and arithmetic, 7s. 6d. each. An annual public examination takes place on the first Friday of August, in presence of the patrons, the clergy, and numerous other respectable individuals, when prizes of gold and silver medals and books are awarded for general scholarship and particular merit. There have been as many scholars as 676 attending the school at one time, but the average number is between 500 and 600.

Several schools for English reading, writing, and arithmetic were formerly supported by the corporation, but these have been gradually discontinued.

About the beginning of last century, Sir James M'Lurg of Vogrie mortified 3000 merks Scots, (£166, 13s. 4d. sterling) for the support of a master to teach poor boys to read and write. This fund was placed under the management of the town council, who in 1824, remodelled the school, and appointed a master who has (inclusive of all allowances) £52, 9s. 8d. from the town, and is allowed to take 6d. per month from each pupil, the number being limited to 100.

Besides the High School, there are in Edinburgh and suburbs upwards of 160 schools, attended by more than 15,000 scholars; of these, our limits will only permit us to name a few. Edinburgh Academy was established in 1824, and incorporated by Royal Charter, 5th, Geo. IV. It is a handsome building, situated to the north-east of the Royal Circus, and cost the subscribers upwards of £14,000. It is superintended by a Board of 15 Directors, three of whom are elected annually from the body of subscribers, and is conducted by a rector and four masters for the Latin and Greek classes, besides teachers for the English and French languages, and for writing, arithmetic, and mathematics. The complete course extends to seven years, and com-

bines a thorough classical education. The School of Arts, situated in Adam Square, was founded in 1821, and is a cheap and effective college or academy of science and literature for the operative classes. The number of tickets sold last session was 737, and the number of students, 473. The constitution of the school embraces a system of practical education, adapted to the wants and circumstances of mechanics, and the working classes generally. And not only are the following branches taught in the school, namely, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, English, French, Drawing and Modelling, of the most sound and useful description, but the lecturers and teachers are all men eminent in their several departments. This was the earliest establishment of the kind in Great Britain, and has led the way to the formation of Mechanics' Institutions in almost every city and burgh in the empire. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, and the Dukes of Buccleuch and Sutherland, have honoured the school by their patronage. The building fund now amounts to £2,200, which is lent out at interest. It is intended to erect an edifice worthy of the institution as soon as the funds will enable the directors to do so Edinburgh Institution, established in 1832, in which there are a rector and upwards of 20 masters, besides assistants. At this establishment, lectures are given on Natural History, including Meteorology, Geology, Zoology, Chemistry, and Natural Philosophy. Circus Place School, with a rector and 7 masters. Scottish Institution for the Education of Young Ladies, 9 Moray Place, founded 1834. In this establishment there are fourteen teachers, besides a number of assistants. Lectures are given on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Geology and Mineralogy, History, and Music. Edinburgh Ladies' Institution for the southern district, opened in 1833, 1 Park Place, in which there are sixteen teachers, besides assistants, and lectures are given in Mathematics, Natural History, and physical science. Edinburgh Southern Academy, 3 George Square, instituted in 1829, in which there are twelve teachers, besides assistants. Church of Scotland Normal Institution, Castle Terrace. Free Church of Scotland Normal School, Moray House, Canongate. Lord's Day School Institution, 10 Young Street, founded by the late Dr. Andrew Thomson, in 1824, and incorporated by seal of cause. There are also numerous other Burgh schools, free schools, charity schools, ragged schools, Dr. Bell's schools, etc., for the instruction of the humbler classes.

CHAPTER XI.

Holyrood Abbey, Royal Chapel, and Palace—Her Majesty's arrival at, and residence in, the Palace—Edinburgh Castle—The Scottish Mint—Royal Institution—National Gallery of Arts—Royal Exchange—Corn Exchange—National, County, and City Gaol—Lock up House—Canongate Gaol.

Holyrood Abbey. David I. having often resided with Henry I. of England, appears to have contracted a partiality for the pompous monastic usages of that kingdom, instead of the more simple services which for so many centuries had been practised in Scotland. Holyrood Abbey was founded in 1128; it was then denominated '*Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Crag*,' that is, 'the monastery of the Holy Rood,' or 'Cross of the Crag.' At this period such an undertaking could not be entered into without a miracle to give it celebrity, and one of the first magnitude is said to have been the cause of this abbey being erected. We are told that good king David I. having become desirous to amuse himself by hunting, went to the forest which once surrounded the Castle of Edinburgh, on Rood day, or that of the Exaltation of the Cross, after the solemn mass was ended, although earnestly dissuaded from such indulgence on that day, by his devout confessor, Alwine. Having passed through the field on which the Canongate is now erected, upon reaching the bottom of the Crag, all his nobles having been separated from him, he was attacked by the largest and fairest hart that human eyes ever had beheld. The hart followed him so hard 'that he dang baith the king and his hors to the ground.' and his life was in the utmost danger. While defending himself against the furious attacks of the animal, a cross from heaven slipped into his hands, which so frightened the stag, that he instantly fled with the greatest precipitation, and vanished from his sight 'quhare now springis the Rude well.' The texture of this wonderful cross it is said was such, that no man could schaw of quhat mater it was, metal or tre.' This wonderful circumstance having put an end to the chase, David is said to have repaired to the Castle of Edinburgh, where on the following night he was admonished by a vision 'to big an abbey of Channonis Regular in the same place quhare he gut the croce.'

In obedience to this visionary command the king erected an abbey for monks of the order of Canons Regular, and dedicated it to the honour of the Holy Cross, which he deposited therein, where it is said to have remained till the reign of David II., when it was carried in a foray into Northumberland, and being deposited in the city of Durham, was there held in great veneration for ages afterwards.

Be that as it may, as Holyrood, and every incident connected with it, have acquired an additional interest since her Majesty's residence within its walls, we have given our readers a copy of its original charter,[1] a curious ancient document, which not only

[1] This ancient charter being written in Latin, has been translated into English, that it may be perused by all readers. "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in honour of the holy cross, the blessed Virgin Mary, and all saints, I, David, by the grace of God, king of *Scots*, by royal authority, and consent

mentions many places still distinguished by their names, but the numerous grants to the Abbey contained in it show the influence of the clergy at that period, in procuring endowments to religious establishments.

Previous to the erection of the abbey, the canons who had been

of Henry my son, and the bishops of my kingdom, confirmed by my earls and barons, attested by the clergy, and by divine instinct approved by the people, do grant, and perpetually confirm to the church of the holy cross, at Edinburgh, the several things hereafter mentioned, that is to say, I grant to the said church and canons regularly serving God therein, in free and perpetual alms, the church of the castle (of Edinburgh) with the appurtenances and rights thereof. Trial by duel,[1] water and fire ordeal,[2] so far as appertains to the ecclesiastical dignity, with the town of *Sauchton*, and its several divisions, and the church and parish of *St. Cuthberts*, with all things thereunto belonging, with the church, town, and its divisions, and the ground whereon the church is situated, together with all the lands lying under the castle, namely, from the well which riseth or springeth near the corner of my garden, by the way which leads to the church of St. Cuthberts. And on the other hand, along the foot of the castle hill, to a rock on the eastern side of the said castle-hill, with two chapels belonging to the said church of St. Cuthberts, namely, Corstorphine, with two bovates, (thirty acres) and six acres of land, and the chapel of Liberton, with two oxgans, (thirty acres) together with all the rights and tithes, as well of the dead as the living, in Legbernard, which Macbeth gave to the said church, and I have confirmed. Also the church of Hereth, [Airth in Stirlingshire] with the lands thereunto belonging, together with the several lands by me thereunto annexed, as surveyed by my officers, and others, I have given to Alwine, the Abbot, with a salt pan, and twenty-six acres of land in the said town of Hereth, which church and lands I will, that the said canons of the holy cross, freely hold, and quietly possess for ever. And I hereby strictly enjoin, that no person presume to molest or disturb any of the said canons, their vassals or servants, residing on the said lands, or that any work, auxiliary, or secular customs be unjustly exacted from them.

I likewise grant to the said canons, liberty to erect a mill upon the said lands, and to have and enjoy in Hereth, all the following rights, customs, and conveniences, namely, in rivers, fishings, meadows, and pastures, and to enjoy all things necessary in as full and ample a manner, as when they were in my own possession, together with the town of Broughton and its respective divisions; the lands of Inverleith, in the neighbourhood of the harbour, with the said harbour, half of the fishings and tithes of the several fisheries belonging to the church of St. Cuthbert. The towns of Pittendrich, Hamar, and Fordam, with their several divisions; and the hospital, with a carncate[3] or plough of land, with a perpetual annuity of forty shillings, out of my town of Edinburgh, and for supplying the said canons with apparel, I give to them one hundred shillings, out of my Cain,[4] at Perth, and from the duties which arise to me out of the first merchant ships which arrive at Perth, and if none shall happen to arrive, I then give to the said church, out of my revenues in Edinburgh, the sum of forty-eight shillings; out of Stirling, twenty shillings, with a house, and one draught of a fishing-net at the said place; and forty shillings out of Perth, with a house in my town of Edinburgh, free of all duties and customs whatsoever;

[1] It was anciently lawful when the truth was doubtful, for the person accused (by the king's permission,) to justify himself, by challenging his accuser to fight him in a public duel. And it is not improbable that the meadow under the Castle, where tournaments were at one time held, was the place where the fate of arms was decided.

[2] This ancient method of purgation was by trial two ways; one by water, the other by fire; the former was either in hot or cold water. If in cold, the parties suspected were adjudged innocent, if their bodies, contrary to the course of nature, floated on the surface; if in hot, the arms and legs of the persons accused, were put bare into boiling water, and if brought forth unhurt, were held innocent of the crime they were charged with. And those tried by *fire ordeal*, walked barefooted and blind-folded over nine glowing ploughshares, or were to carry in their hands a burning iron of a pound weight, called *simple ordeal;* if two, *double ordeal*; and if three, *triple odreal;* if unhurt by the irons, they were acquitted, but on the contrary, condemned. The fire ordeal was for the trial of freemen and persons of distinction, and that by water for bondmen and rustics.

[3] As much ground as can be tilled within a year and a day, by one plough.

[4] A duty paid to the superior by his tenants.

brought from the priory of St. Andrews, had a church within the precincts of the castle, and for nearly fifty years after the date of their charter they continued to reside within that fortress, but were driven from their safe refuge in the year 1174, when William the Lion was taken prisoner by the English, and the castle delivered up to Henry II.[1] It would however appear, that they had long previous to that event, commenced building their mon-

together with a house in the town of Berwick, a draught of two nets in Scypwell; a house in Renfrew, five perticates,[1] and one draught of a net for salmon, with a right to fish for herrings. And I strictly command, that no person whatsoever presume to take of any of the said canons, their vassals, or servants, any toll or duty whatever.

I also give to the said canons out of my exchequer, a perpetual annuity of ten pounds for lighting and repairing their church. And I command my respective officers and forresters in the counties of Stirling and Clackmannan, that they permit the said Abbot and canons to take out of my several woods and forests, as much wood as they have occasion for, towards building their church, houses, and other necessary constructions. I likewise order and direct that the vassals and servants of the said canons shall have liberty to take out of my said woods or forests, whatever wood they may have occasion for, without molestation. And I also grant that the swine belonging to the masters or canons of the said church, be free from pannage.[2]

I also give and grant to the said canons, one half of the tallow, lard, and hides of the beasts killed in Edinburgh, with the tithes of whales and sea monsters due to me from the river Avon to Coldbrandspath, with the tithes of all my pleas and profits from the said Avon to the said Coldbrandspath, and the half of my pleas and profits of Kintyre and Argyll, with the skins of all the rams, sheep, and lambs belonging to my castle of Linlithgow, which die naturally, and eight chaldrons of malt, eight of meal, thirty cart-loads of brushwood,[3] of Liberton, one of my mills of Dene, with the tenths of my mills of Liberton and Dene, and those of my new mill of Edinburgh and Craigendsmark, as far as they appertain to me, with all that belonged to Vineth White, on the said rock, to be held in free and perpetual alms.

I likewise grant to the said canons, the town of Hebergare,[4] being betwixt the said church and my town (of Edinburgh,) and that the burgesses thereof have the liberty of buying and selling goods and merchandise, in open market, as freely, and without molestation and reproach, as any of my own burgesses. And I strictly enjoin that no person presume to take by force, any bread, ale, or other vendible commodity, without the consent of the said burgesses.

I also grant that the said canons be free from all tolls and customs in my several burghs and lands, in all things they deal in. And I strictly forbid all persons from taking a poind, or making a seizure in, or upon the lands of the said Holy Cross, unless the Abbot refuse to do justice to the person injured. I will, likewise, that the said canons hold all the aforesaid things as fully as I enjoy my lands. And I grant, that the said Abbot shall have his court in as full, free, and honourable a manner, as the bishop of St. Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Abbot of Kelso enjoy theirs.

Attested by these witnesses: Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, John, bishop of Glasgow, Henry my son, William my nephew, Edward the chancellor, Herbert the treasurer, Gillemichel Comite, Gospatricio, brother of Delphin, Robert Montague, Robert de Burnevill, Peter de Bruce, Norman the sheriff, Ogu, Leising, Gillise, William de Graham, Turstan de Crectune, Blemo the archdeacon, Alfric the chaplain, and Waleran the chaplain."

[1] The fourth part of an acre of land.
[2] A duty taken for swine that feed in the king's woods or forests.
[3] Small wood made up into little bundles.
[4] This town lay between the abbey and the city, and from the frequency of the Canons going betwixt these two places, it in course of time changed its ancient name of Hebergare to the *Canonsgate*, or as it is now called, the *Canongate*.

[1] Vide B. i, p. 20.

astery or 'Cross of the Crag', and no doubt contemplated their removal to this quiet residence, from the narrow precincts and busy turmoil of the castle. We may picture the loneliness and seclusion of the Abbey, when the city was bounded by the North Loch on the one side, and by the South Marsh on the other, having the castle hill as its western extremity, and the Nether-bow for its eastern boundary, with a population not exceeding two thousand. If the edifice was not finished in 1177, it appears to have been habitable, for in that year a national council was held in it.[1]

In addition to the grants contained in the original charter, the canons received an increase of revenue from William the Lion, who by charter assigned to them the churches and chapels in Galloway, that belonged to the abbey of Icolmkill, with all their tithes and ecclesiastical benefices, as also some of its churches in Fifeshire. There also appears to have belonged to the Abbey of Holyrood, the Cells or Priories of St. Mary's Isle, Blantyre, Rowadill, Crusay, and Oronsay. All these grants were not only subsequently confirmed by David II., Robert III., and James I. and II., but numerous others were added by these monarchs, so that this abbey was for ages deemed the richest religious foundation in Scotland. At the Reformation in 1560, its annual revenues were 442 bolls of wheat, 640 bolls of barley, 560 bolls of oats, 500 capons, 26 hens, 24 salmon, 12 loads of salt, and numerous swine; besides these, it received in money, £2926, 8s. 6d., Scots, (£243, 17s. 4½d., sterling.)

Among the numerous grants conferred by David the First on this abbey, he bestowed on its canons the privilege of erecting a burgh between the town of Edinburgh and their Abbey. Accordingly they commenced erecting houses upon that intermediate space of ground, which subsequently got the name of *the Canons-gate*, from its being the thoroughfare between the city and the abbey, but it was afterwards shortened to its present name, *Canongate*. It is a burgh of regality, and had many privileges conferred on it,[2] which it still retains.

In 1292, the Abbot of Holyrood swore fealty to Edward I.[2] It does not appear that this abbey was either disturbed or damaged till Scotland was invaded in 1322[3] by Edward II. when it was plundered by his army. It was again plundered, and its church plate carried off in 1332[4] by the army of Edward III, and would have been in 1383[5] reduced to ashes by Richard II., during his savage incursion into Scotland, when he destroyed so many religious houses, had he not been dissuaded from it by the Duke of Lancaster. A M.S. of Fordun's states, that he also would "have consumed the honourable monastery of the Holycross, had he not been dissuaded from it by his father-in-law, the Duke of Lancaster, who had formerly, in the time of his necessity, found a refuge here when he fled from the ferocity of the boors."

This abbey had become in peaceful times the occasional residence of the royal family. James I. with his queen occasionally

[1] Vide B. i, p. 21. [2] Vide B. ii, pp. 260-262.
[3] Vide B. i, p. 23. [4] Ibid. p. 24. [5] Ibid. p. 30.

resided in it, and it was in 1430, the birth-place of James's twin sons.[1] It witnessed the nuptials of James the Second[2] with that Mary of Gueldres, whose bones, after the lapse of four centuries, were laid amid the ruins of the church, which smiled upon her wedding. James the Third also resided in it, and it witnessed his nuptials with the daughter of Denmark,[3] and her coronation. The marriage of James IV. with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was celebrated in it. Nevertheless its erection into a Royal Palace did not take place till the reign of James the Fifth, although the appellation of *Palace* was by no means uncommon, long previous to his reign, as applied to the apartments occupied as an occasional royal residence. In 1528, James V. built a royal residence adjoining to the abbey; part of this building is still standing, and consists of the north-west towers. Below a niche in one of these, may still be seen *Jac. Rex V. Scotorum;* and the same monarch, to provide for himself a park for hunting, surrounded with a wall a large quantity of land adjoining, about three miles in circumference. After his death, Scotland was invaded in 1544 by the Earl of Hertford at the head of an English army, to enforce the marriage treaty between prince Edward and the young Queen of Scots, who nearly reduced to ashes the choir and transept of the church, and left nothing standing entire but the nave.[4] There are many associations connected with this abbey, and the beautiful but unfortunate queen Mary. Soon after its desolation, it was repaired and greatly enlarged. It has been described as then consisting of five courts, "the westmost, which was the outermost court, was larger than all the rest. It was bounded on the east by the front of the palace, which occupied the same space as its present front, and also extended farther south. The three remaining sides of the outer court were bounded by walls; and at the north-west corner there was a strong gate with Gothic pillars, arches, and towers. The next court occupied the same ground with the present central court of the royal palace, and was surrounded with buildings. On the south there were two smaller courts, also surrounded in the same manner; and another court on the east, bounded on the north by the chapel royal, on the west by a line of buildings covering the same space, with the present east front of the palace; on the south by a row of buildings which are now demolished, and on the north by a wall which divided it from St. Anne's Yard."

Along with other religious establishments, this Abbey was, at the Reformation, stripped of all its revenues, and even the building suffered much; the ornaments were despoiled, and little was left but the walls. The church was after this event used as the parish church of Canongate, till James VII. converted it into a Royal Chapel,[5] and attempted for a time to reinstitute the Prelatic form of worship, in defiance of the express declaration of the people; but at the Revolution, which soon after took place, the populace, whose hatred to Popery, and equal antipathy to Episcopacy,

[1] Vide B. i, p. 32. [2] Ibid. p. 38. [3] Ibid. p. 42.
[4] Vide B. i, p. 63. [5] Vide B. ii, p. 208.

often carried them to extremes, once more despoiled this ancient edifice of its ornaments, and even violated some of the royal graves. "When last we visited this once stately edifice," says Arnot,[1] we beheld in the middle of the chapel the broken shafts of the columns which had been borne down by the weight of the roof, which fell in on 2nd December, 1767, through the extreme avarice of a stupid architect. Upon looking into the vaults, the doors of which were open, we found that what had escaped the fury of the mob at the Revolution, became a prey to the rapacity of those who ransacked the church after its fall. In A. D. 1776 we had seen the body of James V. and some others in their leaden coffins; these coffins were now stolen. The head of Queen Magdalen, which was then entire and even beautiful, and the skull of Darnley, were also stolen; his thigh bones, however, still remain, and are proofs of the vastness of his stature."

This chapel stood long after the Revolution in a dilapidated state till the Barons of Exchequer were applied to by the Duke of Hamilton, hereditary keeper of the Palace, to have it repaired. A plan and estimate of the work having been approved of by the Barons, £1,003 was granted by them on 17th August, 1758, to defray the expense of the proposed repairs. The roof was, as Arnot says, "through the extreme avarice of a stupid architect," covered with large flat stones; these being too weighty for the walls, or the timbers too slender to support them, it soon became evident that were the stones not removed, the building must unavoidably fall to ruin. Although another architect represented its state to the Barons in 1766, yet they do not seem to have taken any notice of his representations, for on 2nd December, 1773, the roof fell in, and occasioned the irreparable ruin of the structure. To add to the misfortune, that portion of the building which had fallen and choked up the interior, was sold, and a house in Baxter's close built with the stones, after the ornaments upon them had been carefully defaced.

The Chapel Royal is by far the most ancient part of the building connected with the Palace, and must originally have had a most imposing effect, and been of considerable extent, having had a noble central tower, nave, choir, and transepts; but the ruins of the nave and western doorway are the only vestiges remaining of this once large and beautiful structure; these being comparatively complete, are supposed capable of being restored to their former condition. Here are deposited in the royal vaults, situated in the south-east corner of the chapel, the remains of David II., James II., Prince Arthur, third son of James IV., James V., Magdalen his queen, Arthur, Duke of Albany, their son, also Henry, Lord Darnley. Some of these were not long ago ranged on shelves, and exhibited as a vulgar show, notwithstanding the sacredness attached by the Scots to the dead; but on the Society of Antiquaries representing to her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the disgraceful state of the royal vaults, these noble remains were decently disposed of, and the vaults

[1] Vide B. ii, p. 208.

closed. The ruins of this ancient edifice, now called the Royal Chapel, are worthy of a visit. Within its walls is a fine monument of Parian marble, of most exquisite workmanship, erected to the memory of Lord Belhaven, chamberlain to Charles I., who died in 1639.

The Crown having of late years made great efforts to restore and preserve from farther decay many of the ancient ecclesiastical structures in Scotland, it may be expected that this royal chapel will not be allowed to remain in ruins.

There is no portion of the history of the Palace which excites more interest, than that period which embraces the history of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary. When she landed from France in 1560, she took up her residence in it, and it was her principal place of abode till sent a prisoner to Lochleven castle. To her, Holyrood was the scene of much joy, festivity, and folly,[1] and there are many relics connected with her residence still to be seen within its walls.

If we except the north-western corner of the Palace, no part of the present structure is of more ancient date than the reign of Charles II. Immediately after the Restoration this palace was repaired and altered to its present form, according to a design furnished by Sir William Bruce of Kinross, a celebrated architect. His plans were submitted in 1761 to the King, and were diligently revised by his Majesty, in a paper which is still preserved in the Register House. The work was executed by Robert Mylne, whose name appears on a pillar on the north-west angle of the inside of the square: "FVN BE RO. MYLNE, M.M., IVL. 1671."

The Palace seems to have been completed in 1679, when it became the residence of the Duke of York, afterwards James VII.[2] It is of quadrangular form, with an open court in the centre, 94 feet square, surrounded with piazzas. The front is two stories high; but, at each end, where the front projects, the building is much higher, and is ornamented with large castellated square towers, four stories in height. The entrance is in the middle of the lower building, ornamented by four Doric columns. Over it are the royal arms of Scotland, and a small cupola in form of an imperial crown in stone work, in which there is a clock. In olden times, many a scene of courtly grandeur has enlivened these venerable walls. Among the last were the balls, levees, and drawing-rooms held in it by the Young Chevalier in 1745;[3] and the same apartments and bed that he occupied were taken possession of a few weeks after, by the Duke of Cumberland. After the defeat of the royal army at Falkirk, General Hawley thought proper to quarter his troops in the gallery of the Palace. Arnot[4] observes: "This apartment is entirely hung with pictures of a race of a hundred and eleven monarchs, through an imaginary series of upwards of two thousand years;" these were much damaged by Hawley's troops, and Arnot further states, "these well disciplined troops

[1] See the incidents that took place connected with Queen Mary's residence in it, in B. i, pp. 71, 80, 84, 87, 88, 98.

[2] Vide B. i, p. 167. [3] Vide B. i, p. 212. [4] Arnot, p. 235.

thought they could not better manifest their loyalty to King George, than by defacing and hewing in pieces every representation of the Scottish monarchs;" but these paintings have since been repaired, and are now inserted in the panels of the wainscot.

Having given the history of the Palace, and a description of its exterior, we will now lay before our readers a short description of a few of the principal features of its interior. Our first visit shall be to the most ancient and more interesting portions of the Palace, known as Queen Mary's apartments, on which, we are happy to say, no alterations have been allowed to be made, and that they still retain that antique aspect, which, along with their historic reminiscences, are their principal attraction. But previous to giving a description of that portion of the Palace, we may remark, that in the year 1810 we paid a visit to Mary's apartments, and then saw what are called "Queen Mary's relics," in the gallery, dining room, and drawing room; we, on visiting them in 1850, saw little difference, but in the other apartments we observed that many additional relics had been added since our last visit, all, of course, are passed off as *genuine relics* of the beautiful Mary, and described to strangers as if they had been all in use when Mary occupied these apartments. We must, however, confess, that we are somewhat sceptical as to the genuiness of many of them, and are of opinion that not a few of these *precious relics* are more likely to have been gleaned from broker's shops, than to have been the plenishing of a palace even in Queen Mary's time. We will, thereafter, visit that portion of the Palace lately occupied by our gracious Sovereign, his royal highness Prince Albert, and the Royal Family, which consists of the whole of the east side of the quadrangle, a large portion of the south side, including the projecting wing to the front, lately forming the apartments of Lord Strathmore.

This venerable edifice not having been honoured by even the temporary residence of a Sovereign for nearly two centuries, much required to be done to the interior, to render it suitable to receive such illustrious visitors. To execute the necessary alterations and improvements, (which were more of the nature of adaptations than alterations, care being taken not to alter, but restore and preserve every thing associated with history,) the Commissioners of Woods and Forests employed Mr. Trotter, upholsterer, Princes' Street, who has been most successful in restoring the beautiful carved oak fittings in several of the rooms to their original state, which had been at some previous period of bad taste, obscured with white oil paint; and the necessary painting was committed by them to Mr. D. R. Hay, of George Street, whose eminence as a decorative painter is too well known to require from us any elaborate notice, and whose genius and skill have had full scope in the beautifully ornamented ceilings of the Palace.

We entered by the new approach that has been formed at the south-east corner of the Palace Garden, by a well executed gravel carriage-way that leads to the outer stair, on ascending which we found ourselves in the

Picture Gallery, which is situated in the north side of the square, on the first landing from the piazza. It is 150 feet long by 24 broad, and 20 feet in height. It formerly contained the imaginary portraits of 111 Scottish Sovereigns, said to be from Fergus I. to James VII., but there are now only a hundred of these portraits placed against its walls, nineteen of which are of full stature, some having been removed to other apartments, and a few were so mutilated by General Hawley's soldiers as to be placed beyond restoration. These fanciful portraits were painted by De Wit, an artist of the Flemish school, of considerable reputation, but they are in general by no means well executed, though some of them are not altogether deficient in merit. Arnot seems to have had a very poor opinion of them, he says, "The folly of the legend, and the baseness of the execution, would make it for the honour of the country that they were utterly destroyed." No alterations have been made on this ancient hall these many years, except that these pictures, which had formerly a ragged appearance, have been cleaned, repaired, and much improved.

The associations connected with this Hall are numerous, and extend over centuries. Many a scene of grandeur has, in different ages, enlivened its walls. The last time it was enlivened by the grandeur of olden times, was on the evening of the 17th of September, 1745, when Prince Charles Stuart, on his arrival at Holyrood, gave a splendid ball, which was attended by all the gentlemen, with their families attached to the Stuart destiny.

In this Hall the election of the Scottish representative Peers takes place, and it is occasionally used for a few other State purposes.

On coming out of the Gallery and turning to the left we enter Queen Mary's Dining Room, a handsome apartment, 36 feet by 24, with a lofty ornamented ceiling, and its walls plain oil painted. The only antique furniture in it, is a set of oak stuff-bottomed chairs with three legs On its walls are hung portraits of Charles II., James, Marquis of Hamilton, two Dukes of Hamilton, John Knox, Cardinal Beaton, Earl of Lennox, (Darnley's father,) William and Mary of Orange, etc , also a painting of the city of Venice, by Catiloni.

From the Dining Room we enter by a door on the left to Mary's Drawing Room, which is an elegant apartment, 23 feet by 21, with a lofty ornamented ceiling, and its walls partly covered with tapestry brought by Mary from France, on which is embroidered by French Nuns, a representation taken from Roman history, of the battle fought by Constantine at the Bridge of Tabor, with his mother in the middle of a group pointing to the cross, which must have been a work of great labour. The antique furniture in this room consists of an oblong carved oak table, and a curious small round one, also brought by Mary from France, besides, there is a set of ancient plain stuff-bottomed chairs. On the walls are hung portraits of James V., VI., and VII., Philip II. of Spain, Charles II., a number of Dukes and Duchesses of Hamilton, etc.

In coming out of the Dining Room we ascend a long stair to

a suite of rooms consisting of Mary's Reception Room, Bed Room, Dressing Room, and the small room in which she was at supper when Rizzio was murdered.

In these rooms every thing we see bears the mark of former ages, and the destroying hand of time appears not to have been idle. Here stands the bed on which the beautiful but unfortunate Queen Mary reposed, with chairs, tables, and many other antique pieces of furniture, brought by her from France in the year 1561. Holinshed says, "Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie jewells of golde worke, pretious stones, orient pearls and such like, so excellent and fair as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture and tasselled hangings, counterpaints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of a princelie house."

The first room we enter is the Reception Room, which is 22 feet by 23½, with a lofty oak panelled roof, on which is carve twelve armorials bearings of the Stuart family. The walls of this room are covered with tapestry, embroidered by French Nuns, and brought by Mary from France: although the colours are much decayed, it is still in good condition. Every article of furniture in it appears to be antique. Here stands the bed of Charles the First, with roof and curtains, once beautiful, but now much decayed. This bed was occupied by Prince Charles Stuart, during the nights of the few fleeting days of royalty enjoyed by him in September, 1745, when residing in the Palace, and the same bed was a few weeks after occupied by the Duke of Cumberland. The chair of State, with two large cushions, said to have been prepared for Mary's unfortunate marriage with Darnley, from which all the ills of her after life may be traced to have sprung. It is more like a modern small sofa than a chair. Both the chair and cushions are richly embroidered, but by some peculiarly singular, and no doubt economical foresight, the embroidery bears the cipher of her grandson Charles, and his queen Henrietta Maria. An arm chair covered with beautiful elaborate embroidery, said to be wrought by Mary's own hands, and a number of other ancient chairs. An oblong carved oak table, the same as in the Drawing Room, and an ancient oak table. A portrait of Queen Mary, said to be in the dress in which she was executed; also, two portraits, which we are at a loss to know how they have come to be mixed up with any of the associations connected with the lovely but unfortunate Mary, namely, one of Jane Shore and the other of Nell Gwynn, whose characters are well known to historians. There are besides these some other portraits and paintings of little importance, with numerous ancient small engravings, begrimed, worn-eaten, and some in tatters: many of these have been added since our last visit.

The chimney-piece in this small room is six feet wide, and the grate and fender are of malleable iron, of *very rude workmanship*. They are said to have been brought to Scotland by James the Fifth, and to have been the first grate and fender ever seen in this country.

From this Room we enter Queen Mary's Bed Room, 23 feet

by 19, with a panelled ceiling of oak, having on each panel armorial bearings. Its walls are covered with tapestry richly embroidered. Subject: The fall of Phaiton and Sisters, from Ovid. The whole furniture in this room is antique. The most interesting relic in the Palace stands here, namely, the bed occupied by the lovely but ill used Mary, during her residence in the Palace; it is of crimson damask, bordered with green silk fringes and tassels, but it is now almost in tatters. The embroidery on the bed and on a number of chairs in this apartment is also said to be chiefly the work of Mary's own hands; besides these there are many other relics in this room, said to have belonged to that unfortunate Princess. Among these are a box, said to have been her work-box; it is of oak, 20 inches by 16, panelled and glazed on the top and sides. The embroidery, under the glass, which is said to have been sewed by Mary, is much decayed, but the subject, Jacob's Dream, can still be traced. Two ancient tables, the one round and the other square. The basket that held the baby linens of Mary's son, James VI. Mary's arms painted on a framed board, 14 inches by 17, having under it the following lines:

> "The Arms of Mary Quene, Dolphine of France,
> The nobellest Ladie on earth for till advance
> Of Scotland, France, and England also
> Of Ireland, its God hath providit so."

A beautiful small portrait of Mary on ivory, said to have been taken previous to her marriage with Darnley; also one of Mary of Guise, Mary's mother. These last mentioned four relics we do not recollect of having ever before seen.

In this room a secret opening in the wall leads to a passage communicating with the apartments below, and with the Royal Chapel. It was by this private entrance that Darnley and his accomplices rushed in and murdered the unhappy Rizzio, on 9th March, 1566.

By a door 5½ feet in height, and 2 feet 2 inches wide, we enter from Mary's Bed Room to a small room, 11 feet by 12, with a plain oaken panelled roof. Its walls had once been carved with tapestry, but it is now all in tatters. It was in this small room where Mary was at supper with the Countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few domestics, when, as we have before stated,[1] Darnley, George Douglas, and Ruthven, pale from illness, and his whole appearance haggard and terrifying, with other accomplices, rushed in and murdered Rizzio, and then dragged their bleeding victim through the Queen's Bed Room to the entrance of the Presence Chamber, where they mangled his body with fifty-six wounds, and left him in a pool of blood.[2] Here lie on two very ancient and frail oak tables, a coat of mail said to have been worn by Darnley the night of Rizzio's murder, also his boots and

[1] Vide B. i, pp. 86–88.

[2] After the murder of Rizzio, Mary had part of her Reception Room partitioned off, so as to exclude from her view the spot to which Rizzio was dragged and his body mangled.

gauntlet, and James the Sixth's shield. The coat of mail we may remark, is something similar to those we have seen of a common trooper's about the end of last century. The boots are very like those used in the reign of Charles II., and the target or shield certainly bears the marks of decay by damp and moths. Here is also to be seen a portrait of Rizzio, the marble slab, 27½ inches long, and 52 in circumference, on which Mary knelt when crowned; her altar piece, which John Knox in his zeal broke to pieces, but which is put together in a frame with great care.

There is also a door of the same size as the one above described, leading from Mary's Bed Room to her DRESSING ROOM, 12 feet by 8, with a lofty panelled oak ceiling, and the wall covered with tapestry sewed elaborately, which, although faded, is in excellent condition, and has been originally sewed in small detached pieces, and then put together, which must have been a work of great labour, and there can be little doubt that the beautiful small hands of many lovely nuns were engaged in its embroidery. The subject of which is, Lot's family at the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, Sarah and Abraham, and some other figures. Here stands Mary's work table, a small oak folding plain table, her flower-stand, six feet high, with a round top 44 inches in circumference, supported by a carved block or pedestal, a similar stand without the top, with a hole for a candle, said to have been her candlestick, a looking glass brought to Scotland by James the Fifth, said to be the first ever seen, steel mirrors having been previously in use.

The last and most astounding relic which visitors are shown, are bloody stains on the floor where Rizzio was murdered nearly 300 years ago. These our young conductress proclaimed in a solemn and melancholy voice, to be *stains from the blood of Rizzio!* At this announcement, some rustics who had followed us with attentive ears and open mouths, stood truly astonished; and we must confess we were somewhat surprised, on observing these bloody stains much more visible than when seen by us 40 years ago.

As Holyrood will in all probability become the periodic residence of her Majesty, we trust that every thing spurious will be removed, and that it will be like her English palaces, open to the public gratis.

Having examined Queen Mary's apartments, we will next take a view of those that were lately occupied by her Majesty, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and the Royal Family. We may here remark that the most of the furniture in these rooms is of modern manufacture, and not worth noticing, and even the few old pieces of furniture sent from London previous to her Majesty's arrival, were far from being in accordance with the beautiful apartments they were destined to furnish.

When Holyrood was reported ready for her Majesty's accommodation, except as to furniture, a gentleman in connection with the Royal Household was despatched from England to inspect it. He surely must have arrived when our venerable Palace and the beautiful scenery around it was enveloped by the haze of a *Scotch*

mist, which, it is said, can "wet an Englishman to the skin," and may probably also have the effect of obscuring the intellect, considering that he, in opposition to the sentiments of every Scotsman, formed so indifferent an opinion of our ancient Palace, and every thing around it, as induced him to report to her Majesty that she need not be particular as to furniture, as her Palace of Holyrood could only be made serviceable for a night's lodgings when passing onward to her Highland residence.

Some old furniture of an inferior description was, in accordance with this report, sent down, which Mr. Mathieson, the superintendent of works, made the most of. Although the English inspector could see no beauty or attraction in our ancient Palace, yet when her Majesty and Prince Albert arrived they were struck with the beauty and elegance of the edifice, and were somewhat amused with the efforts that had been made to show off the old sticks of furniture sent from London to the best advantage. Mr. Trotter, under the directions of Mr. Mathieson, having done every thing that possibly could be thought of for the accommodation and convenience of our beloved Queen and her illustrious Consort, as well as for the junior branches of the Royal Family; during her Majesty's short residence in her ancient Palace, she was so well pleased with her accommodation, that she is said to have declared she would have it furnished right royally, which declaration we trust will not be long of being put into execution; indeed, we are informed that Mr. Mathieson has got instructions to relay the floors of the principal rooms.

At the entrance to the Picture Gallery, on turning to our left, we enter a spacious and lofty apartment, which is called the Queen's Breakfast Room. It has a richly decorated ceiling, and ornamented with a good deal of fine oak panelling, very richly and beautifully carved, which had been at some previous period greatly disfigured, and its sharpness and minuteness in a great measure concealed by a thick coating of white oil paint, all of which has been completely removed, and the wood varnished and polished, and restored as nearly as possible to its original state, which was a very tedious and laborious process. The ceiling of this room is painted in what is called polychrome, in tints of cinnamon colour, morane, and green to correspond with the walls, which are hung with a rich green and brown flock paper. The oak panelling over the chimney piece is enlivened by a painting of "The Finding of Moses."

We pass from this room into the Vestibule, a small square apartment, finished wholly in oak panelling, and richly carved, and terminating in a dome, the painting of which has been very tastefully managed. It is coloured in deep azure, through which are scattered minute silver stars, producing an almost magical effect of height and distance. The ornamented work of the ceiling is delicately finished with gold.

The next apartment we enter is Prince Albert's Dressing Room, which is the centre room in the east side of the quadrangle, the ceiling and walls of which are in the same style and similarly ornamented as the Queen's Breakfast Room, but the centre of the

ceiling is ornamented by a painting, the subject "the Expulsion of Vulcan from Heaven," and the panelling over the mantel piece is enlivened by a painting of "The child Hercules slaying the Serpent."

Passing onward we enter the QUEEN'S BED ROOM, a large and beautiful apartment, with the greater portion of the walls hung with tapestry wrought by French Nuns, and brought by Queen Mary from France; although much decayed in colour it is in good condition, the subject, "Juno interceding for the Heathens, and the Persians worshipping the Sun." The wood work is of carved oak, and the ceiling is decorated and painted like the roofs of the other rooms above described. On the panelling over the mantel is a painting of "Venus emerging from the Sea."

We next entered into a suite of three rooms on the same range, but looking to the interior of the quadrangle. Two of these were occupied as WAITING ROOMS, and the other as the QUEEN'S DRESSING ROOM. The Waiting Rooms are plain, but the Queen's Dressing apartment has an enriched ceiling; however, all the three are in the same style, crimson and cream colour being the prevailing tints on the papers of the walls,[1] the painted cornices, etc.

Having returned to the main range of apartments, we next enter the QUEEN'S DRAWING ROOM, which is the south-west room in the east side of the quadrangle. It is painted in the same style as the other rooms, but in different hues, richly gilded. This is a magnificent apartment with a rich and beautiful ceiling, the plaster work being highly relieved, hanging from the roof in rich festoons of ornament. Mr. Hay has been particularly careful in painting the ceilings of this and the other rooms, to preserve those unique and curious works of early art in plaster, besides restoring them in external appearance to their original sharpness and richness of effect. It may not be generally known that six or seven ceilings of the apartments within the Palace are the first examples of floriated plaster work in this country. The floral and emblematical ornaments, instead of being cast in stucco as at present, were all wrought by the hand with simply lime well mixed with hair, a practice, the knowledge of which we understand is now lost. These ceilings were executed in the reign of Charles the I. or II., either a short time before or immediately after the Restoration.

Beyond this room is a large plainly decorated apartment, that was occupied by the PRINCESS ROYAL.

Having passed through the Queen's Drawing Room, we enter the ROYAL DINING ROOM or PUBLIC DRAWING ROOM, a large apartment with a highly ornamented ceiling, finished in the same style as the other rooms. The crimson paper on the walls, hung preparatory to George the Fourth's visit, still remains. There are two excellent paintings here, lately brought from Italy, the one is the marriage of the son of James II., familiarly known in

[1] The walls of this and the other rooms having been originally intended to be covered with tapestry, were found totally unfit for painting, therefore they have been papered upon stretched canvass.

history as the Pretender, or the Chevalier St. George, and the other the baptism of his son, Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

We next enter a large plain room, known as the THRONE ROOM or Hall of Audience, which was used by the Queen as a Dining Room. It was fitted up in 1822, for the levees of George IV., and still remains in the same state, it is richly furnished and fitted up with a throne, and the other emblems of royalty, on which some alterations were made before her Majesty's arrival. This room was used previous to her Majesty's residence in Holyrood, for holding levees by the Lord High Commissioner, during the sitting of the General Assembly, but it is questionable if such will again be allowed. There are hung on the walls of this room five portraits, namely, George the IV. in full stature, by Sir David Wilkie; George, Prince of Denmark; William and Mary of Orange; and Queen Anne.

Having passed through the Throne Room and across the main stair case, we reach a vestibule, beyond which is what is called the SECRETARY'S ROOM or PRINCE ALBERT'S DRAWING ROOM; it is a handsome apartment, and occupies the western portion of the southern wing of the Palace. The painting of the elaborate ceiling of this fine room is an extremely beautiful specimen of decorative art. The shades are cinnamon colour, crimson and green; the paper is a rich crimson with gilded and striped ground, and the other decorations are in a similar style. The turret apartments, which enter off the eastern end of this room, are fitted up in fashion to correspond.

We made our exit by the GRAND STAIR CASE, which has also a beautiful elaborate and highly relieved ceiling, with walls in imitation of stone, and found ourselves in the south-western corner of the interior of the quadrangle under the piazza.

The Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Argyle, and the Marquis of Breadalbane, have all suites of apartments in the Palace. The Duke of Hamilton's is entered by a short stair from Queen Mary's Reception Room, and consist of a few large plain empty apartments. The others we had no access to, but there can be little doubt that all these would be given up to her Majesty if required in making alterations for her accommodation.

This Palace afforded an asylum, between 1795 and 1799, to Count D'Artois, afterwards Charles X. of France, the Dukes D'Angouleme and Berri, and a few other emigrant nobles, when there was no safety for them in their own country; and the same royal personage, with his family, a second time found a refuge there, when driven from France by his indignant countrymen.

In July, 1822, apartments in the palace were fitted up for the use of his Majesty George the Fourth, who then graced and gladdened the long deserted halls of Holyrood with his royal presence;[1] and though he resided under the roof of the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith, a levee, and meetings of privy council were held in its ancient halls. Since his Majesty's visit, Government has expended a considerable sum of money in

[1] Vide B. i, p. 228.

repairing and renovating this venerable edifice, and enclosing it on two sides with a magnificent iron palisade.

Mary of Modena, consort of James the Second, was the last queen who resided within the palace of Holyrood, till our most gracious sovereign, Queen Victoria, again gladdened its venerable halls with the presence of royalty. Upwards of 150 years having elapsed since its previous occupation by a queen, it is natural to suppose that much was requisite to be done to the interior of the structure, to adapt it to the luxury of modern taste.

So soon as it was definitely made known that it was her Majesty's intention to visit Edinburgh, and reside for a day or two in her ancient palace of Holyrood, operations were begun and actively carried on to render it fit for the reception of her Majesty, Prince Albert, and the royal children. The operations were under the direction of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and were more of the nature of adaptations than alterations. But although they made no material alteration on the actual structure of the building, they very greatly altered and improved its appearance and suitableness as a royal residence.

Some time before her Majesty's arrival, all the alterations and decorations on the Palace were completed, and the furniture of the different apartments arranged. A flag-staff was erected over the main entrance of the Palace, for the purpose of hoisting the royal standard during her Majesty's residence.

The residence among us of a sovereign so beloved was looked forward to with the utmost enthusiasm, and on the 29th of August, the day of her Majesty's arrival, most of the shops were shut, and the latter part of the day was generally observed as a holiday. The station of the North British Railway at Meadowbank, now called "The Queen's Station," having been selected as an appropriate landing-place for the royal party, the Directors of that Railway made the requisite arrangements for her Majesty's arrival. The landing platform was 97 feet in length, and ten feet broad, and was covered with crimson cloth. The approach leading to the spacious flight of steps, by which her Majesty reached the royal carriage in waiting on the Abbeyhill road, was elegantly roofed, and finished in front so as to resemble festoons of drapery. The carpet on which her Majesty walked from the Railway to the royal carriage was formed of "the Stuart hunting tartan," and the steps of the pavilion were laid with crimson, and lined on each side between the pillars with a superb collection of exotic plants. The whole was most tastefully fitted up, and had a striking effect.

From the landing-place to the Palace extensive platforms were erected at every eligible locality for the accommodation of spectators, all of which were filled by respectable parties, long before the hour of her Majesty's arrival. Both sides of this route were lined by Light Dragoons, and strong barriers were erected near Parsonsgreen and the south-eastern angle of the Palace, to prevent the pressure of the crowd. Immense crowds had taken up their station on the north side of the park, and on the sloping

ground along the road through the park, where they commanded a favourable view of the royal party.

The royal train made its appearance at St. Margaret's station about five minutes past five o'clock, and was greeted with loud, long, and repeated acclamations by the vast crowds of spectators. There were waiting on the platform to receive her Majesty, the Duke of Buccleuch, in the uniform of the Royal Archers; Major General Sir James Riddell, commander of the forces in Scotland, and a brilliant staff; Sheriffs Gordon and Arkley; John Learmonth, Esq., of Dean, chairman of the North British Railway Company, and some of the Directors. The Duke of Buccleuch received her Majesty on landing from the royal carriage, who after bowing her acknowledgments to Mr. Learmonth, ascended with Prince Albert the flight of steps leading to the royal carriage, which was lined by the Royal Archers.

When the different members of the royal family had taken their seats in the royal carriages, each drawn by four horses, the royal *cortege* moved off, headed by Mr. Sheriff Gordon, and J. A. Campbell, Esq., sheriff-clerk, in a handsome barouch and pair, followed by a detachment of the 13th Light Dragoons; the Royal Archers forming the body-guard around the carriage. The Duke of Buccleuch and Major-General Riddell rode immediately behind, and the Duke of Roxburgh and Lord Elibank walked on each side of the royal carriage. Enthusiastic bursts of acclamation from the assembled multitudes hailed her Majesty on entering the park, which were caught by the more distant crowds, and echoed from peak to peak of the neighbouring heights. Both her Majesty and Prince Albert testified their gratification by repeated acknowledgments, and the Prince of Wales raised his cap in return for the hearty greeting of her Majesty's loyal subjects, who had assembled, it is supposed, to the number of between sixty and eighty thousand individuals.

For the reception of her Majesty at the Palace every preparation had been made. There were in attendance a guard of honour of the 93rd Highlanders, with the Queen's colours and fine band; fifty men of the Royal Artillery, with arms, and two officers; a detachment of the 13th Light Dragoons; one half of the Royal Archers, under command of the Earl of Morton, with their colours and fine band; the High Constables of Holyrood; the High Constables of the city; the Magistrates of Canongate, in their robes of office; the Constables of that burgh, and those of Easter and Wester Portsburgh. As the royal party approached, the vast multitude were loud in their acclamations, the castle guns fired a royal salute, the different bands struck up the national anthem, and they were received with the usual military honours. With the hearty and imposing reception, her Majesty and the other members of the royal party seemed much delighted. The royal party arrived at the entrance of the Palace precisely at nineteen minutes past five o'clock; and in absence from indisposition of the Duke of Hamilton, hereditary keeper of the palace, was received by Mr. Rutherford, W.S., deputy-keeper. There was also in attendance in the quadrangle and colonnade of the

Palace, a select party of the nobility and gentry, who greeted her Majesty and Prince Albert with silent and respectful homage. The royal standard was immediately hoisted above the entrance gate, announcing to the citizens of Edinburgh that Holyrood was once more tenanted by a sovereign. The interior of the Palace, and the guard of the royal person, were entrusted to the Royal Archers.

Her Majesty immediately retired to the state apartments, and in the evening a select party had the honour of dining at the royal table, where her Majesty repeatedly expressed the greatest satisfaction for the loyal and affectionate welcome she had received.

Her Majesty left the Palace on Saturday morning exactly at a quarter past eight, on her way to Balmoral. The hour of departure, and also the route which would be taken in proceeding to the railway, having been generally known the previous evening, the lieges were seen flocking from all quarters in the direction of the Palace, and the Queen's Park, so early as half-past six o'clock, to give their parting farewell. Guards of honour were drawn up in the square fronting the entrance to the Palace, and in the centre was stationed the fine band of the 93rd regiment, who performed a variety of airs during the morning. Her Majesty rose at half-past six, according to her usual practice.

The royal party, accompanied by Sir George Grey, the Marchioness of Douro, the Hon. Miss Lennox and Miss Hilyard, having descended the stairs, were received in the quadrangle by the Duke of Buccleuch and Sheriff Gordon, and by Major-General Riddell, commander of the forces in Scotland, outside the gate. Four royal carriages, each drawn by four horses, were stationed in front of the Palace, and her Majesty, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, entered the first carriage, and immediately drove off at a rapid pace. A royal salute was fired from the Castle on her Majesty taking her seat, and while the peals of the cannon were resounding through the city, the other carriages containing the royal children, the Marchioness of Douro, the Hon. Miss Lennox, Miss Hilyard, Sir George Grey, Sir James Clerk, her Majesty's physician, and Colonel Gordon, drove off.

The royal party on leaving the Palace yard, and during its progress through the King's Park, was received with deafening cheers by the thousands lining the road. Her Majesty and Prince Albert gracefully acknowledged the enthusiasm displayed. At Meadowbank the arrangements were nearly similar as on her Majesty's arrival.

During her Majesty's residence in Holyrood, she, Prince Albert, and the royal children, accompanied by the Marchioness of Douro and the Hon. Colonel Gordon, ascended to the summit of Arthur's seat. The royal party were driven in two carriages to Dunsapie, from which they began their ascent on foot up the steep acclivity, and reached the summit after a short exertion; and were extremely delighted with the extent and variety of the view from this hill, which perhaps presents one of the finest

panoramic prospects to be met with. Some hundred of spectators were on the hill, but kept at a respectable distance, and manifested no desire to intrude too closely upon the privacy of the royal party. Having safely accomplished their descent to Dunsapie, they there entered the carriages, and arrived at Holyrood amidst the cheers of numerous spectators. The royal children paid the Castle a visit, and her Majesty, Prince Albert, and royal family, accompanied by a number of ladies and gentlemen, visited Donaldson's Hospital, and greatly admired that beautiful structure.

It having been ascertained that her Majesty would arrive from Balmoral on the evening of Thursday the 10th of October, arrangements were made for her second reception at Holyrood.

Among the numerous modes by which the Scottish nation testified their loyalty and affection to their beloved sovereign on this occasion, was by lighting a bonfire on the craggy top of Arthur's seat, upon an extensive and magnificent scale. This bonfire was erected under the directions of Mr. Matheson, of the Woods and Forests department. The reader may have some idea of the extent of this blazing pile, when informed that it was erected on a circular area or base, of which the diameter was 40 feet, and its height 35. It was composed of between 40 and 50 tons of coal, 500 to 600 old tar, turpentine, and other barrels, besides tar, old wood, and other combustibles. To convey these to the summit of the hill, 880 feet above the level of the sea, was a work of considerable difficulty. Twelve tons of parrot-coal were given to assist in its erection by the Duke of Buccleuch; five pounds were contributed by each of the banking establishments of the city; and many merchants, builders, etc., contributed materials for the pile.

This large bonfire was lighted precisely at five o'clock, on the night of her Majesty's arrival, at which time the top of Arthur's seat was crowded with people, who, as the flames began to encircle and ascend, gave three loud cheers for the Queen and Prince Albert.

The whole pile soon became one mass of flame, and as the evening advanced, was beautiful and sublime, and, from the darkness of the night, shed a flood of light over the whole bold romantic and picturesque scenery of Salisbury crags, and also to a considerable distance. Most of the other preparations were somewhat similar to those on previous occasions, except that, it being dark when her Majesty arrived, the railway station was brilliantly illuminated with gas, and the whole of the way from the station to the Palace was lighted up with variegated lamps, enclosed in globes and suspended on posts, and the bonfire at the time of her Majesty's arrival was seen to great advantage.

Long previous to six o'clock, the hour at which her Majesty was expected to arrive, crowds had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Palace, and in the park, and on various parts of the hill crowds of eager spectators were grouped. The platforms erected at various places were crowded, and the whole route of the Royal party was lined by an immense concourse of people.

The Royal train, consisting of five carriages, reached St. Margaret's station precisely at twenty minutes to seven, when an

enthusiastic cheer burst from the company assembled. The platform was occupied by a select party of ladies and gentlemen. In the absence of the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, the duty of receiving her Majesty fell on Sheriff Gordon.

The Royal cortege proceeded to Holyrood surrounded by a royal escort. On entering the Queen's Park, the immense concourse of people assembled were taken by surprise while cheering her Majesty, by an unexpected display of coloured light and fireworks, from various parts of Arthur's seat and the crags, which had a most singularly beautiful effect; exhibiting with great distinctness St. Anthony's chapel and other striking features of the hill, and an additional degree of splendour to the scene was added, from the blaze of the burning pile on the top of Arthur's Seat. On the royal cortege arriving at Holyrood, her Majesty was received with the usual honours, and a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen were stationed in the quadrangle, to whose salutations her Majesty and Prince Albert bowed very gracefully. From one of the ladies her Majesty received a beautiful bouquet of flowers. Her Majesty was conducted to the state apartments by Mr. Rutherford, deputy keeper of the Palace, and in a few minutes the royal party were all safely within the walls of this ancient edifice. Her Majesty expressed herself to Sheriff Gordon as delighted beyond measure with the display in the Park.

Her Majesty did not leave the Palace after her arrival till next morning, a few minutes before eight o'clock, when, every thing being in readiness, the royal party drove off from the Palace surrounded by a guard of honour, preceded by Sheriff Gordon, accompanied with enthusiastic cheers of numerous spectators, when immediately the royal standard that floated from the top of the principal entrance to the Palace was lowered, and, shortly after, a royal salute from the Castle-guns announced that her Majesty had bade farewell for a season to the ancient residence of her ancestors.

The precincts of the Palace are extensive, including the grounds which were first inclosed by James V., to the extent of about three miles in circumference. It is a sanctuary for debtors[1] the boundaries of which reach beyond the precincts of the Palace, these grounds belonged by right of free foresting to the Earl of Haddington, from whom they were lately purchased by her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

[1] See the history of the sanctuary, its Bailie court, number of its "*Abbey Lairds*,"[1] from 1824 to 1834, etc. B. ii, pp. 261–262.

[1] This designation is applied to those who take refuge in the sanctuary, and appears to be of long standing, as it occurs in an old comic song called 'the Cock-laird,' in which the lover informs his sweetheart, that her demands are too high for him, as he had no money to throw away on vanities. She replies:

The Borrowstoun merchants
Will sell you on tick;
For we maun hae braw things,
Albeit they soud break.
When broken, frae care
The fools are set free,
When we mak them lairds
In the Abbey, quoth she.

A carriage-way was lately formed round Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags, which goes under the name of "THE QUEEN'S DRIVE." The lowest part of this drive is from St. Leonards to Parson's Green, and the highest portion extends from its farther end to Samson's Ribs. The splendid panoramic views seen from the various parts of this delightful drive, are perhaps unparalleled for beauty and diversity.

EDINBURGH CASTLE. This castle stands on the summit and western extremity of the central ridge on which the ancient part of the city is built; it covers an area of about six English acres. The historical events of the Castle are so intimately blended with those of the city, that we could not avoid narrating them as they occurred in its general history. We will therefore here merely allude to them, and refer the reader to the previous narration. The period when this rock was supposed to have been first fortified has been already mentioned;[1] it was besieged by Donald Bane in 1093;[2] William the Lion occasionally resided in it;[3] it was pledged for his ransom in 1174, when taken prisoner at the siege of Alnwick;[4] on his marriage to the daughter of Viscount Beaumont it was restored;[5] the queen of Alexander III. was kept in it in a state of durance, and subsequently she and her husband generally resided in it;[6] it was in 1291 surrendered to Edward I., was withdrawn from him in 1294, but the same year he again made himself master of it;[7] it was dismantled in 1297 by Sir William Wallace;[8] having been repaired, it again fell into the hands of the English;[9] in 1313 it was retaken by Sir Thomas Randolph, and demolished by Robert I.;[10] it was in ruins in 1336, when it served for the retreat of part of the Count of Namur's forces, defeated by the Earl of Moray, who held it but one day;[11] Edward III. in 1337 rebuilt and garrisoned it;[12] it was, nevertheless, surprised in 1341, and taken by William Douglas, the black knight of Liddesdale;[13] in 1371 David II. died in it;[14] the burgesses of Edinburgh were in 1385 privileged to build residences within its walls;[15] it was in 1400 besieged by Henry IV. of England;[16] seized in 1416 by the Earl of Douglas, but restored by him in 1418;[17] after the murder of James I. at Perth, in 1437, his queen and the royal children took refuge in it;[18] James II. in 1438 was held here in a sort of honourable durance, till conveyed out of it one morning early in a trunk;[19] within its walls the Earl of Douglas and his brother were in 1440 basely murdered;[20] in 1445 it sustained a siege of nine months before surrendering;[21] in 1482 it was surprised and taken by the Duke of Albany, who relieved his brother James III., who had been confined prisoner in it for nine months;[22] subsequently that monarch deposited his valuable effects in it, and supplied it with ordnance and provisions to sustain a siege;[23] it was converted into a state prison for James V. and his brother while infants,

[1] Vide B. i, p. 18. [2] Ibid. p. 19. [3] Ibid. p. 20. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. p. 21. [6] Ibid. 21. [7] Ibid. pp. 21-22. [8] Ibid. p. 22. [9] Ibid. [10] Ibid. pp. 22-23. [11] Ibid. p. 26. [12] Ibid. [13] Ibid. pp. 26-27. [14] Ibid. p. 28. [15] Ibid. p. 30. [16] Ibid. [17] Ibid. p. 31. [18] Ibid. p. 36. [19] Ibid. pp. 36-37. [20] Ibid. p. 37. [21] Ibid. p. 38. [22] Ibid. p. 44. [23] Ibid. p. 46.

and was then besieged by a number of nobles, to whom it was surrendered;[1] Lady Glammis was in 1538 burned on the Castle hill;[2] this fortress was taken by Regent Morton in 1573 from the adherents of Queen Mary;[3] in 1577 the brother of Morton held the Castle after he had resigned the regency, and refused to yield it up, till forced to do so for want of provisions;[4] a riot took place within its walls in 1578, when several of the citizens were killed;[5] it surrendered in 1639 to the Covenanters;[6] was taken, after a siege of two months, by Cromwell, in 1650;[7] surrendered to William and Mary in 1690;[8] in 1715 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the rebels to surprise this fortress;[9] a vain attempt was made to besiege it by Prince Charles Edward in 1745;[10] since then it has been principally used as a station for soldiers. During the period of the last war, numbers of French prisoners were confined in it.

This rock rises 383 feet above the level of the sea, and nearly 300 above the vale below. It is accessible only on the eastern side; the northern, western, and southern sides being precipitous, and in some places almost perpendicular. It is separated from the buildings of the city by an open area or esplanade, 360 feet in length and 300 feet in breadth, enclosed by a low parapet wall on the north and south; this glacis is popularly called the Castle hill, and is used as a parade ground for the military, and a pro menade for the citizens, who here enjoy a magnificent prospect; it communicates with the upper part of the High street, or Castle street, as it is called. Close to the parapet wall on the north there is a colossal bronze statue of the late Duke of York, in the robes of a knight of the garter. At the western extremity of the esplanade is a barrier of palisades, and beyond these a deep dry ditch, which is crossed by a drawbridge, and closed by a gate, defended by two small flanking batteries. The road within these passes a guard-house, and a reservoir for supplying the garrison with water. Beyond these the road winds upwards towards the north, and passes two arched gateways, the first of which is of great strength, and was formerly defended by two portcullises, and the second has above it a state prison. On the right, after passing the second gateway, is the Argyle battery, mounted with ten twelve and eighteen pounders, which are pointed towards the New Town, and from which salutes are fired; and on the left is the main guard-house. A little to the right, west from this, down a short lane, is situated the powder magazine, the only part of the fortress that is bomb proof; near it is the arsenal, which is capable of containing 30,000 stand of arms; in it is exhibited a display of trophies and military stores curiously arranged. A little farther on, in front, and slightly to the right, are plain structures occupied by the Governor and other officers, and immediately above these there is a huge pile of building, erected in 1796, called the *New Barracks*, in length 121

[1] Vide B. i, pp. 55-56. [2] Ibid. p. 61. [3] Ibid. p. 107. [4] Ibid. pp. 109-110.
[5] Ibid. p. 110. [6] Ibid. p. 152. [7] Ibid. p. 157. [8] Ibid. p. 174.
[9] Ibid. p. 190. [10] Ibid. p. 213.

feet, in breadth 50 feet, three stories in front and four in rear, and resting upon piazzas. It has liberal accommodation for 1,200 men, but upwards of 2,000 men can be accommodated within the Castle walls. The picturesque effect of the ancient structures of the Castle, when viewed from the west, are much hurt by this plain and ponderous erection, which appears at a distance more like a large factory than a fortification. A steep curved road sweeps past these buildings, and conducts through a second strong gateway to the upper and ancient erections of the Castle, and to nearly all its most interesting objects. Within this gateway, a little to the left, stands the chapel of the garrison, erected in 1818; at the end of this building a path leads to the higher part of the Castle, called the bomb battery, from which there is a magnificent view of the New Town, the Frith of Forth, and the adjacent country. It is here where that celebrated piece of ordnance, named Mons Meg, stands,[1] and also lie a number of stone bullets of large size. Returning by the end of the chapel to the main road, and going eastward, we arrive at a large semicircular platform called the Half Moon Battery, mounted with twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders. On the top of the rampart of this battery the flag staff is erected, and near it is a huge grate, in which a fire is kindled on occasions of great rejoicing; there is also close by the flag-staff the ancient well of the garrison, which is cut through the solid rock to a great depth, and affords an excellent supply of water. On the south side is a lofty pile of buildings, with a court in the centre nearly 100 feet in diameter, in which the soldiers are mustered and exercised. The houses are chiefly laid out in barracks for the accommodation of the officers. The south-east portion of this square was partly built by Queen Mary, as a royal residence, and contains on the ground floor a small apartment called Queen Mary's room, the roof of which is divided into four compartments, with a thistle at each corner, and an imperial crown in the centre with the initials M. R.; here was Mary, Queen of Scots, delivered on 19th June, 1566, of her only son James VI., afterwards James I. of England, in whose person the crowns of the two nations, opposed to each other for ages, were at last united. This room was long part of the canteen or tavern of the Castle, and quite accessible to any visitor, but in 1849 the entrance to this interesting apartment was entirely separated from the canteen, through the interest of Major-General Riddell, commander of the forces in Scotland, and the oaken panels around the walls were renewed after its original form. A copy of a portrait of King James VI., by Jacob Janson, now in the possession of William Hay, Esq. of Dunse castle, has been taken by the Right Hon. Lady Monson, and by her ladyship has been generously presented to Major-General Riddell, to be placed in this room; and a respected and talented citizen of Edinburgh has also presented a beautiful copy from the original portrait of Queen

[1] See a description of this ancient specimen of rude artillery of former times in B. i, pp. 157, 158.

Mary, by Funino, an Italian artist, which was long in possession of the Trails of Orkney.

In a small apartment on the first floor up, called the Crown Room, immediately under the square tower, are deposited the Scottish Regalia, before described;[1] these are exposed three hours a-day to the view of visitors who have been furnished at the Royal Exchange with gratuitous tickets of admission. A number of batteries surround the Castle walls besides those above mentioned, but its fortifications instead of being regulated by the rules of art, have been accommodated to the irregular sweep of the rock on which they stand.

The garrison has a non-resident governor, generally a Scottish nobleman, a deputy-governor, a fort-major, a store-keeper, a master gunner, and two chaplains, the one Presbyterian and the other Episcopalian.

His Majesty George IV. while in Edinburgh paid a processional visit to this ancient fortress, and greeted his subjects from its battlements; and her present Majesty, our gracious Queen Victoria, and her royal consort Prince Albert, also paid a processional visit to the Castle, and when residing in her ancient palace of Holyrood, her royal family visited this fortress, and inspected its ramparts and the curiosities within its walls.

The Scottish Mint. There appears to have been no Mint or coins struck in Scotland previous to the reign of Alexander I. who ascended the Scottish throne in 1107, but in his reign silver pieces called pennies, of twenty-four grains in weight, divided by a double cross, were struck, and for a long period these were the only circulating specie of native manufacture.[2] In the reign of William the Lion, Edinburgh was converted into a place of mintage, which was an honour conferred only on places of note. In the reign of Robert de Bruce, or his son David II., the groat, a coin of four pennies in value, was struck. On the return of David II. from his captivity in England, he appointed Adam Torre, a burgess of Edinburgh, and James Mulekin of Florence, joint keepers of the exchange of all Scotland, and masters of the Mint. The oldest gold coins found in Scotland bear the name of Robert, but whether struck by the first king of that name is not clearly ascertained. During the reign of James I. it appears coins were struck in the city, from many now extant, exhibiting on the obverse side the legend, *Villa de Edinburgh*, villa signifying that Edinburgh was not then a fortified town. Previous to that monarch's reign there is nothing found in the public acts relative to gold money. But when that prince returned from his captivity in England, the following act was passed,[3] "That our lord the king gar mend his money, and gar stryke it a like wecht and finenes to the money in England. And this money runnand nowe to have course quhill the king forbid it. And that the king will gar stryke new money quhen he lykeis, and thinks speidful and profitable for the realme;" it was at same time enacted that bot

[1] Vide B. i, p. 225-226.

[2] Bœtius and Leslie state the origin of the Scottish mint some ages earlier, but give no authority for so doing.

[3] James I., parl. i, cap. 23.

the gold and silver coin should be similar to that of England in fineness and weight. The first Scottish gold coins were struck of a broad and large surface, and very thin. It is uncertain when copper coin was first introduced into Scotland, but in 1466, in the reign of James III., an act[1] was passed ordaining, "For the ease and sustentation of the kingis lieges, and almonis-deedes to be done to puir folk: That there be cuinzied copper money, foure in the penny, havand on th' ane part the cross of Saint Andrew, and the crown on th' uther part, with the subscription of *Edinburgh* on th' ane part, and an *R* with *James* on th' uther part. And there be cuinzied three hundreth punds conteinand silver. And that they pass in payment for bread and aile and uther merchandise." The same monarch also issued silver coin containing a very large alloy of copper, which went under the name of *black money*, and in order to insure a general circulation of this depreciated coin, parliament ordained, "That nane uther counterfaictes of black money be tane in payment in this realme but our soveraine lordes awin black money, stricken and printed by his cuinziourers, under the paine of death. And that na manner of person bring into this realme ony strange black money of uther realmes, or counterfaicte the kingis money, under the paine of death." The coins current in Scotland in the reign of James III. were named: the demy, the lyon, the groat of the crown, the groat of the fleur-de-lis, the small penny, the farthing, the plack; and the coins current of other realms were named: the English noble of the rose, the old Edward, the noble of Henry, the French crown, the salute, the ryder, the old English groat, the new English groat, the spurred groat, and the English penny; the value of these were regulated at different periods by Acts of Parliament.

In 1567 there was so great a quantity of false coin current, that Parliament passed an Act[2] appointing in each burgh "certain men of judgment, having understanding of cuinzie," in whose presence all sums of money were to be delivered; and if they found any *false money*, they were authorised to *clip it*, and declare it forfeited. The clipper was allowed for his trouble a penny for each pound that he clipped. The magistrates of each burgh were enjoined to appoint "sufficient clipping houses," and were held responsible for the clippers they appointed.

In 1572 Regent Morton struck in his castle at Dalkeith a depreciated coin, mixed with a very large quantity of alloy, and by proclamation made it pass among the king's party for three times its value; and, having in 1575 got quit of all his bad money, by paying it away to workmen employed in repairing the castle and other public buildings, he caused the privy council issue an order, reducing his base coin to its intrinsic value. For this act of oppression he was hated by the common people, who were thus defrauded out of two-thirds of their money.

In the reign of James VI. all the silver coin extending to "twa hundreth eleven stane and ten punds weicht of silver" was called

[1] James III., parl. i, cap. 9.

[2] James IV., parl. i, cap. 2.

in, and a coin issued "in ten shilling pieces of eleven pennies fine," having on one side a crowned portrait of James, with a sword in his hand, and the inscription: "JACOBUS VI. DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORUM;" on the reverse side a shield, with a crown above it, the year when crowned, and "HONOR REGIS JUDICIUM DILIGIT." In the same monarch's reign were also struck the very small copper coins called *pennies*, worth one-twelfth of an English penny, with the inscription: "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*"

The liberty of coinage was not confined to the capital, for many bear the impression of Linlithgow, Dumbarton, Dundee, Aberdeen, Perth, and Stirling. In 1575 a little square of plain but substantial buildings were erected in Gray's close, near the head of the Canongate, which from that year to the Union with England was used as the Scottish Mint; the coins of Scotland and England having been then assimilated, these buildings became disused for that purpose, although till a recent date they were occupied by the officers, who are still kept in pay; even the bell which hung at the entry of the court continued for a century to ring imaginary workmen to their labour, and was as pointedly rung at the hour when they used to retire. This place was an asylum for insolvent debtors, but only for twenty-four hours.

ROYAL INSTITUTION. This fine edifice, designed by Playfair, standing at the foot of the Earthen Mound, is of Grecian Doric architecture, of great elegance, having fluted columns running round the building, with a statue of her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on its summit. It was founded in 1819, and contains apartments for the Board of Manufactures and Fisheries, as also the Hall of the ROYAL INSTITUTION, for the encouragement of the fine arts in Scotland, which was founded in Edinburgh on 1st February, and an exhibition of paintings by ancient masters opened on 11th March, 1819. In 1827 it was incorporated by royal charter.

The object of the Directors has been to lay the foundation of a national collection of such works of the great masters of painting as must in course of time do credit to the country, and at the same time supply that deficiency, of which the study of art in Scotland has been hitherto unprovided.

The original collection was acquired at considerable expense by the Directors of the Institution, from various private collections in Italy; from time to time there have been added many other pictures, the gift of individuals friendly to the advance of the fine arts in this country. There has been also added to the collection some pictures of modern artists acquired by the Institution; but the most important addition was the valuable collection of paintings, marbles, and bronzes, the property of the late Sir James Erskine of Torry, which were bequeathed by that nobleman to the college of Edinburgh in 1824, received in the college in 1836, and removed to this Institution in 1845 for their better preservation, in terms of an agreement between the Board of Trustees for Arts and Manufactures, and the Trustees appointed by the late Sir James Erskine.

The public are admitted to the Hall of the Institution gratis on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 11 to 4 o'clock. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays are set apart for the accommodation of students of art.

National Gallery of Art. His Royal Highness Prince Albert having consented to lay the foundation stone of this edifice, on the 3th August, 1850, which is to be erected on the Mound, the ceremony excited the greatest interest, not only in the city, but throughout Scotland. The shops in the city were shut, and the day was observed as a holiday. An immense concourse of people thronged the streets from an early hour, and their numbers were constantly increased by the arrival of the special and ordinary trains on the different lines of railway which terminate in Edinburgh.

The great centre of attraction was the site of the intended structure. The area forming the theatre of the ceremony was upwards of 200 feet long by about 80 in breadth, and was enclosed by a substantial barricade. A very handsome gallery for the Commissioners of the Board of Manufactures and their friends, was erected immediately behind the Royal Institution, to which access was obtained from that structure by an elegant covered passage about 50 feet in length, lined with pink baize on the roof and pillars, and carpeted with crimson cloth. The ground pavilion to which it led was most elegantly fitted up, and constructed for the accommodation of about 150 persons. It communicated with the area below by a platform, also carpeted with crimson. The distinguished personages in this pavilion were, the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Duchess of Roxburgh, the Earl of Haddington, the Earl and Countess of Roseberry, Lady Barriedale, Lady Ann Baird, Lady Belhaven, etc.

The grand gallery on the west side of the Mound was 162 feet in length, and estimated to contain about 1,300 persons. This was occupied by the different public bodies, and a distinguished company of ladies and gentlemen. It was divided into sections, and decorated with flags and crimson cloth; in the front were stationed the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh in their official robes, attended by officers bearing the different civic insignia. The Senatus Academicus of the University, in their academic gowns, and attended by the officer bearing the mace, occupied another section of the gallery. The magistrates of Canongate and Portsburgh, and the magistrates and town council of Leith, were also officially present, and arrayed in their robes. There were also on this gallery the members of the Police and Improvement Commission, and of the Paving Board. About 150 students attending the School of Design were accommodated on a gallery set apart for them. A number of private galleries were erected on the remainder of the area, but the greater part of them stood empty, owing to the high sum demanded for admission. The Free Church College, commanding a fine view of the proceedings, was occupied by the members of that College Committee, the different Professors, their families, and friends. A dense mass of spectators filled the shelving ground towards the

front of the intended edifice, while the lofty range of houses at the head of the Mound, the windows and roof of the Bank of Scotland, and even the more distant galleries of the Scott Monument were filled by numerous spectators.

About eighty noblemen and gentlemen of the Royal Company of Archers, under the command of the Earl of Morton, bearing their standard, and fully equipped, were ranged on both sides of the platform leading from the grand pavilion to the foundation stone. The Pensioner corps lined the barrier around the area, and detachments of cavalry were established at various points on the Mound to preserve order. The High Constables of Edinburgh, and the Constables of Canongate and Easter and Wester Portsburgh, occupied a position near the foundation stone for the like purpose. The band of the Royal Archers and Pensioner corps were stationed on the area near the grand pavilion, and the fine band of the 13th Light Dragoons was stationed opposite the Royal Institution.

The road from the Mound, and east of Princes street to St. Andrew street, was lined by the 13th Light Dragoons; from thence to the commencement of Waterloo place by the 93rd Highlanders; and the Mid-Lothian Yeomanry, under the command of Lord Aberdour, lined the road from the east end of the Caltonhill to the Palace gate, by the road opening into the foot of Abbeyhill.

Shortly after twelve o'clock the Lord Provost, in his official robes, waited on Prince Albert at Holyrood, along with Mr. Sheriff Gordon, and His Royal Highness, in the uniform of a field-marshal, with the green ribbon and other insignia of the order of the Thistle, left the Palace by the main entrance at twenty minutes to one o'clock, in the royal carriage drawn by four horses, which contained besides the Prince, the Marquess of Abercorn, Groom of the Stole to the Prince, the Hon. C. Phipps, Keeper of the Privy Purse to the Queen, and the Hon. Colonel Gordon, Equerry to Prince Albert. The procession, preceded by Mr. Sheriff Gordon in his elegant phaeton and pair, the Lord Provost in his splendid state carriage, and attended by two dragoons, left the Palace yard by the gate erected for the reception of George IV. in the grounds at the Abbeyhill, and passed thence by the Regent road, Waterloo bridge, and Princes street. The Prince was greeted at every part of his progress by enthusiastic acclamations from dense crowds which thronged the line of procession. The High School presented a most animated appearance, being crowded in every part by fashionably dressed spectators. The craggy sides and grassy slopes of the Caltonhill were covered to the very summit with thousands of spectators, who hailed his Royal Highness with waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and long continued cheering. Many of the houses along the line of procession were hung with flags, or decorated with floral and other devices; while the windows and balconies were crowded by gaily dressed ladies and gentlemen, who testified their regard for the illustrious consort of our beloved Queen. The massive and elegant style of the architecture of Waterloo place

which excited George IV. to exclaim, on his progress by the same route, "How superb!" attracted the particular attention of the Prince, as did also the Register office, the master-piece of Adams, and the Scott monument, with its elaborate decorations.

A royal salute fired from the guns in the Castle announced the approach of his Royal Highness, while the band of the 93rd Highlanders, stationed at the east end of Princes street, and the band of the 13th Light Dragoons, placed at the entrance of the Royal Institution, played the National Anthem.

The Duke of Buccleuch, the Lord Justice General, Sir George Clerk, Bart., M.P.; Sir William Gibson-Craig, Bart., M.P.; Sir John Watson Gordon; and Alexander Maconochie, Esq., as Commissioners of the Board of Manufactures, specially appointed to officiate at the ceremony, received his Royal Highness at the entrance of the Royal Institution, in front of which was erected an elegant porch decorated with evergreens.

His Royal Highness having entered the Picture Gallery, proceeded, amidst the thunders of artillery from the Castle, to the Commissioner's platform to lay the foundation stone of this important structure; the Lord Provost walking on his right, and the Lord Justice General on his left side. Having for a moment viewed the magnificent scene before him, he recognised the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Duchess of Roxburgh, and several other ladies of distinction, with whom he cordially shook hands, while he was greeted with enthusiastic cheering from all sides.

His Royal Highness then descended from the gallery, and proceeded along the platform to the site of the foundation stone, still accompanied by the Lord Provost and Lord Justice General, and followed by the Commissioners, who upon reaching the spot intended as the foundation, formed, with the other noblemen and gentlemen present, a semi-circle opposite his Royal Highness, who had taken his station immediately opposite the stone. The immense assembly uncovered on the arrival of the procession, and continued without their hats during the ceremony. The Commissioners were stationed on the right of the Prince, his suite being on his left. The group around him consisted of the Duke of Buccleuch, who wore the uniform of Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Edinburgh, with the blue ribbon of the Garter; the Duke of Roxburgh, in the costume of the Royal Archers; the Marquis of Abercorn, with the blue ribbon of the Garter; the Lord Provost in his official robes, and many other noblemen and gentlemen in court dresses, and splendid Highland costume, etc.

After an impressive and appropriate prayer offered up by Principal Lee, the Lord Justice General advanced to the stone, which was 5 feet 6 inches square, and 15 inches thick, and had a cavity for the reception of the usual deposits, and he having taken up the trowel, and delivered an appropriate address, presented it to the Prince. It was of silver, gilt, emblazoned with the arms of the Board of Trustees, the handle being in the form of a palm stem, encircled with olive leaves, and bore the following inscription:

"Presented by
The Board of Trustees for Manufactures, etc.,
in Scotland, to
His Royal Highness
THE PRINCE ALBERT,
on laying
The First Stone
of the
National Gallery,
At Edinburgh,
30th August, 1850."

His Royal Highness having received the trowel from his Lordship, advanced to the stone accompanied by several of the Commissioners. Mr. Maconochie then deposited in its cavity a vase, hermetically sealed, which contained many documents connected with the Board of Trustees and other establishments in the city, the Edinburgh newspapers, the current coins, etc.

His Royal Highness then, with the trowel, took a portion of the mortar from the service plate, which was presented by Mr. Playfair, the architect of the building, and applied it to the stone amid the most enthusiastic cheering. The upper stone, which was 4½ feet square and 16 inches in thickness, suspended from a crane, was then lowered to its site, and the bolts of the plate secured. A plate was inserted in the upper stone, with an appropriate inscription.

His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch then applied the square to the angles of the stone; the plumb rule was applied by the Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, and the level by Sir John Watson Gordon. These measurements being concluded, the mallet (which was of gold gilt, as well as the other instruments, the head being of crimson velvet) was then presented by Sir William Gibson-Craig to his Royal Highness, who struck the stone with it three times amidst the renewed applause of the multitude. His Royal Highness then delivered a very neat and appropriate address to the Commissioners, after which he returned to the grand pavilion, followed by many of the noblemen and gentlemen present. The bands again played the National Anthem, and the immense crowd raised a long and hearty cheer.

His Royal Highness returned to Holyrood by the same route he had arrived. The streets were lined with military as before, and were equally crowded with spectators, by whom he was greeted with enthusiastic acclamations, which he repeatedly acknowledged in the most gracious manner. He arrived at the Palace shortly after two o'clock, having been engaged little more than an hour in the ceremony.

This grand structure is to be erected through the munificence of Parliament by her Majesty's Board of Trustees for Arts, Fisheries, and Manufactures in Scotland, and is to contain a National and other Galleries, for objects connected with the promotion of the fine arts. Although we have seen a plan of this national edifice, our limits will not permit us to give a description of it.

Royal Exchange. The original Exchange which was in 1685, erected in the Parliament square, had a range of piazzas erected solely for the accommodation of merchants and farmers transacting business on the weekly market-day, yet even at this early period, they had been so long accustomed to meet at the cross, that these piazzas were never used by them. After its demolition as we have already stated[1] the present Royal Exchange was founded on 15th September, 1753, on the north side of the High Street, opposite to the site of the ancient cross, and completed in 1761 at an expense of upwards of £31,000. At the laying of the foundation stone there was a grand procession, and the greatest concourse of people ever before known in the city assembled on this occasion. A triumphal arch was erected, through which the procession passed, and medals were scattered among the populace. It is a large and elegant building, of a square form with a court in the centre. We cannot describe the structure better than in the words of Arnot,[2] who wrote his description in 1779. He says "the principal part of the building forms the north side of the square, and extends from east to west 111 feet over wall, by 50 feet broad. Pillars and arches supporting a platform, run along the south front, which faces the square, and form a piazza. In the centre four Corinthian pillars, whose bases rest upon the platform, support a pediment, on which the arms of the city of Edinburgh are engraved. This building is to the south or main front sixty, but, by reason of the extreme inequality of the surface, is to the north an hundred feet high.

From each end of the principal building two side wings extend themselves southward, 131 feet: but if the breadth of the principal building is also reckoned, the extreme dimensions of the whole amount to 182 feet south and north, by 111 feet east and west from the north front, but from the south front 147. The south side of the square is formed of a light colonnade, about 25 feet high, with a platform on the top, adorned with pilasters and vases. The centre arch, under the colonnade, is the entry to the court; the other arches are built up, and let out in shops. The court itself, surrounded by these buildings, is, in its dimensions, 96 feet south and north, including the piazza, by 86 feet east and west.

The eastern and western sides of the Exchange are occupied as shops and offices, while the north side is almost totally employed as the Council Chambers and other offices belonging to the Town-Council, including a Court House, in which the magistrates hold weekly courts for the decision of causes, civil and criminal, occurring within the limits of their jurisdiction." Although the square and piazzas were intended for merchants and farmers meeting in, and transacting their business on the weekly market (Wednesday,) yet from inveterate practice, they, after its erection, continued to meet on and around the site of the ancient cross, which was removed on the 13th March, 1756, and to crowd the High Street against all the attempts that have

[1] Vide B. ii, p. 250.

[2] Arnot, B. ii, p. 239.

been made to induce them to meet in the piazzas of the square of the Exchange, where they would enjoy shelter from all the vicissitudes of weather.

New Corn Market or Corn Exchange. We have already stated where all the different markets were held in the reign of James III.[1] In the reign of James V., the meal market was held in the High Street, which appears by the following Act,[2] passed in 1540, to have been a very inconvenient place for it: "Because the mercatte of meall and uthers victualles of the towne of Edinburgh, is commoun upon the Hie-gate, to the sight of all manner of persons, strangers and uthers, and that ane multitude of vile, unhonest, and miserable creatures, conveenis to the said marcatte dailie, to get their sustination and living; therefore it is thocht expedient that the said meall-marcatte be removed off the Hie-gate to sum honest, gainand, and convenient place, quhair the nicht-boures of the said towne, and uthers the Kingis lieges, may conveene for selling and byeing of sik victualles in time to cum." The meal market was at that time removed to the Cowgate, where it was long held, till its situation from the increase of business becoming inconvenient, it was removed to the west end of the Grassmarket, where a building was subsequently erected for its accommodation. The town having greatly extended and business much increased, this erection was found quite inadequate for the accommodation of the numerous merchants and farmers attending the market; therefore a new, large, and elegant structure was founded in 1848, on the south side of the Grass-market. Its principal apartment is the Hall in which the market is held, the largest in the city, being 152 feet long, by 92 feet broad. Stalls or booths are erected on the east, west, and south sides of the Hall after the manner of Mark Lane market, London: in addition to the large Hall there is on the second floor excellent accommodation for merchants and farmers meeting and settlin g business. This structure was estimated to be erected for £9,572, but it cost only £9,468, 4s. 6d., being £103, 15s. 6d. less than the estimated amount, a circumstance that seldom occurs in the estimates of public buildings.

The formal opening of this elegant structure took place on Wednesday the fifth day of December, 1849, by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council. The occasion was celebrated by a handsome entertainment of wine and cake, of which we partook, to an assemblage amounting to at least between 1200 and 1500. The company principally consisted of farmers, merchants, and dealers; for whose accommodation eight rows of tables were placed the entire length of the Hall.

The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, in their robes of office, and preceded by the civic insignia, entered the Hall shortly after two o'clock, and took their seats at the table reserved for their use. The Lord Provost occupied the chair, supported right and left by Mr. Cowan, M.P., Mr. Adam Black, Mr. Sheriff Gordon, Provost M'Laren of Leith, Mr. Melville, W.S.,

[1] B. i, p. 42. [2] James V., p. vii, cap. 103.

Sir James Forrest, etc. The chairman and other gentlemen present gave appropriate toasts, prefaced with suitable speeches, which were drunk with great enthusiasm. The income is derived from certain dues payable by those having stalls in the Hall, and a Poll-tax of one penny from each individual every time he enters the Hall; hence, should a merchant or farmer have occasion to enter it fifty times a day, he would be subjected to the payment of as many pennies. This mode of taxation is not only objectionable but oppressive, at least when exacted from habitual frequenters of the market, who ought to be furnished with annual tickets, on payment of a commuted rate.

A report was lately made to the Town Council of the income and expenditure connected with this establishment, by which it appears that the total capital raised by loan, including £62 realized by the sale of old material on the site of the market amounted to £17,119, 3s. 2d. The expenditure embraced the following sums, namely, £1091 for obtaining the Act of Parliament, £4727 as the price of property purchased for the site of the market, £9,498 as the cost of its erection, £1065 as interest and commission. The revenue derived from dues since the opening of the market was stated to amount to £1296, from which fall to be deducted £207 as the expense of collection, management, and repairs, £346 as the annuity to the city revenue, and £403 as the interest on loans.

County Hall. This fine building, designed by Archibald Elliot, Esq., architect, was founded in 1816, and finished in 1819, at an expense of £15,000; the plan is taken from one of the finest models of antiquity, the temple of Erectheus at Athens, and the principal entrance is modelled after the Choragic monument of Thrasyllus. This building stands at the western termination of the Signet Library, its back to George the Fourth's Bridge, and one of its ends to the Lawnmarket. It has a beautiful front with a fine portico, the pediment of which is supported by four large finely proportioned fluted Ionic columns, placed upon an elevated basement, access to which is afforded by a flight of steps, leading to the main entrance. The elegant room in which the County meetings are held is at the north end of the building, and measures 50 feet in length, 26½ in width, and 26 feet in height. The Court-room is neatly fitted up, and has a gallery at the south end. It is 43½ feet long, 29 feet broad, and 26 feet high, in which there is a statue by Chantrey of the late Lord Chief Baron Dundas; there are, besides these, apartments for the Sheriff's Clerk and his officials, and for the other functionaries employed in the business of the county.

Old Tolbooth. The original Jail having about the year 1561 become ruinous, Queen Mary that year sent the following letter[1] to the town council; "The Queiny's Majestie understanding that the tolbuith of Edinburgh is ruinous, and abill haistielie to dekay and fall doun; quhilk will be warray dempnable and skaythfull to the pepill dwelland thairabout and reparand towart

[1] Coun. Reg. v. p. 22.

the same, nocht onlie in destructioun of thair houses, bot also greit slaughter of sundrye personis happen and chance thairthrow, without haistie remeid be provedit thairin. Thairfor hir Hienes ordinis ane Masser to pass and charge the provest, baillies, and counsale of the said Burgh of Edinburgh, to caus put workmen to the taking doun of the said Tolbuith with all possible diligence for the causes foresaid, as thay will anser to hir Hienes thairupoun, at his utmost charge; and so in the meintyme that they provide a sufficient Hous and rowmes reparit as efferis, for the Lords of Sessioun, Justice and Sheriff ministring of justice to the leiges of the realme." (Signed) Maria R." dated Edinburgh, 6th February, 1561.

The citizens considered the erection of such an edifice so grievous a burden, that they only obeyed the Queen's command on account of the Court of Session, which then met in it, threatening to remove its sittings to St. Andrews, unless a convenient place was erected for their meetings. The original Tolbooth was then either wholly taken down and rebuilt, or underwent very considerable repairs; and about the same period an additional building was erected to accommodate Parliament and the Courts of Justice, which went under the name of the *New Tolbooth*. Parliament continued to meet in this building till the year 1640, when the Parliament House, as before stated, was erected, but the Courts of Justice and meetings of the town council were held in it long after that period; in that year, however, the ground floor of the old Tolbooth was converted into shops, and the three stories above appropriated solely as a prison for the confinement of debtors and criminals. According to Arnot[1] this prison must have been kept in a very loathsome condition; he says when he visited it, which would be about the year 1777, 'all parts of it were kept in a slovenly condition; but the easter quarter of it, although we had fortified ourselves against the stench, was intolerable." He farther states, "A gross abuse respecting the Jail remains still to be mentioned. The Jailor has a monopoly over the liquors and bread used in the prison; by this means he may give them of what quality he pleases: he also exacts from them extravagant rates; for instance, whisky, which in public houses is sold for twopence, or twopence halfpenny a gill, is there sold for threepence." We remember visiting a debtor confined in this prison in 1814, when we were shown into a room fitted up with tables as a tap-room, in which we met the person we wanted to see; here were four or five different companies, consisting of debtors and their friends, enjoying themselves over potations of ale and whisky, all for the benefit of the Jailor, who supplied them with as much as they chose to call for as long as they were quiet and orderly.

This ancient building, named by the late Sir Walter Scott, "The Heart of Mid-Lothian," was demolished in 1817, when Sir Walter caused to be removed with great care to his seat at Abbotsford the great entrance door with its massive lock and ponder-

[1] Arnot, pp. 230-231.

ous key, as also a considerable portion of the circular tower in which it was placed, where it has resumed its venerable appearance, (each stone previous to removal having been numbered,) and affords an entrance to the romantic structure erected by him on that estate.

Bridewell was founded on the Calton Hill in 1791, and finished in 1796, toward the expense of which Government gave £5000, and the balance was raised by an assessment on the city and county. Previous to this structure being erected, there was a somewhat similar institution established in 1632, in *Paul's work*, which went under the name of "*The House of Correction.*" It was intended for the reception of strolling poor vagrants and prostitutes. There having been no similar institution previously in the city, the magistrates, under the impression that none of their countrymen could manage so important an establishment, brought a William Stanfield from Wakefield in England to superintend it. It was fitted up to accommodate 50 inmates, and he was allowed £100 sterling to cover all expenses. The object of this institution was to make a trial if thereby 'virtew micht be advancit, vyce suppressit, and ydill people compalit to betake themselffis to some virtew and industrie.' About 30 years after its establishment, the premises having been found too small, a larger house near the Charity Work House was taken and appropriated to the same purpose; but which, in course of time, having also been found too small for the increased population of the city, *Bridewell* was erected as before mentioned, and now forms a portion of the new prison.

National, County, and City Prison. Long previous to the Old Tolbooth above described being demolished, the necessity for a new Jail suggested various acts of Parliament, even from the year 1786 downward, all of which were unoperative, until the year 1813, when an act[1] was passed, by which certain official persons were named commissioners for building a new Jail, and erecting other public buildings, with authority to raise funds from various sources for these purposes. But it was not till 1815 that a new Jail was founded on the Calton Hill, on the south side of the new approach to the city, which was finished for the reception of prisoners in 1817. This Jail when planned was intended only for criminals, a separate building having been projected for debtors; but the funds falling short to complete the original plan, it continued as a prison both for criminals and debtors till the year 1847, when the original plan was completed by the erection of a new building to the east of it, with Bridewell intervening. These three structures are now united, and form a combined National, County, and City Jail, which is the common place of confinement not only for debtors and criminals for the city and county of Edinburgh, but, having been the National Jail of Scotland, while that country formed a separate kingdom, is still the public Jail for the whole of that part of the United Kingdom, to which criminals are brought from all parts of Scot-

[1] Geo. III., parl. 32, cap. 77.

land, for the purpose of being tried by the Lords of the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, and when convicted and sentenced to transportation or imprisonment, they are committed to this prison to undergo their punishment, or until removed for transportation.

The east wing or last erected structure is an excellent prison, in which the objects of imprisonment are most effectually carried out; it consists of four stories, three of which contain 88 cells which are occupied by the longer sentenced male prisoners, and the fourth or upper story, containing 19 cells and a day room, is appropriated solely as a debtor's prison, who have the privilege of walking on the roof of the building, which is flat, and inclosed by a wall. The west wing, or the original prison, consists of four stories, and contains 120 cells, which are occupied by the shorter sentenced and untried male prisoners. The centre division, or what was formerly Bridewell, is occupied by female prisoners, and contains 243 apartments. These prisoners can all be surveyed when at work from a dark apartment, without the observer being himself seen by them. The east division has twelve contiguous airing yards or open arcades, the west twenty four, and the centre a large court. The west wing and centre division, though in excellent order, are inadequate for the separate confinement of the number they are required to accommodate. Besides the cells before mentioned, there are a large store room, apartments for cooking, washing, and dressing, kitchens, baths, punishment cells, etc.

The management of the prison deserves commendation; it is characterized by the most perfect cleanness and order, and is well ventilated. The whole establishment is under excellent regulations, and the prisoners are classified as far as the nature of the buildings will admit.

On 22nd December, 1850, there were confined within the precincts of this prison 49 untried, and 223 convicted male prisoners; 43 untried and 225 convicted female prisoners, besides 16 debtors; making in all 556. The average daily confined during the year ending 30th June, 1850, was 576, of which 293 were males; the debtors average 8. A decrease has taken place for these some years past in juvenile confinements, being in 1847, 267; in 1848, 201; in 1849, 166; which decrease is attributed chiefly to the institution of Ragged Schools, and partly to the whipping clause. The punishment of whipping is inflicted in the police office, previous to the delinquent being sent to Jail. The mortality for two years ending 30th June, 1850, was three fourths of a per cent.

The provisions are supplied by contract, and the materials for the prisoners purchased by the governor at the cheapest market. The nett cost per head during the year 1849-50, was £9 18s. 6d., the average of the prisoners' dietary £3 10s., or twopence per diem, for the last two years; and the average amount of their earnings about £2.

The Governor's house stands back from the Jail, perched on the edge of a precipice which overhangs the Old Town.

The outline of the prison buildings is strikingly picturesque, and from some points bears a considerable resemblance to Windsor Castle. Viewed from the east, either from the approach by the London Road, or the North British Railway, it is like an embattled fortress.

The Lock-up House is situated near the New Court of Justiciary, with which it directly communicates, and contains accommodation for those committed for farther examination. Condemned persons are placed there immediately before execution. The accommodation consists of 7 cells, and an apartment for the keeper.

Canongate Jail. This prison is situated on the north side of the Canongate: from an inscription on the front it seems to have been either built or repaired in the reign of James VI. The building is surmounted with a spire and clock. Since the erection of the Calton Hill Jail, it has been used only for the confinement of debtors. It is the property of the city, and maintained and kept up at its expense. It contains a court room for the Baron-bailie of the district, eight lodging rooms, containing in all sixteen beds, two consulting closets, a refractory room, a room for the governor, who is allowed to let it for his own benefit to any prisoner, at a rate fixed by the magistrates.

CHAPTER XII.

Royal Infirmary—Royal Public Dispensary.—Minto House Hospital.—Lying-in Hospital and Dispensaries.—Deaf and Dumb Asylum.—Blind Asylum.—Lunatic Asylum.—Magdalene Asylum.

Royal Infirmary.—This valuable institution was first projected in 1721. In 1725 the Royal College of Physicians, who had long given advice and medicines *gratis* to the indigent and diseased, contemplated an establishment of this kind. After great exertions to raise a competent sum, both by private subscriptions and through the General Assembly, the institution was, on 6th August, 1729, commenced with the limited sum of £2000, when a small house for the reception of the sick was opened, and 35 persons were received into it the first year. In 1736 the contributors were incorporated by royal charter from George II.

In August, 1738, the present structure was founded, to which many contributed money, others gave stones, lime, wood, slates, and glass, all of which were conveyed to it gratuitously by the neighbouring farmers; and not only master masons, wrights, slaters, glaziers, etc., lent a helping hand to the good work, but many journeymen and labourers also gave their gratuitous assistance. Considerable remittances were also received from England, Ireland, and abroad on its behalf. The Earl of Hopetoun gave £400

annually to it during the last twenty-five years of his life. Dr. Archibald Ker of Jamaica bequeathed to it an estate in that island, worth at that period £200 a-year. And in 1735 the Lords of the Treasury forwarded £8000, which had been destined for the support of invalids, in consequence of which the managers kept sixty beds constantly in readiness for the reception of soldiers. But the institution is principally indebted for its efficiency to George Drummond, Esq., who was seven times elected Lord Provost of Edinburgh; and the managers, in commemorating his strenuous exertion on its behalf, placed in the Hall a bust of him executed by Nollekins, with the inscription: 'George Drummond, to whom this country is indebted for all the benefits which it derives from the Royal Infirmary.'

This large and handsome building, which stands a little to the eastward of the College, on the south side of Infirmary Street, consists of a body and two wings, all of which contain three floors, besides attics. The body of the house is 210 feet long in the middle, and 36 at the ends, by 24 feet broad. The wings are 70 by 24. The whole is laid out in a judicious and commodious manner.

Over the principal entrance, in a recess, is a statue of George II., in Roman costume. On the wall on the right hand of the statue is inscribed, '*I was naked and ye clothed me*,' and on the left, '*I was sick and ye visited me.*'

The access to the different floors is by a large staircase in the centre of the building, so spacious as to admit of sedan chairs being carried up, besides a smaller one at each side. The house accommodates upwards of 400 patients, and the apartments of the male and female patients are entirely distinct. The medical and chirurgical patients are kept in separate buildings, and properly classified. The old High School was purchased for the surgical department, and the old Halls of the Physicians and Surgeons, situated in Surgeon Square, are now used as medical and anatomical rooms. Besides the wards for the patients, and the apartments for the necessary officers and servants in the house, there are the manager's room, a consulting room for the physicians and surgeons, a waiting room for the students, and a theatre, where upwards of 200 students may see chirurgical operations. There are also cold and hot baths for the use of the patients, and cells for the restraint of the insane; and particular care has been taken to secure proper ventilation throughout the whole building.

This institution is attended by two physicians, elected by the managers, who visit their patients daily in presence of the students. The chirurgical wards are attended by the members of the College of Surgeons, in rotation, according to seniority.

The medical professors of the University give, in some of the wards of this institution, chirurgical lectures or discourses upon the cases of the patients in those wards; and the professor of clinical surgery gives lectures on the most important cases in the wards appropriated to him. A journal of all cases are kept, stating the symptoms of the patients, the remedies which are employed, and the progress and termination of the disease. The

students have access to these journals, and are at liberty to make extracts from them.

The expense of the establishment having so greatly increased as to render the ordinary revenues inadequate, the managers in 1796 suggested the scheme of subscriptions by small sums of money to be annually contributed, and they were thus enabled to meet the increased expenses without diminishing the benefit of the charity. Three additional wards were fitted for the reception of fever cases in 1817, during the prevalence of that epidemic; but these having been found insufficient, the magistrates on 23rd February, 1818, obtained the temporary use of Queensberry House Barracks for a fever hospital. The number of patients received into both houses that year amounted to 3453, of whom, notwithstanding the dangerous nature of the epidemic, only 189 died.

On an average, upwards of 3000 patients are admitted annually into the Infirmary. The house, even in ordinary times, is much too small to accommodate the number of applicants who apply for admission; but during the prevalence of an epidemic, it affords convenience only for a fractional part. There are, however, presently erecting behind the Infirmary, a large hospital and other buildings, which, when finished, will give considerable additional accommodation.

For liberty to attend the medical and surgical practice, students pay to the Hospital £5 5s. for an annual ticket, and £12 12s. for a perpetual ticket. These fees form an important item in the annual revenue of the establishment.

Royal Public Dispensary. This institution owes its erection to the benevolence of the late Dr. Andrew Duncan; it was founded in 1776, and is a useful supplement to the Royal Infirmary. The building is situated on the south side of West Richmond Street; though plain, it is very suitable for the purpose for which it was erected. Persons labouring under disease, but who do not require to be confined, receive medical advice and medicine gratis four days in the week. The children of the poor receive here vaccine inoculation. Patients are admitted on the recommendation of the minister or elders of the parish where they reside, to all the benefits of this institution. The whole expense of the establishment is defrayed by voluntary contributions. A donation of one guinea entitles the donor to recommend patients, and be a governor for two years, and that of five guineas gives the same privilege for life.

Minto House Hospital and Dispensary. This institution, situated in Argyle Square, was established in 1829, for the reception of surgical cases alone, by James Syme, Esq. It is intended for the benefit of individuals who are unwilling to enter a public hospital, and be considered objects of charity. Rate of board varies according to the accommodation required, from 10s. to £1 per week.

There is a dispensary attached to this hospital for the relief of the diseased poor, where advice and medicine are given by the medical officers, who attend every day at one o'clock. Accidents

and other cases of emergency are attended to, at any hour of the day or night, by the resident pupils.

Besides the above useful institutions, there are many other establishments in the city for the cure of diseases, and accommodating poor women during the period of their accouchment. The principal of these are, Midwifery, Dispensary, and Lying-in-hospitals; Edinburgh General Dispensary, and In-lying Institution; Edinburgh Lying-in Institution; Society for relief of poor married women of respectable character when in child-bed; Royal Maternity Hospital; Eye and Ear Dispensaries, etc. Some of these receive poor women into the institutions during confinement, others afford medical aid at their own houses, and supply them and their infants with clothing and other necessaries, perform vaccine inoculation gratis, supply medical advice and medicine gratis to the poor, and perform many other generous and charitable actions.

Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb. Mr. Braidwood was the first in Scotland who attempted to teach the deaf and dumb. In 1764, he commenced his labours with only one scholar, but soon got a number of pupils, principally from England and some from America. The scholars in the academy had, about the beginning of the century, become so numerous, that a public subscription was got up to erect a commodious house for them, and the foundation stone of the present building was laid on 25th June, 1810. It is a plain structure, situated in Distillery Park, Henderson Row, but is well adapted for its purposes; there is attached to it a garden, and a considerable portion of play ground; the length of the building over walls is 92 feet, width 50½ feet. The expense of the building, walling the property round, levelling play ground, and furnishing, was upwards of £7,000. The income of the institution, although liberally patronised by the public, has never met its expenditure, in consequence of which, the directors have generally preferred those applicants who were able to pay a part of the expense of their own maintenance during the period allotted for their education. But in some cases where the parents or friends have been found unable to contribute any part of the expense, it has been wholly defrayed by the institution. The house generally contains between 70 and 80 pupils in it; but can acccommodate 100 inmates; their total number on 31st December, 1850, was 69, of whom 47 were boys, and 22 girls. The expense for the year ending 31st December, 1849, was about £1,300, the average cost for each pupil is about £18 per annum; which sum includes board, education, stationery, books, servants' wages, repairs, and in some cases clothing, besides various other incidental expenses. Since the institution commenced its labours, 309 males, and 198 females, in all 507, have left the school more or less instructed, and qualified to become useful members of society.

No child is admitted under nine, nor above fourteen years of age. They are taught to read and write their native language, arithmetic, and such other branches of education as may fit them for the stations to which they are destined; and, notwithstanding

the difficulties they have to encounter, they can attain a perfect knowledge of languages, and become capable both of conversing and writing their sentiments in the most distinct manner, and of fully understanding what they read. Being thus advanced, they are capable of learning any art or science (music excepted) and to translate one language into another. They converse by the help of an artificial alphabet, which is learned by placing the fingers into certain positions, and can even in many cases understand what is said by the motion of the lips. The older of the male pupils are brought up as tailors, shoemakers, printers, carpenters, and gardeners, and all the girls are trained in sewing, knitting, washing and other branches of domestic employment. Children of the higher classes who are received as parlour boarders, receive an education and training suitable to their circumstances, and the institution derives a portion of its income from this class of pupils. The instances are not few of attachments between the sexes being formed, while at the institution, that lay the foundation of a union for life.

The school is open for the inspection of the public every Tuesday, from 12 to 1 o'clock, but strangers visiting Edinburgh may be admitted any day at the same hour.

Blind Asylum. The idea of forming an institution in Edinburgh for the indigent and industrious blind was first communicated by Dr. Blacklock, to Mr. David Miller, teacher, who were both blind from their infancy. After Dr. Blacklock's death, Mr. Miller, by the able assistance of the Rev. Dr. David Johnston, of North Leith, got a meeting convened under the auspices of Sir William Forbes, Bart., of a few friends favourable to the plan, when it was agreed that a society for the encouragement of the blind should be formed as soon as funds could be procured. In the meantime, exertions were made to raise funds, and on 20th December, 1792, the subscriptions amounted to £700. The first meeting of the subscribers was held in the Merchants' Hall, when they constituted themselves into a society under the name of "*The Society for the relief of indigent Blind.*" On 23rd Sept., 1793, a house in Shakspeare Square was taken, and nine persons admitted into it, out of 39 applicants. In 1795, the directors purchased a house on the Calton Hill, which was used as the institution till the year 1806, when they purchased a house in Nicolson Street, which has ever since been occupied as the Blind Asylum for males. In 1822, the directors purchased another property in the same street, a few yards distant, as a female asylum. The price paid for these two properties was £3735; but a considerable sum was laid out in converting the lower flats of these buildings into shops, and the upper flats for the accommodation of the objects of the institution. The blind are not treated as paupers, but are employed in such occupations as enable them, in a great measure, to support themselves. One of the principal objects of the Institution, therefore, is to instruct the inmates in such trades or occupations as they are capable of learning. The females are employed for the most part in sewing and knitting, and the men in weaving, and in making mats,

baskets, bedding, etc. The work executed by them is not inferior in quality to that which is produced by ordinary tradesmen, although much less in quantity. There is always a large stock on hand for sale, of all the articles manufactured in the Asylum, and the annual amount of sales effected exceeds £3,000.

One of the objects aimed at by this Institution is to train the blind to some useful occupation, and to secure for them constant employment; another object is to impart to them a good elementary education. They are generally received into the Asylum at the age of eight; and their peculiar privation having prevented their attendance at any of the ordinary schools, their minds are found, for the most part, uncultivated and uninformed. They are therefore, a few hours each day, taught the common branches of education, such as reading, arithmetic, and geography; and many of them have attained an intimate and extensive knowledge of history, both sacred and profane. Their minute and accurate acquaintance with the geography of their own and other lands, and the rapidity and correctness with which they can solve questions in arithmetic, are such as would reflect credit upon some of the higher educational institutions of the country. Attention is also given to their moral and religious training. Worship is conducted in the male asylum morning and evening, at which all the blind are required to attend; and on Saturdays they assemble in the chapel at two o'clock, when in addition to the usual devotional exercises, a brief exhortation is addressed to them by the Chaplain.

Since the asylum was instituted, upwards of 320 individuals have been admitted, many of whom have spent the greater part of their lives in comfort through their connection with it. The asylum generally contains from 60 to 70 inmates. When we visited it on 8th January, 1851, there were 61 enjoying its benefits, of whom 39 were males and 22 females. The females are under the care of a matron, the greater number of whom are boarded in the asylum, and the others reside with their parents. The inmates cannot, when paid the full amount of their earnings, realise more than from six to eleven shillings per week, and this is all that they have to live upon; hence, they cannot lay up any thing against their declining years; and when old age and infirmity comes upon them, they cannot earn even as much as is absolutely necessary for their bare support.

Although there is not perhaps a county in Scotland which has not profited by this institution, yet the burden of maintaining it, since its commencement to the present time, has been chiefly borne by the citizens of Edinburgh and Leith.

The disbursements for the year ending 1st October, 1849, amounted to	£4,687	14	5½
The receipts amounted to	4,525	7	9
Leaving a deficiency of	£162	6	8½
The donations and subscriptions for the last year amounted to	£415	10	0½

This surely is a small sum for so interesting an object, more especially when the institution may be viewed not as a local, but

a national one, for the relief of the blind in every county in Scotland.

There is also a school in Hunter Square for the blind, at which they receive instructions in religious knowledge, reading, writing, mental and practical arithmetic, geography, natural philosophy, history, etc.

Royal Lunatic Asylum. For some time patients labouring under mental derangement, were admitted to the benefits of the Royal Infirmary, but that plan was soon found to be liable to many objections, and was abandoned. Although the Charity Work-house had attached to it some accommodation for the insane, yet the want of a well regulated public asylum for the treatment of persons so afflicted, was long felt in the city. In 1792, Dr. Duncan, President of the Royal College of Physicians, brought forward a plan for the establishment of a Lunatic Asylum which received the concurrence of the heads of the principal public bodies, and trustees were appointed to manage the subscriptions expected to be raised for its erection; but the amount collected being quite inadequate, little further was done till the year 1807, when, through the exertions of Sir John Sinclair, and the Hon. Henry Erskine, two thousand pounds were appropriated by Government for the institution from the debts on the forfeited Estates. A new subscription was then commenced, when liberal donations were received from individuals both at home and abroad; the city churches and chapels, the corporations, and public bodies, country parishes, etc., came liberally forward, and legacies to a considerable amount were bequeathed to the proposed institution. The original building at Morningside was not, however, begun till 1810; and in 1813, it was opened for the reception of patients. Since the erection of a new structure in 1842, for lunatics of the poorer classes, in connection with the institution, the original building has been solely appropriated to patients of the wealthier classes, of whom it can accommodate from 60 to 65, and the late improvements made on it, both internally and externally, have been made with every attention to their comfort. They are classified, not merely according to the nature of their malady, but likewise in some measure according to their rates of board, which in this department vary from £60 to £300 for each inmate, according to the extent of the accommodation required, and other circumstances.

The new structure for the poorer classes was commenced in 1840, and opened in 1842. It can accommodate about 450 inmates, not only without crowding, and under perfect classification, but with all the advantages of spacious apartments, fully ventilated, and warmed with steam, having open corridors for exercise in wet weather. There are also extensive airing grounds attached, and the working and pleasure grounds extend to about fifty acres. This building contains 28 dormitories, each adapted for from 6 to 20 inmates, (including attendants,) 22 working and day apartments, besides washing and bathing rooms, kitchens, laundry, and other offices suitable for so large an establishment. In this department there are only two rates of board, which at

present are £18 per annum for those presented by contributors, and £23 for those not so presented.

There is a building apart of one story for the more outrageous patients, which contains dormitories, and a number of seclusion rooms, with day-rooms, bath rooms, separate airing ground, etc. The situation has a southern exposure, is secluded, airy, well sheltered, and commands a beautiful prospect on all sides.

The original building cost upwards of £21,000, and the new structure about £44,000; the greater amount of this last sum was derived from the same sources as those above mentioned, with the exception of the parliamentary grant.

This Asylum may be viewed as a national or general institution, when funds are received from so many different quarters; hence the managers endeavour to make an equal arrangement for all parties concerned, keeping at same time in view the superior claims of the city of Edinburgh.

There were 473 inmates at the close of the year 1848, and there were admitted during the year 1849, 265, making a total of 738; of these 337 were males, and 401 females; 119 of these were discharged cured, 64 uncured, and 79 died, so that there remained 476 in the institution at the close of 1849. The average number resident during that year was 473·16.

The total number of patients admitted since its foundation is 2179, the number dismissed as cured, 878. The ratio of cures to the whole number of cases admitted being 40·3 per cent. and deducting those then still under treatment 51·5.

The male patients in the western department are composed of tradesmen of almost every profession, and all who are able are set to work at their respective occupations, so that it is seldom necessary to employ and pay for any tradesmen. The whole furniture in the asylum has been made by patients, and the painting, glazing, plumber work, and all repairs are performed by the inmates. Their clothes, shoes, etc., are all made by themselves; not a few are taught trades during their confinement, and those incapable of being taught, pick oakum. The female patients are employed in sewing, knitting, straw-bonnet making, embroidery, laundry work, kitchen and house-work, and as assistant housemaids. There were at an average 185 male and 180 female patients daily employed during the year 1849, so that the amount of work performed must have been considerable.

A monthly periodical, named the 'Morningside Mirror,' is written and printed by the patients, and now extends to six volumes; the profits arising from this little Journal, which occasionally contains a "slashing article," such as would not discredit Journals of more sane and lofty pretensions, afford the inmates a liberal supply of newspapers and periodicals. Schools are established, in which the younger inmates, capable of being taught, attend. Although the patients be daily engaged at work, time is allowed them for recreation, and they are indulged in various amusements, such as weekly balls and concerts, in which they take great delight; they have also a bowling green, curling pond, cricket, quoit, and skittle ground, billiard room,

bagatelle table, cards, draughts, fencing, recitations, musical parties, occasional pic-nic parties during the summer months, and frequently walks and drives in the country. Their public library contains a considerable number of volumes, which have mostly all been presented by charitable individuals.

All who are able, generally attend the religious services in the chapel on Sunday, and behave with much decorum and propriety. During the summer mornings the Chaplain, who does not reside in the house, goes occasionally out in time for divine service, and visits the sick and dying; for in mental diseases, while the bodily frame decays, it often happens that the faculties of the mind regain their ascendancy, and render the patient fit to apply for and receive the consolations of religion previous to dissolution.

This establishment is under the control of a highly respectable board of directors. The medical department is conducted by a medical board, composed of eminent physicians, and a resident physician with three assistants; the cures are said to exceed in number those of any other similar establishment in the country. There are also in and connected with the institution a chaplain, treasurer, secretary, matron, and house steward, besides the necessary servants. Every department is well regulated and excellently managed, and the inmates are made as comfortable as possible under their peculiar and painful circumstances.

Magdalene Asylum. This asylum was originally instituted in 1797, under the title of the Edinburgh Philanthropic Society, at which period it was confined to unfortunate women, who, after having suffered in Bridewell punishment for their crimes, felt anxious to be restored again to society. The benevolent promoters, however, found it necessary to enlarge their views, and in 1800, changed the name to 'The Society for the Support of the Magdalene Asylum.' Their object has since that time been to afford an asylum for females who, after forsaking the paths of virtue for the loathsome walks of open prostitution, desire by sorrow, repentance, and amendment, to regain an entrance to society through some humble but honest occupation; and it is gratifying to think that many, once lost, have, like prodigal daughters, returned to the bosom of their afflicted parents, and now occupy creditably respectable situations. A house in the West Bow was first opened as the asylum; thereafter a house in Shoemakers' Close, Canongate, which after several years trial having been found too small, the present plain and commodious building, situated in Canongate, was in 1805 erected; it contains 49 sleeping apartments for inmates, besides other accommodation for chaplain, matron, and superintendents. There is a small chapel attached to this establishment, seated for about 100, in which Divine service is performed twice every Sunday, by the chaplain. He also assembles the inmates every morning and evening for worship. The internal economy of the house is conducted by a matron, assisted by a committee of ladies, who frequently visit the house, and bestow much pains on the religious instruction of its inmates; and their labours have been, to some extent, the blessed means of restoring many an unfortunate wanderer to her friends,

to virtue and to happiness. Above the chapel there is a work-room for sewing and glazing, the only employment of the inmates, except the necessary work of the house. The usual number of inmates is fifty; they are required to remain in the house for two years, after which, steps are taken either to obtain situations for them, or get them reconciled to their friends. About 25 annually leave the house, who have completed their term of two years, but many for various reasons leave at shorter periods. There are 50 inmates at present (14th January, 1851) in the asylum, and besides those above mentioned, there are attached to the establishment, superintendents, a physician, surgeon, and secretary.

Besides this asylum, there is a house in the Grassmarket, called 'The Shelter,' for the reception of young women similarly situated, or who may have been discharged from prison, and are desirous of amendment; also an institution named 'Dean Bank Institution,' for the reformation of young female delinquents, having no proper home, who manifest a wish to return to the paths of virtue.

House of Refuge. Queensberry House, Canongate, is fitted up as the House of Refuge and Night Refuge. This institution, supported entirely by voluntary contributions, was established in 1832, for the relief of the destitute, and to do away with street begging. It has, since its institution, afforded temporary relief in lodgings, food, and clothing, to numerous individuals as well as children, who would have otherwise been exposed to the demoralizing effects of street begging. The number of inmates varies from 380 to 420. On admission they are put to work, have attention paid to their moral and religious instructions, and are maintained until employment can be procured for them, or those having a legal claim to parochial relief, be sent to their respective parishes. Children are taught the ordinary branches of a plain education; and, as soon as fit, situations are procured for them.

The inmates may be thus classified: 1st, Persons in a state of temporary destitution: 2nd, Persons addicted to intemperance, who, with their own consent, are placed in the institution by their friends: 3rd, Individuals totally destitute, paid for by the parishes to which they belong: 4th, Individuals supported by charitable persons, or at rates in proportion to their means: 5th, Poor persons labouring under incurable diseases, of which the average number is from 80 to 90; although these objects of sympathy are by the poor-law to a certain extent provided for by the parishes to which they belong, yet many of them cannot in their own homes receive the treatment and attention which their peculiar situation demands. Some of these are supported by charitable individuals, others at their own expense, so that this class forms an exception to the ordinary class of boarders.

On 15th January, 1851, there were 407 inmates in the house, of whom 96 were males, 246 females, and 65 children.

The Night Refuge affords those without a home, shelter for the night; they average about 70. They are supplied with a loaf of bread, and those admitted on Saturday evening remain all

Sabbath, and have three good meals on that day. During the year 1849, the benefit of the Night Refuge extended to 19,234 individuals.

The Soup Kitchen for the last three years has distributed daily about 300 rations of food to the poor.

The Lord Provost, Dean of Guild, the Sheriff of the county, several of the ministers of the city, three police commissioners, and 40 gentlemen, are the ordinary directors, and a committee of thirteen ladies give their assistance and patronage to this excellent and useful institution.

CHAPTER XIII.

Bridges, Monuments, and Public Statues.

North Bridge. This bridge, as formerly stated,[1] was founded in 1763, and after having been interupted by the giving way of the vaults at the south end, was completed in 1772, at an expense of £18,000. It consists of three great arches and two small ones, besides a few at each end occupied as vaults. Each of the three great arches is 73 feet wide, and 68 feet high, from the top of the parapet to the base, and the width of each of the smaller ones is 20 feet. The whole length of the bridge is 1125; the breadth within the parapets is 40 feet over the open arches; 50 feet at the south end, where it is concealed by buildings on both sides, and has the appearance of a regular street; it is about 55 feet broad on the north end, on the west side of which a line of buildings has been erected, carried up from the level of the bridge's foundation, having in the rear about double of the height which it presents on the street line in front. These generally go under the name of the "New Buildings."

South Bridge. The foundation stone of this bridge was, as before stated,[2] laid on 1st August, 1785, and the street was opened for carriages in March, 1788. It consists of 22 arches of different sizes, but only one of which, the large one over the Cowgate, is visible, the others are completely hidden by the buildings on both sides. To make way for it, the houses forming Niddry, Merlin, and Peeble's Wynds were pulled down, and among others the house that was occupied by Sir Simon Preston of Craigmiller, Lord Provost of the city, in which Queen Mary lodged, or rather was confined, after the battle of Carberry-hill. These old buildings with their sites were purchased for a mere trifle, while a portion of the ground on which they stood sold at the rate of £90,000, others for £109,000, and some sold as high as £150,000 per statute acre. It has been remarked that these areas sold at

[1] B. II., pp 250, 251. [2] B. II., p. 251.

a higher price than perhaps ever was known, even in Rome during its most flourishing times. In digging the foundation of the central pier of the bridge, which was 22 feet deep, many coins of Edward I., II., and III., were found.

Regent Bridge. The great increase of the population of the New Town, rendering a proper communication eastward from Princes Street very desirable, an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1814, authorising the removal of the houses in Shakespeare Square, and the throwing of a bridge across the hollow to the Calton-hill, along which a road might proceed in that direction. The foundation stone of this bridge, named '*The Regent Bridge*, in honour of George IV., then Prince Regent, was laid on the 19th September, 1815, by the Earl of Fife, accompanied by a procession of about 2000 free-masons in full masonic costume. The building was commenced in August, 1816, finished in March, 1819, and opened in August of the same year for the reception of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the husband of Princess Charlotte, and now king of the Belgians. More than 100,000 cubic yards of rock had to be removed to bring the rock to a proper level; the cost for gunpowder alone was upwards of £1000. The purchase of the old property to open up this communication was £52,000, but the building areas sold for the immense sum of £35,000. The Calton Burying-ground was cut to a considerable depth, as the new line of road intersected it, and numerous bodies were removed for re-interment. The arch over the Low Calton is semicircular, and 50 feet in width. At the north front, it is 48 feet in height, and at the south front 54, the difference of heights being occasioned by the decline of the ground The height at the south side of the arch from the Low Calton to the street on the top of the bridge is 59 feet, at the north side 50 feet. From north to south the arch extends 82½ feet. The great arch is surmounted on the south and north side by two open arches, resting on elegant Corinthian columns; the entablature on the north bears the inscription, 'The Regent Bridge, commenced in the ever memorable year 1815. Sir John Marjoribanks of Lees, Baronet, M.P., Lord Provost of the city. Archibald Elliot, architect.'

George the Fourth Bridge. The foundation stone of this splendid erection was laid on 15th August, 1827, but for want of funds was not completed till 1836. It consists of three open arches over the Cowgate, besides seven closed arches of 32 feet span. Several splendid edifices have been erected on a part of the line, and others are in the course of erecting; when completed, the three centre arches alone will be seen. The roadway of the bridge is 58 feet above the Cowgate. It is directly opposite to Bank Street, and forms a direct communication between the High Street, Candlemaker-Row, Bristo Street, etc.

The King's Bridge. This bridge, which constitutes the principal feature of the new western approach, was projected and completed about the same time as the above bridge; it consists of one arch, 40 feet wide, which is carried over the low ground at the base of the Castle rock, and forms the communication between the higher ground on the west, by a terrace which forms

a junction at the one end with the High Street, and the other terminates at Castle Terrace, near Port Hopetoun.

The Dean Bridge. This is a stupendous structure, carried over the water of Leith, 106 feet above the bed of that river. It was completed in 1832, and consists of four arches, each of 96 feet span. It is 447 feet long, and 39 between the parapets.

Earthen Mound. Though this mound cannot be said to be a bridge, it is certainly a very good and substantial substitute for one, and may be here described. It stretches across the site of the North Loch, from Hanover Street to near Bank Street. Its commencement was quite accidental, and without the slightest intention of forming a communication in that quarter, between the Old and the New Town, the object being merely to fill up a dangerous quarry which contained a considerable depth of water. The filling up commenced in the year 1781, and the immense quantities of earth and rubbish dug from the foundations of the numerous houses subsequently erected in the New Town, having been permitted by the magistrates to be laid down there, soon formed a road passable for carriages. For a long time an average of 1800 cart loads of earth were daily laid down in this hollow, but although it was, long previous to 1830, passable both for foot passengers and carts, it was not levelled and macadamized till that year. When this mound was being formed, it sunk at different places about 80 feet on the west side, and was again filled up. Its breadth varies, and its perpendicular height on the north is 78 feet, and on the south about 100. It is computed that if sixpence had been paid for every cart load (which is a moderate calculation) laid down, it would have amounted to nearly £50,000. But it did not cost the city any thing more than the hire of a few labourers to spread the earth.

The Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company lately formed an arch through it with considerable difficulty, for carriages passing to their station under the North Bridge.

Nelson's Monument. This structure stands on the highest rocky eminence of the Calton-hill, and is a conspicuous object in every view of Edinburgh, from sea or land; it forms a grand termination to the prospect along Princes Street, from the west. It was commenced shortly after Lord Nelson's death, but was not finished till 1815; it is 108 feet high, with a spiral stair leading to the top, which is surmounted by a flag-staff, and on which the Government with the consent of the magistrates intends erecting a meridian-time ball. From its summit we have an extent and variety of scenery seldom to be met with, but which comes not within our province to describe. The base is a battlemented edifice, divided into small compartments, rented by a confectioner, who is restricted from selling liquors, but when certain leading characters of the city dine there, they previously send their own wines. Over the entrance is a crest of Nelson, sculptured in bas-relief, representing the stern of the San Joseph, and underneath an appropriate inscription.

Melville's Monument, which stands in the centre of St. Andrew Square, was erected to the memory of the late Lord

Melville, by subscription, principally from gentlemen connected with the navy. The foundation stone was laid on 28th April, 1821, by Admiral Sir David Milne, K.C.B., and Admiral Otway, assisted by other naval officers. A suitable inscription, engraved on a plate, was deposited beneath the foundation stone. The design of this remarkably handsome column is taken chiefly from the Trajan column in Rome; its entire height is 136 feet, with a diameter of 12 feet 2 inches at the base, and gradually diminishing as it ascends to 10½ feet thick at the top. In the interior is a spiral staircase, lighted by almost imperceptible slips in the flutings of the column. The statue of Lord Melville, which stands on the top, is 14 feet in height, and was put up in 1828. The expense of erecting this monument amounted to nearly £6000.

National Monument of Scotland. The foundation stone of this edifice was laid on 27th August, 1822, during George the Fourth's visit to Scotland, and was commenced in 1824, on the summit of the Calton-hill, the magistrates of the city having given the ground for that purpose. This structure was originally projected at a meeting of the Highland Society of Scotland, when a subscription was opened, and upwards of £6,000 subscribed. Large sums of money were afterwards subscribed, and the contributors were incorporated by Act of Parliament for erecting a monument in honour of the victory of Waterloo, and to the memory of the gallant officers and men who fell on the ever memorable 16th and 18th June, 1815; as also, in commemoration of the naval and military victories during the late war. This splendid design was intended to be a perfect representation of the Parthenon at Athens. His Majesty, George IV., gave his royal approbation to this great undertaking, and expresed his willingness to become its patron and founder, and appointed the following Commissioners for the special purpose of laying the foundation stone, namely, the Dukes of Atholl and Montrose, the Earls of Elgin, Roseberry, and Hopetoun, Viscount Melville, and Lord Lynedoch. The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, and the Duke of Argyle, as Right Worshipful Grand Master, supported by the Grand Lodge and a great assemblage of brethren, performed the Masonic ceremonies and solemnities, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude of spectators, and the discharge of artillery from the Castle, Salisbury Crags, the Calton-hill, and from the squadron in Leith roads. Besides the principal inscription, engraved on a plate of gold and deposited in the foundation stone, there were others by the Highland Society of Scotland, by the association of contributors, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and the city of Edinburgh.

Although the sum adequate for the completion of such an extensive structure was of very considerable amount, yet the enthusiasm displayed held out the prospect of the amount being forthcoming. But active measures not having been adopted for some years to draw out the greater amount of the subscriptions, that enthusiasm, as is usually the case, subsided, and the funds realised were only sufficient to erect the twelve pillars of gigantic

proportions, now standing as a monument of the failure of pecuniary means to follow out the original design. This building, which has more the appearance of a ruin than a recent erection, cost £13,000. The blocks of stone of which these columns are formed, are from Craigleith quarry, and weigh from 10 to 15 tons each. The portion proposed to be appropriated as a church, and for sepultures, would, it was estimated, have cost £20,000 to finish them. The directors and subscribers at one time intended to dispense with their original plan of having a church and place of sepulture; they proposed to decorate the interior, as well as the exterior of the building with sculpture, such as illustrations of national achievements, and busts and statues of distinguished men of all nations; the maintenance and repair of the monument to be upheld by the imposition of a sum for admission. Notices were accordingly issued of an intended application to the Legislature for power to make these alterations, but no farther proceedings have been adopted.

Sir Walter Scott's Monument. On Saturday the 14th August, 1840, the foundation stone of this monument was laid in Princes Street gardens, opposite to St. David's Street. The day was observed throughout the city as a general holiday. The attendance of the various Lodges was more numerous on this than on almost any former occasion. The procession consisted of upwards of 2000 masons, comprising not only the various lodges in the city, but deputations from lodges in the most remote districts in Scotland met in the square of the College, and moved a little after two o'clock along the South and North Bridges, preceded by the band of the 2nd Dragoon Guards. The civic procession, which assembled in the buildings of the Royal Institution, consisted of the sub-committee of the Scott Monument, the magistrates and council of Edinburgh, the magistrates of Canongate and Portsburgh, and the provost, magistrates, and council of Leith. There were also present the Earls of Rothes and Stairs, Lord Belhaven, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. After the various portions of the procession had arrived on the ground and taken up their positions, the band of the 29th regiment played the Queen's anthem, which was followed by a royal salute of 21 guns from a battery on the opposite bank in front of the wall at the back of the Bank of Scotland. A prayer was offered up by the Grand Chaplain, after which plates containing suitable inscriptions were placed in the cavity of the foundation stone, which, after the usual masonic ceremonies had been gone through, was laid by the Right Hon. Sir James Forrest of Comiston, Bart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh; at the conclusion of which the band commenced playing 'Rule Britannia,' followed by a salute of seven guns from the battery, which concluded the ceremony.

The grand and imposing ceremony of the Inauguration of this monument, which took place in August, 1846, was one of the most exciting and generally interesting scenes which ever took place on the streets of the city. The number of individuals who took part in the inauguration, and the multitudes which assembled to

witness the ceremony, far exceeded those present at the laying of the foundation stone.

According to the previous arrangements, about one o'clock the different civic and masonic bodies began to assemble in the rooms of the High School, and from thence, after being marshalled, moved in procession towards the monument.

The Grand Lodge and the Lord Provost and Magistrates having taken their places on the steps leading to the statue, at a signal given, a salute was fired by the royal artillery placed on the southern bank. On the report of the first gun, the screens which had concealed the statue of the once "Great Unknown," which is placed in the space formed by the open central tower, fell instantly; and the shouts from all quarters might have "rent the welkin." These having subsided, the ceremonial of the inauguration commenced by one of the Chaplains of the Grand Lodge offering up an appropriate prayer; after which Lord Glenlyon went through the ceremony usual on such occasions. After a short benediction on the day's proceedings, and a long and loud continued cheer, the procession was again marshalled, and returned in inverted order to the High School, whence they started.

The design of this monument is by the late Mr. G. M. Kemp, who died during its erection. It is a great ornament to the city, and combines the beauties of the most admired specimens of the monumental cross. The erection covers an area of 55 feet square, and rises to a height of 180 feet. The four principal arches that support the central tower resemble those of the transept of a Gothic cathedral, and the lower arches in the diagonal abutments are copied from the narrow north aisle of Melrose Abbey. The glowing genius of the poet appears to have stirred up the soul of the architect and wakened the talents of the sculptor, whose skilful chisel has moulded the rude block into all but breathing form. It is covered by a grooved roof, copied from the compartments, still entire, of the roof of Melrose choir; and that celebrated Abbey is freely followed as a model in many of its details. The figure on the north, immediately over the triumphal arch, representing 'Prince Charles Stuart,' and that of 'Meg Merrilees,' looking eastward, is the work of Mr. A. H. Ritchie; the 'Last Minstrel,' filling the western niche, is that of James Ritchie; and 'The Lady of the Lake,' on the south, is from the chisel of Mr. Patrick Slater. The sister arts of architecture and sculpture here vie with each other in presenting their richest offerings to history and poetry. Although the corroding breath of time may destroy the marble erected to his memory, over the monuments of his mental creation the elements have no power; these will, long after this monument shall have mouldered into dust, continue to be appreciated and honoured.

Burns's Monument. This structure stands on an insolated eminence, immediately opposite the High School, said to be the spot on which Burns wrote his poetic address "Edina! Scotia's darling seat!" It was built by subscription. Although elegant, it is rather unpleasant in its proportion; in its interior there once

stood a fine statue of the Poet by Flaxman, which has been removed to the College.

Professor Playfair's Monument. This is a solid square Grecian Doric building, of great beauty and purity of style, from a design by his nephew. It stands on the Calton-Hill, at the south eastern angle of the New Observatory.

Stewart's Monument. This structure was, in 1831, erected on the Calton-Hill to Dugald Stewart, author of 'The Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind,' etc. It is in the style of a Grecian temple, from a design by Playfair.

Public Statues. A colossal bronze statue of the Duke of York stands about the middle of the parapet wall, on the north side of the esplanade of the Castle, attired in the robes and insigna of the order of the Garter.

A beautiful equestrian statue of Charles II. stands in the centre of the Parliament Square, elevated upon a handsome pedestal; it was erected in 1683, at the cost of £1000. The figure is in the Roman costume, and the horse is modelled with great accuracy and spirit. It surpasses any other specimen of bronze statue in the city.

In front of the Royal Bank, in St Andrew Square, stands on a pedestal, a handsome statue in classical costume, of John, Earl of Hopetoun, erected in 1835. The Earl leans on his gallant war charger, pawing the pedestal, on which are inscriptions commemorative of his military exploits.

At the intersection of Hanover Street with George Street, upon a granite pedestal, is placed a colossal bronze statue of George IV., executed by Chantrey, and erected in 1833 by subscription, to commemorate the visit of that monarch to Edinburgh in 1822. Although it cost a large sum of money, it will hardly bear minute criticism. The figure is thrown so far back as to give it the appearance of deriving a share of its support from the drapery behind.

At the intersection of Frederick Street with George Street, stands, on a chaste pedestal, a bronze statue of the Right Hon. William Pitt, erected in 1833. This statue, although from the chisel of the same artist, is far superior to that of George IV. The figure possesses great dignity of expression, and the attitude is simple without stiffness.

CHAPTER XIV.

Trade and Manufactures: Population.

Edinburgh has been long celebrated as a seat of learning, but more particularly for its school of medicine, and is, consequently, the resort of strangers, both foreigners and natives, for the purpose of education, who are attracted thither by the celebrity of its university, and the many talented private lecturers and teachers with

which the city abounds, in every department of philosophy and science, as also by its pleasant and healthy situation, the moderate expense of living, and a society suited to the taste of the most refined. Being the seat of the supreme civil and criminal courts, whose jurisdiction extends over all Scotland, the law has always been the principal profession. The city, however, can scarcely be said to be at present in so flourishing a condition as it was previous to the year 1825; the retrenchments in the judicial establishments, the removal of the Public Boards to London, the establishment of colleges there, and other causes, have contributed, in no small degree, to affect its pecuniary interests. Notwithstanding its favourable position, Edinburgh possesses but few manufactures; still, in several departments it may boast a superiority. Among these may be mentioned, linens, shawls, carpets, cabinet work, etc. In the article of shawls, Paisley now disputes the palm with Edinburgh, but those of the city are still considered superior. Large quantities of types of a superior description are exported; and the printing and publishing business is carried on to a great extent, and gives employment to thousands. Edinburgh Ales have been long famous, and there are a number of extensive breweries in the city, that send immense quantities to England. A silk mill, on an extensive scale, was a number of years ago erected near Port Hopetoun, but not succeeding as anticipated, it has been closed for some years.

As railways have been lately formed which connect Edinburgh with almost every city and town in Scotland and England, it is hoped that the city will soon be restored to its former prosperity.

The Population of Edinburgh in 1376, is said not to have exceeded 2000, and the number of houses, 400. In 1500, it is said to have increased to 8000, and the houses to 700. The inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith amounted in 1644, to about 35,000. From a paper in possession of the session clerk of Edinburgh, entitled, "a list of the hail possessors (of houses) in the different parishes," the number of families in the year 1678, appears to have been 3,333. The ancient part of the city then consisted of only six parishes, and on the supposition that there were five individuals to each family, the total number of persons would amount to 16,665; and if further supposed that the Canongate contained 3000 inhabitants, the parish of St. Cuthberts, 8500, and South and North Leith, 7500, the number of inhabitants in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, would in the year 1678, amount to 35,665. In 1753, Maitland[1] estimates the inhabitants of the city, at about 48,000. But that computation being founded on the register of births, is not much to be regarded; for in 1755, an enumeration was made at the request of Dr. Webster, when the population, including the parish of St. Cuthberts and Leith, appears to have only amounted to 57,230. Arnot says,[2] "The number of separate families then in Edinburgh, Leith, and its environs, as ascertained by the survey, A. D., 1775, amounted to 13,806," which he multiplies by six, and makes the number of inhabitants to be 82,836, to which he adds 1400 in the Castle, charity work-

[1] Mait. Hist. of Edin., pp. 221–3. [2] Arnot's Hist. of Edin., p. 260.

house, hospitals, etc.; but six to a family has been thought too large an average, five being reckoned nearer to the truth. The total number of inhabitants in the city, suburbs, and town of Leith, as enumerated in 1791 for the statistical report of the city, is stated at 84,886; but the accuracy of this enumeration is to be doubted, for in the enumeration made under authority of parliament, in 1801, of the population of Scotland, Edinburgh, its suburbs, and Leith, are stated to have contained only 82,560 inhabitants. By the parliamentary return in 1811, the inhabitants of the city, suburbs, and Leith, are stated at 102,987, which shows an increase of 24·2 per cent. By the same returns of 1821, they are stated at 138,235, showing an increase of 17·1 per cent. By the same returns in 1831, they are estimated at 161,909, showing an increase of 2·8 only. By the same returns in 1841, there were in the city, 8,598[1] inhabited houses, 646 uninhabited, and 8 in process of erection. The inhabitants that year in the city, amounted to 56,33[illegible], of whom 24,553 were males, 31,777 females, 31,457 of the inhabitants were born within the city, and 24,873 elsewhere.

There were in the suburbs of Edinburgh, which consisted of the parishes of Canongate and St. Cuthberts, in 1841, 14,300 inhabited houses, 1063 uninhabited, and 11 in course of being built. The inhabitants in these parishes amounted to 81,852 of, whom 36,760 were males, and 45,092 females, 48,973 of these inhabitants were born in these parishes, and 32,879 elsewhere; The city, including its suburbs, Canongate, and St. Cuthbert's, contained 138,182 inhabitants, including Leith, 166,450.

By the Census of 1851, the population of the city of Edinburgh, (proper,) amounted to 66,914, showing an increase since 1841, of 10,578; being at the rate of 19 per cent, of whom 24,967 were males, and 41,947 females, showing an excess in the female population of 8,490, or 28 per cent. The population of the Old Town was 30,951, showing an increase of 6,561, and that of the New Town 33,520, showing an increase of 3,932. In the public institutions there were 2,443 inmates, which showed an increase of 85. The excess of the female population viewed as to the Old Town, was 1,179, while in the New Town, it amounted to 7,160, or 54 per cent, or to use less technical terms, there were 154 females to every 100 males. The population of the parish of St. Cuthbert amounted to 82,414, showing an increase of 10,506, of whom 36,704 were males, and 45,710 females; and, in the parish of Canongate,[2] the population amounted to 11,297, showing an increase of 1,353, of whom 5,420 were males, and 5,877 females, making the population of the city, including its suburbs, the parishes of St. Cuthbert and Canongate, amount to 160,625, which shows an increase since 1841, of 22,437.

The population within the bounds of the Parliamentary Burgh of Leith was 30,687, showing an increase of 4,703, of whom 14,494 were males, and 16,193 females. By the Census of 1851, the population of the city and its suburbs, including Leith, which was once connected with the city, but was in 1831 wholly dissevered from it, amounted to 191,312, which showed a total increase since 1841 of 27,140, of whom 81,581 were males, and 109,731 females, showing an excess in the female population of Edinburgh and its suburbs, and Leith, of 28,150.

[1] "Flats," and other individual parts of a house, were in 1841 reckoned as distinct buildings.
[2] The Castle of Edinburgh is included in the Burgh of Canongate, and when the returns were made up, about 500 of the 93rd Regiment were stationed there.

William Collins & Co., Printers, Glasgow.